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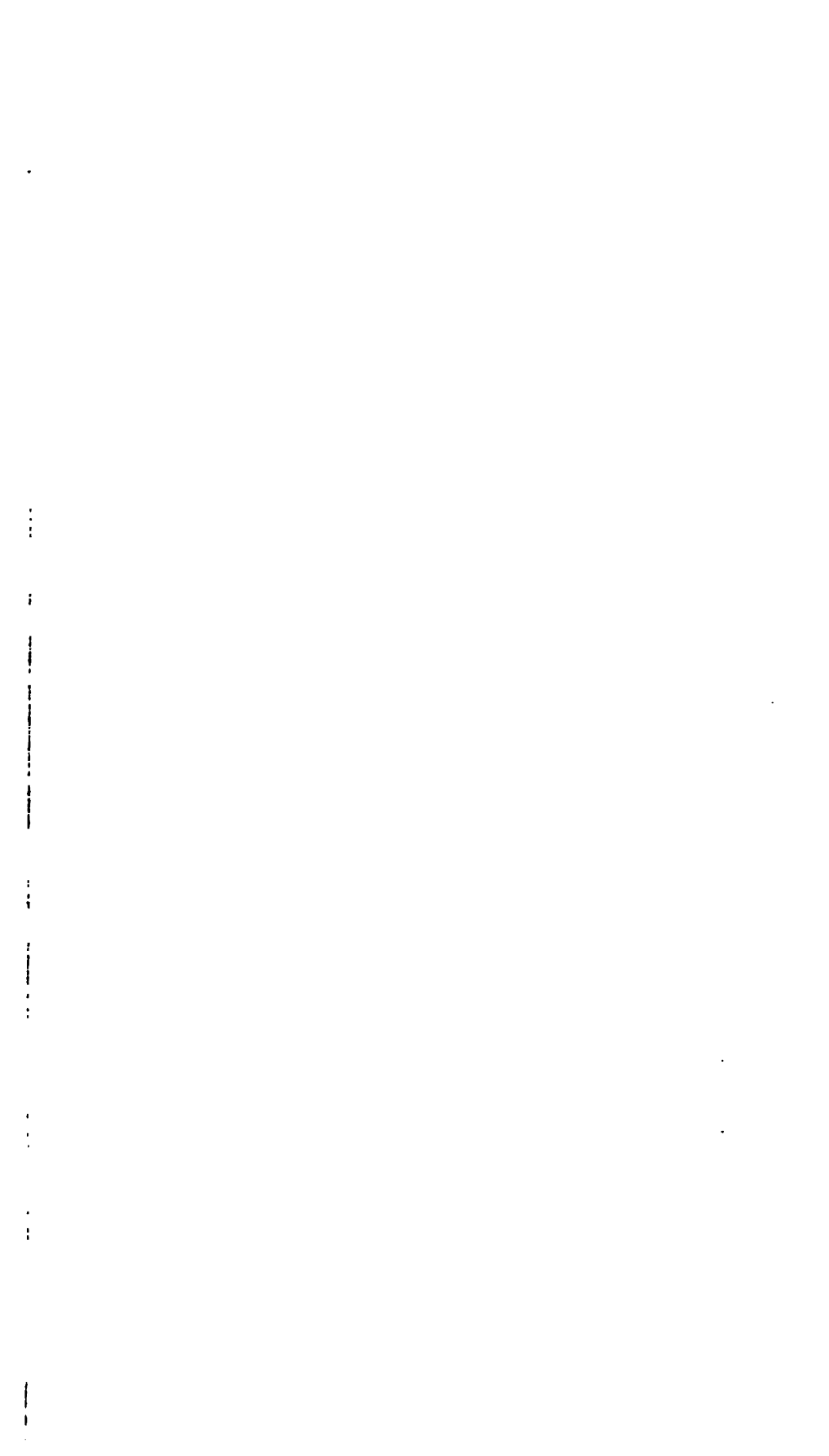
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THE JOURNAL
OF THE
KILKENNY AND SOUTH-EAST OF IRELAND
ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

VOL. II.
NEW SERIES.

1858-59.

DUBLIN:

PRINTED AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

M'GLASHAN & GILL, 50, UPPER SACKVILLE-STREET.

1859.



482

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P R E F A C E .

THE Second Volume of the New Series of the "Journal" of the Society, now placed in the hands of the Members, for cheapness, quantity, and quality of matter and illustrations may well bear comparison with the issue of any similar Association.

The Editor claims the indulgence of the Members, and, when fault is (perhaps justly) found with any part of his labours, asks liberty to plead the peculiar, and, by many, little thought of, difficulties of his task.

For aid towards the illustration of this Volume the thanks of the Society are due to the Right Hon. Lord Clermont; Sir Edmund Workman Macnaghten, Bart.; the Rev. George H. Reade; the Rev. Samuel Hayman; Daniel Mac Carthy, Esq.; Richard Rolt Brash, Esq., Architect; Messrs. Hodges, Smith, and Co.; and to the Council of the Royal Irish Academy.

JAMES GRAVES, A.B.

KILKENNY, *December* 31, 1859.

CONTENTS.

PART I.—1858.

	Page.
Proceedings, January Meeting.	3
A Chorographic Account of the Southern Part of the County of Wexford, written Anno 1684: by Robert Leigh, Esq., of Rosegarland, in that County. Edited by Herbert F. Hora, Esq.	17
Extracts from the Journal of Thomas Dineley, Esquire, giving some Account of his Visit to Ireland in the Reign of Charles II. <i>Continued.</i> Communicated by Evelyn Philip Shirley, Esq., M. A., M. P. With Notes by John O'Donovan, LL. D., M. R. I. A.	22
Proceedings, March Meeting.	33
Gleanings in Northern Churchyards. By the Rev. George H. Reade.	48
Extracts from the Journal of Thomas Dineley, Esquire, giving some Account of his Visit to Ireland in the Reign of Charles II. <i>Continued.</i> Communicated by Evelyn Philip Shirley, Esq., M. A., M. P.	55
Proceedings, May Meeting.	57
On Ancient Mason Marks at Youghal and elsewhere; and the Secret Language of the Craftsmen of the Middle Ages in Ireland. By E. Fitzgerald, Esq., Architect, Youghal.	67
The Clan Cavanagh, temp. Henry VIII. By Herbert Francis Hore, Esq.	73
Proceedings, July Meeting.	98
What we learn from "Wilde's Catalogue of the Antiquities in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy." By the Rev. James Graves, A. B.	110
The Life and Letters of Florence Mac Carthy. By Daniel Mac Carthy (Glas.), Esq.	139
Proceedings, September Meeting.	149
The Life and Letters of Florence Mac Carthy. <i>Continued.</i> By Daniel Mac Carthy (Glas.), Esq.	156
Cryptic Inscriptions on the Cross at Hackness, in Yorkshire. By the Rev. D. H. Haigh.	170
The Local Coinage of Youghal. No. I. Money of Necessity. By the Rev. Samuel Hayman, B. A.	195
Proceedings, November Meeting.	199
Catalogue of Lead and Pewter Tokens issued in Ireland By Aquilla Smith, M. D., M. R. I. A.	215
The Local Coinage of Youghal. No. II. Tradesmen's Tokens. By the Rev. Samuel Hayman, B. A.	222
Register of Historical Portraits. Edited by the Rev. James Graves, A. B.	232

PART II.—1859.

	Page.
Proceedings, January Meeting.	239
The Antiquities of Cloyna. By Richard Rolt Brash, Esq., Architect.	258
The Rental Book of Gerald Fitz Gerald, Ninth Earl of Kildare. Begun in the year 1518. Edited by Herbert Francis Hore, Esq.	266
Proceedings, March Meeting.	281
Notes on Sculptures and an Inscription carved on a Chimney-piece preserved in the Building attached to Dunkerron Castle. By George V. Du Noyer, Esq., M. R. I. A.	290
Dunkerron Castle. By John Windels, Esq.	292
The Rental Book of Gerald Fitz Gerald, Ninth Earl of Kildare. Begun in the year 1518. <i>Continued.</i> Edited by Herbert Francis Hore, Esq.	301
Notice of a scarce Book, entitled, "Beware the Cat." By Herbert Francis Hore, Esq.	310
Proceedings, May Meeting.	318
Extracts from Original Wills formerly preserved in the Consistorial Office, Cashel, but now removed to the Court of Probate, Waterford. By John Davis White, Esq.	317
The History, Architecture, and Antiquities of the City of Kilkenny. Section I. The Irishtown. By the Rev. James Graves, A. B., and John G. A. Prim.	322
Extracts from the Irish Correspondence in H. M. State Paper Office. Communicated by Herbert Francis Hore, Esq.	331
Proceedings, July Meeting.	349
The Irish Correspondence of James Fitz Maurice of Desmond. Edited by John Donovan, Esq., LL.D., M. R. I. A.,	354
The Life and Letters of Florence Mac Carthy. <i>Continued.</i> By Daniel Mac Carthy (Glas.), Esq.	370
On Ancient Masons' Marks at Youghal and elsewhere; and the Secret Language of the Craftsmen of the Middle Ages in Ireland. <i>Concluded.</i> By E. Fitzgerald, Esq., Architect, Youghal.	384
Proceedings, September Meeting.	397
The Plantation of the Barony of Idrone, in the County of Carlow. By John P. Prendergast, Esq.	400
The Disaster of Wicklow. By Daniel Mac Carthy, Esq.	428
Proceedings, November Meeting.	441
A Chorographic Account of the Southern Part of the County of Wexford, written Anno 1684: by Robert Leigh, Esq., of Rosegarland, in that County. <i>Concluded.</i> Edited by Herbert F. Hore, Esq.	451
Topographical Illustrations of the Southern and Western Suburbs of Kilkenny. By Mr. John Hogan.	468
Index.	481

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

	Page.
1. Ancient Glass Bead, found at Ballintlea, near Timahoe,	To face p. 8
2. Signet and Autograph of Owen Roe O'Neill,	To face p. 88
3. Monumental Stones,	To face p. 49
4. Monument of John Mac Naghten,	To face p. 51
5. Monument of Anthony Kennedy,	To face p. 52
6.*An Instrument for Weighing Foreign Coin in Ireland,	" " 56
7. Ancient Mason Marks,	To face p. 70
8.*Flint Implements,	" " 114
9.* " "	" " 116
10.* " "	" " 117
11.* " "	" " 118
12.* " "	" " 119
13.* " "	" " 120
14.* " "	" " 121
15.*Ancient Irish Stone Coulters,	To face p. 123
16.*Ancient Quern,	" " 123
17.* " "	" " 128
18.* " "	" " 125
19.* " "	" " 126
20.* " "	" " 126
21.*Staigue Fort, in the County of Kerry,	" " 127
22.*Section of Crannoge in Ardakillin Lough,	" " 132
23.*Plan of Crannoge in Drumaleague Lough,	" " 133
24.*Section of Crannoge in Drumaleague Lough,	" " 138
25. Cryptic and Ogham Inscriptions at Hackness, Bressay, &c.,	To face p. 170
26.*Youghal Money of Necessity,	" " 197
27.* " "	" " 197
28.* " "	" " 198
29.* " "	" " 198
30.* " "	" " 198
31.* " "	" " 198
32. Leaden Tokens issued in Ireland,	To face p. 219
33.*Leaden Token struck in Kilkenny,	" " 220
34.*Youghal Tradesman's Token,	" " 228
35.* " "	" " 228
36.* " "	" " 224
37.* " "	" " 225
38.* " "	" " 225
39.* " "	" " 226
40.* " "	" " 227
41.* " "	" " 228
42.* " "	" " 229
43.* " "	" " 229
44.* " "	" " 229
45.* " "	" " 230
46.* " "	" " 231
47.* " "	" " 231

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PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS
OF
THE KILKENNY AND SOUTH-EAST OF IRELAND
ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY,
FOR THE YEAR 1858.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, held in the Assembly Rooms, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, January 13th (by adjournment from the 6th), 1858,

THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF LEIGHLIN in the Chair.

The following new Members were elected :—

John Martin, Esq., 26, Rue Lapepède, Paris : proposed by J. E. Pigot, Esq.

John H. Halliday, Esq., M.D., 92, Donegal-street, Belfast : proposed by the Rev. George Vance.

Andrè Allen Murray Ker, Esq., J. P., Newbliss House, Newbliss : proposed by the Rev. G. H. Reade.

Barry Delany, Esq., M.D., Resident Physician, Kilkenny District Lunatic Asylum ; and G. Irwin, Esq., Bandon : proposed by the Rev. J. Graves.

William Kennedy, Esq., District Inspector of National Schools, Rathkeale ; and John C. Lane, Esq., District Inspector of National Schools, Thurles : proposed by Timothy Sheahan, Esq.

James Browne, Esq., Battery Cottage, Athlone : proposed by William Gray, Esq.

The Honorary Secretary then read the following Annual Report for 1857 :—

The close of our Ninth Session enables your Committee to congratulate the Members of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archæolo-

gical Society on its progress during the year 1857. When an Association arrives at the age to which this Society can now lay claim—nearly a third part of the average life of man—it must be, that death and other causes should tend to thin its ranks, and, were not the principle of vitality strong within it, the loss might be expected to be greater than the gain. This last, however, is not the condition of this Society. Your Committee have to report the election of *ninety-eight* new Members during the past year, giving an excess of gain over deaths and defections. This large accession is due to the exertions of individual Members; and, although it may be invidious to single out one name where many deserve praise, your Committee cannot refrain from introducing that of the Rev. George H. Reade, to whose zeal the Society owes the adhesion of *thirty* new supporters. This gentleman's example is worthy of general imitation.

Your Committee regret that they have again to report the failure of their efforts to effect repairs at the Abbey of Dunbrody.¹

The concluding Number of the First Volume of the New Series of the "Society's Journal," with index and prefatory matter, will, in a few days,

¹ The Report for 1856, having been copied into the "Wexford Independent" newspaper, drew forth a communication from Mr. Knox, agent to Lord Templemore, the noble proprietor of the Abbey, which is embodied in the following letter from the Honorary Secretary to the Editor, published in the issue of March 29, 1857:—

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE WEXFORD
INDEPENDENT.

"SIR,—The following letter appeared in your paper of the 7th of last February:—

" '*Glandine, Arthurstown,*
February 4, 1857.

" 'DEAR SIR,—I have read in your paper of the 28th an account of a meeting of the Archaeological Society, at which it was represented that Lord Templemore was not inclined to preserve the Abbey of Dunbrody—I beg leave to say it is the reverse of fact.

" 'His Lordship some months since gave me instructions to expend a sufficient sum to keep the building from further ruin. I wrote at once to the Secretary, offering, if the Society make the necessary repairs, I would pay for them; that, if pointed out by him, or any other Member, I would have them done. I am still prepared to do so.

" 'May I hope you will give the contradiction the same publicity as you did the false Report; and oblige

" 'Truly yours,

" 'M. W. KNOX.'

" I have purposely deferred replying to Mr. Knox's communication, until the annual

accounts of the Society for the year 1856 should be laid before the public. These accounts you have kindly consented to insert elsewhere in your paper. A perusal of them will indicate the mode in which the Society effected the preservation of the remains of Jerpoint Abbey, namely, by a *special subscription*, the general funds of the Society not being at all adequate to bear so large an outlay. Keeping this in mind, and also that Dunbrody Abbey is very differently circumstanced from Jerpoint, the former belonging to an opulent peer of the realm, the latter being situated on a property at present under a Receiver of the Court of Chancery, I ask your Wexford readers' attention to the following *statement of facts*:—

" In the summer of 1854 I was informed by Lord Templemore's agent, Mr. Knox, that his Lordship wished not only to rescue the Abbey of Dunbrody from further dilapidation, but also to restore the magnificent southern range of arches which had fallen during the storm of Christmas Eve, 1852. He told me that if I brought competent persons to survey the ruins, and, under my direction, give estimates for its repair, and the restorations of the fallen portions, he was authorized by Lord Templemore to effect both these objects.

" In the course of the autumn, accordingly, I met Mr. Knox at the Abbey, bringing with me the persons who had been employed under my own eye on Jerpoint Abbey. Subsequently, estimates, embodying specifications for the full reparation of the old work, as well as the restoration of the fallen por-

be issued to all Members not in arrear for the year 1857. Several fresh contributors of papers on various subjects have added to the interest of this volume, whilst old and valued friends, amongst whom may be mentioned with pride our honoured associate and fellow Kilkenny-man, John O'Donovan, Esq., LL.D., have not forsaken its pages. The volume might have been more profusely illustrated were larger funds at the disposal of the Committee, many drawings having been furnished for that purpose, which still remain unpublished in the Society's portfolios.

According to the practice commenced at the conclusion of last year, the names of all Members who are two years and upwards in arrear have been removed from the books of the Society, but shall be restored on the payment of the sums due by them.

The only subject of which your Committee have to speak with regret is the dilatoriness which many Members show in paying up their subscriptions. If they recollected that the small annual sum of 6s. is due in advance on January 1st—that the printing of the "Society's Journal" commences

tions, were sent to Mr. Knox, and yet remain in his custody.

"I was subsequently informed by Mr. Knox, that he considered these estimates too high, and that he would advertise for other tenders.

"So matters rested until July, 1856, when I was informed by Mr. Knox, personally, that Lord Templemore was anxious to obtain possession of an ancient seal which had been found in the Abbey, and was then in the possession of Mr. Alcock, of Wilton, near Enniscorthy. Mr. Knox said that if I succeeded in inducing Mr. Alcock to give this seal to Lord Templemore, he was authorized to hand me, as Secretary of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society, 'a cheque for £100,' to be laid out under my inspection on the repairs of Dunbrody Abbey. I consented, with some reluctance, to make the proposal (a very extraordinary one, it must be allowed) to Mr. Alcock, and received a reply which did honour to that gentleman's public spirit. He informed me that although he valued the antique in question, not only in consequence of its intrinsic interest, but also from the fact that it had descended to him from his father, yet, in order to insure the preservation of the venerable remains of Dunbrody, he was ready to hand it over to Lord Templemore on the terms proposed.

"The seal was placed in my hands by Mr. Alcock in September last, and Mr. Knox was informed that I was ready to give it to him on the fulfilment of his promise. September, October, and November, passed away, and nothing was done for the pre-

servation of the Abbey against the winter storms. At length, late in December, I wrote again to Mr. Knox. In reply I received the following note:—

"*Glandine, January 8, 1857.*

"DEAR SIR,—I had a letter from Lord Templemore. He desires me to pay the money *when the Society lay it out, and that they will undertake to keep up the repairs made.*

"Truly yours,

"M. W. KNOX.

"Rev. James Graves, &c."

"I was certainly not a little surprised at the tenor of Mr. Knox's communication. My reply was as follows:—

[COPY.]

"January 9, 1857.

"DEAR SIR,—I am in receipt of your letter of the 8th, and, in reply, am sorry to say that the Kilkenny Archaeological Society has not funds at command *to advance* for the purpose of saving from ruin a building which belongs to Lord Templemore; neither could the Society undertake to keep up the repairs made—a duty which devolves on the noble proprietor himself; and which now, as on a former occasion, might be accounted an intrusion on his right.

"I assure you I am not at all anxious to be the recipient of Lord Templemore's money, or to become his agent for the laying of it out on his own property; but he will always find me ready to take any reasonable trouble in my power to preserve from utter ruin so interesting an example of the taste and skill

with the same month, *and must be paid for*, surely they would not be the means not only of inflicting great labour on the Honorary Secretaries by compelling them to issue repeated calls, but also of entailing considerable loss on the Society in the matters of stationery, postage, and above all of *discount* for deferred payment to our printer. Many Members, no doubt, forget the trifling obligation to which they have made themselves liable, and several have in consequence expressed a wish to compound for life-membership: your Committee, therefore, recommend that a resolution should be passed at this Meeting, authorizing your Acting Treasurer to receive from any Member wishing to pay the same, a sum of £5 in lieu of all future annual subscriptions,—thus actually constituting all who comply with this condition Life Members of the Society.

On the motion of the Rev. Dr. Browne, seconded by Dr. Delany, the Report was adopted, and ordered to be printed.

of past ages as that afforded by the remains of the noble Abbey of Dunbrody; and, if he undertakes the efficient repair of the building, I shall, on my expenses being paid, be happy to inspect the works as often as necessary during their progress; and, when they are completed to my satisfaction, I will hand over to you, for Lord Templemore, the ancient seal intrusted to me for that purpose by Mr. Alcock, and which you have informed me his Lordship is so anxious to obtain.

"I shall retain the seal in my possession until the 1st of June next; when, if I do not hear from you that the works have been commenced, I will return it to Mr. Alcock, with my reasons for so doing.

"Believe me to be yours very truly,

"J. GRAVES."

"With the above statement and letter before them, I am quite content to allow the Wexford public to judge whether the 'Report' of the Society was 'false' when it stated that the efforts made for the repairs of Dunbrody Abbey had, as yet, been unproductive of the desired result.

"I remain, &c.,

"JAMES GRAVES,

"Hon. Sec. of the Kilkenny & South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society.

"Kilkenny, March 21, 1857.

"P.S.—The detailed specifications, drawn up under my direction, pointing out how the work of reparation should be effected, have been long since placed in Mr. Knox's hands; so that there is no reason why he should not at once carry out Lord Templemore's 'instructions,' and 'expend a sufficient sum to keep the building from further ruin.'"

This letter elicited the following communication from Mr. Knox:—

"THE EDITOR OF THE INDEPENDENT.

"SIR,—The account of the Meeting of the Archaeological Society which appeared in your paper on the 25th escaped my notice until called to it by a third party.

"I think I can show it was not my fault that the repairs were not long since made, but that of the worthy Secretary himself.

"In the first place, the party's estimate whom he brought down to inspect the work was so excessive, that I told him I would advertise for tenders; on hearing which a split came in the camp, and one of the three worthies he brought offered to do the work for £50 less. I then declined having anything to do with them at all.

"After some time I again wrote to Mr. Graves, saying I was ready to commence the work, if he sent a person to inspect it. I was not a little surprised to find that he offered to do so, but certainly much more to hear that such a philanthropist as he seems to be in the cause should require his *expenses paid*.

"With regard to the seal which he speaks of, he has forgotten (or wishes to forget) that he told me it was not the real seal of the Abbey, but a counterfeit, which the *monks had for forging Pope's Bulls*.

"And now, Mr. Editor, I again assert that the statement made in your paper of the 25th, as well as the eloquent speech, no doubt, made to the Society, tending to show that I am not willing to make the repairs, *are contrary to facts*; and I repeat, that if the Society send a man to inspect the work, I am ready to commence it at once.

"I shall not trouble you again on this

On the motion of Mr. James G. Robertson, the officers for the Society of the past year were re-elected, with the following—

COMMITTEE :

JAMES S. BLAKE, Esq., J. P., Barrister-at-Law.
 REV. JOHN BROWNE, LL. D.
 SAMSON CARTER, Esq., C. E., M. R. I. A.
 BARRY DELANY, Esq., M. D.
 VERY REV. JOHN EGAN, P. P.
 REV. LUKE FOWLER, A. M.
 JOHN JAMES, Esq., L. R. C. S. I.
 THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF LEIGHLIN.
 THE REV. PHILIP MOORE, R. C. C.
 MATTHEW O'DONNELL, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.
 THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF WATERFORD.
 JOHN WINDELE, Esq.

It was then resolved that Dr. Delany, and J. G. Robertson, Esq., be requested to act as Auditors for the year 1858.

It was also resolved that the Acting Treasurer be authorized to receive £5 as composition for Life Membership of the Society.

The estimate of Mr. Gill, University Press Office, Trinity College, Dublin, for the printing of the "Society's Journal" for the ensuing year, was accepted.

The Rev. James Graves stated that he had received a letter from the Hon. Secretary of the Dublin Architectural and Archaeological Institute, proposing that friendly intercourse should be established between the Societies.

The proposal received the approbation of the Meeting.

subject, as I can well afford any remarks coming from the Rev. James Graves.

"I am, &c. &c.,

"M. W. KNOX.

"*Glandine, March 31, 1857.*"

The Hon. Secretary's reply was as follows :—

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEPENDENT.

"SIR,—Mr. Knox not having controverted any of the facts placed before the public in my letter of the 21st of March, I do not intend to notice the personalities to which, for lack of better arguments, he has resorted in his reply.

"Mr. Knox, however, writes :—'After some time I again wrote to Mr. Graves, saying, I was ready to commence the work, if he sent a person to inspect it.' What will your readers think when they learn that I never received any such letter? Mr. Knox can, I suppose, 'well afford' to be told this

by the Rev. James Graves. At all events, he must put up with it.

"As my object, in anything I have written, is solely to effect the reparation of Dunbrody Abbey, and as the merits of the case are now before the public, I take leave of the subject, expressing a parting hope that Mr. Knox will at once commence the repairs of the building, and again stating my readiness to inspect the work, on my travelling expenses being paid.

"I am, &c.,

"JAMES GRAVES.

"*Kilkenny, April 4, 1857.*"

As it was quite impossible that any further communication could be held with the gentleman who represents Lord Templemore on his Wexford estates, the Committee have relinquished, for the present, all hope of seeing the venerable Abbey of Dunbrody rescued from impending ruin.

The following presentations were received, and thanks ordered to be given to the donors:—

By the Smithsonian Institution: "Archæology of the United States," by Samuel F. Haven; "Observations on Mexican History and Archæology, with a special notice of Zapotec Remains," by Brantz Mayer; "Publications of Learned Societies, and Periodicals in the Library of the Smithsonian Institution," part 2; the "Annual Reports of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution" for 1855 and 1856; and "A List of the Foreign Correspondents of the Smithsonian Institution."

By the State Historical Society of Wisconsin: "The History of Wisconsin," by William R. Smith, Vols. I. and III.; "Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin," Vols. I. and II.; "Madison, the Capital of Wisconsin, its Growth, Progress, Condition, &c." by Lyman C. Draper; "Annual Report of the Geological Society of the State of Wisconsin," by James G. Percival; and a number of pamphlets.

By the Geological Society of Dublin: its "Journal," Vol. III. part 5.

By the Cambrian Archæological Association: "Archæologia Cambrensis," third series, No. 13; and "The Report of the Monmouth Meeting."

By the King and Queen's College of Physicians in Ireland: "The Registry of the Fellows, Honorary Fellows, and Licentiates," &c.

By the Publisher: "The Gentleman's Magazine" for December, 1857, and January, 1858.

By the Publisher: "The Builder," Nos. 772-779, inclusive.

By the Publisher: "The Architect, Engineer, and Builder," No. 1.

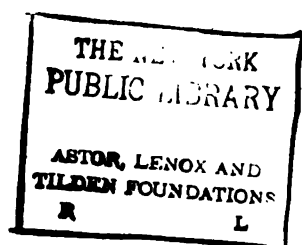
By Mr. Daniel O'Byrne, Timahoe: a glass bead of large size and very rare type. The material was sea-green glass, moulded to represent interlaced cords, the strands of the cords being represented by threads of white glass, whilst round the upper and lower rims were small knobs of opaque yellow glass, of which but one or two remained. The form of the bead would be best understood from the accompanying plate, where it is represented full size. The top and bottom of the bead exhibited indications of friction, showing that it had been worn strung with others of the same material. It was found on the lands of Ballintlea, about a quarter of a mile from the Rath of Ballinacrough, and one mile from Timahoe, in the Queen's County, where anciently had flourished an extensive oak forest.

By the same: a half-crown and shilling of the gun-money of James II.; also a small weight.



ANCIENT GLASS BEAD.

FOUND AT BALLINTLEA, NEAR TIMAHOE, IN THE QUEEN'S COUNTY.



By Mr. J. L. Boothe: a shilling of the English mint of Queen Elizabeth.

By Mr. J. Dunne, Garryricken: a large ancient plaited button, some coins of James II., and some beans, found in removing the hatch from an old house in Poulecapple, belonging to a man named Hoyne, said to be the oldest thatched house in the district. The original covering was of bean-straw, showing that it was put up at a time when beans were used as food by the peasantry.

The Rev. James Graves stated that, by desire of the Marchioness of Ormonde, he had the pleasure of exhibiting to the Meeting a manuscript of the highest interest, not only intrinsically, but in consequence of the very skilful manner in which it had been restored. In arranging the Ormonde muniments some years since, he had found frequent reference to "The Red Book" as a manuscript of the highest antiquity and authority, but was unable to find the document itself in the Evidence Chamber. Having mentioned this circumstance to the late Marquis of Ormonde, his Lordship caused a strict search to be made for the book, which only resulted in the surmise that it must have been destroyed in the fire which took place in the Castle office in 1839. He (Mr. Graves) then obtained permission from the Marquis to examine a heap of the half-burned papers which had been saved from the fire; and amongst them he found the remains of the missing "Red Book," retaining one of its original oaken covers, but with its vellum leaves reduced apparently to the condition of a blackened cinder, so that any attempt to separate the charred folios then appeared hopeless. However, in the course of last summer, Lady Ormonde, with that anxious care which she has shown on all occasions to preserve the invaluable ancient muniments of the Ormonde family, submitted the burned mass to Sir Frederick Madden, Director of the Manuscript Department of the British Museum, under whose superintendence it had now been restored in a most wonderful manner by Mr. C. Tuckett, bookbinder to the British Museum. Each leaf having been separated and smoothed, was carefully inlaid in drawing-paper, and the whole bound in Russia leather, forming a most interesting and valuable volume. The following entry appears on the last leaf, in the handwriting of Theobald Butler, Viscount Tullophelim:—

"There are contayned in this booke liiij whole leaues, wheareof twoe haue nothing wryten vpon them: w^h two haue leaves fixed vnto them. Wytnes my hand the June, 1612.—T: BU[TLER]."

It was, Mr. Graves said, satisfactory to know that, although in several of its folios much injured, the book still contains the exact number of leaves mentioned by Lord Tullophelim. The manuscript was chiefly of the fourteenth century, with a few entries, at

the end, of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The general contents would be best understood by the following letter, addressed by Sir F. Madden to Lady Ormonde:—

“Sir Frederick Madden presents his compliments to Lady Ormonde, and begs to inform her that the manuscript volume intrusted to his charge has been completed, and will be left at her Ladyship’s residence with this note. On looking into the MS., Sir F. Madden found it to be more valuable than he had supposed, since it not only contains the surveys and rentals of a large amount of property in various counties, but also a considerable number of charters, which extend from the reign of Henry the Second to that of Edward the Second.

“Among them is a charter of King John when Earl of Morton, dated 5th Richard I., several charters of Theobald Walter, the first *Pincerna* or Butler of Ireland, and many others of distinguished persons, which are (although in parts not quite perfect) of much value and interest to the topographer and genealogist.

“The binder has executed his task remarkably well; and Sir F. Madden trusts that this volume, now restored by Lady Ormonde’s wish and directions, may be long preserved in Kilkenny Castle as a remarkable instance of a monument of family history rescued from oblivion and almost destruction.

“*British Museum, 22nd December, 1857.*”

The volume was examined with much interest by the Members present at the Meeting; and the feeling was unanimously expressed, that the noble Marchioness deserved the thanks of every lover of ancient lore for the good service rendered to historical literature by the restoration of this valuable manuscript.

Mr. J. G. Robertson exhibited six different varieties of flint arrow-heads, embracing four types of this ancient weapon, as described by Dr. Wilde in his recently published “Catalogue of the Antiquities in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy.” The specimens exhibited were collected in the north of Ireland by Alexander Johns, Esq., of Carrickfergus.

Mr. Robertson also exhibited another stone weapon of a rare type, which was found in the rath at Dunbell, near Kilkenny: it was formed of a very hard sandstone, neatly wrought into the figure of an acutely pointed oval, measuring $3\frac{1}{4}$ by 3 inches, and $1\frac{1}{8}$ inches thick. There was a groove on each side. These implements were considered by Dr. Wilde to be sling-stones. See his “Catalogue of the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy,” pp. 75, 76.

In laying a specimen of the “Kilkenny Hapeny” token of Thomas Adams before the Meeting, Mr. Robertson remarked that this token was very rare, as he believed that this was the only specimen in the possession of local collectors, a class which has increased very much since the Kilkenny Archæological Society was

established. The token exhibited by Mr. Robertson was turned up a short time since in a ploughed field at Rose Hill, near Kilkenny.

Dr. Keatinge, Callan, sent an impression from an ancient signet-ring of jet, found by a poor woman in the wood of Ballaghtobin, county of Kilkenny. It bore an extremely rude carving of the Crucifixion and the two Marys, with the legend—IN HOC SIGNO VINCES. The form of the letters showed the date to be about the middle of the seventeenth century.

Dr. Keatinge also forwarded the following communication to the Secretary :—

"On yesterday I was attending my Dispensary duties as usual, and got what is called '*a scarlet runner*' (a red visiting ticket) to attend a poor man at Breanor, on the eastern side of Slievenamann. As the house in which he lay was in rather a rough district, I walked from my Dispensary to my destination, having previously directed the young man who came to call me to wait for me at a certain point of the road, as being a spot from which the house of my patient might be the more easily and directly reached. On traversing the fields with my guide, whom I found intelligent, chance brought us to a rath. As is my wont, I began to ask all manner of questions about it. From him I gleaned that it is called the '*Hill of Tents*,' and that it had an entrance, which he offered to point out to me. I availed myself of his civility, and entered the rath by what I think is its proper entrance, and was led by him to what he deemed to be such. On examining the stones, which were cast about, I found it to be what appeared to me a sewer leading from the fort; and on asking him why it was in ruins, he informed me that some couple of years ago a fox, hotly pressed by the Tipperary hounds, had earthed in it, and was dug out, which accounts for its present state. The young man also pointed out, within a few yards, the site of another fort (but which is now levelled), and at the same time mentioned a fact of recent occurrence, of which he himself was cognizant, viz., that the field near the first rath, like all other fields of the neighbourhood, had until that period several detached masses of granite cropping out of and lying on the surface. These, as an improving farmer, he was anxious to remove, and set to the work '*with a will*.' He laboured hard for a long time in removing these masses of stone, and at last came to one lying a few yards outside the rath: the soil covered the base of this one, as of others. However, on moving it, he and his workmen discovered that it was lying on a flag, which lay over four other flags, set perpendicularly in the ground. On removing the upper flag, they found a large heap of ashes in the inclosed space; but no remains of bones, or, indeed, of anything else, though they carefully examined in and about it. The young farmer, at this stage of our proceedings, saw how fully interested I was in the matter, and regretted he did not let me know at the time of the occurrence; but, to make amends, offered to show me another rath at Breanor, which he said I would find better worth examining. This second rath lies, say, a quarter of a mile from the former. Although the day on the mountain was cold, foggy, misty, and wet, still I went with him

to the spot, and, I must say, felt rewarded. On the eastern side of this second rath is a passage or way within the rath, and on the inner side of this passage I found more than one half of a little building, of the rudest stones, but still showing great tact and ingenuity in the erection of a bell or beehive-shaped entrance to the rath. At the bottom, a passage, choked somewhat with debris, leads into the fort, and some of the people in the immediate neighbourhood have gone in a short way, but cannot say anything positive about it, their fears or their superstitions having prevented their further exploration. In the immediate vicinity of the rath lives a poor blacksmith, an old friend of mine. I repaired to him for information, as being one of the oldest of the inhabitants. He says a man of the name of Mulcahy, formerly living near the spot, entered with lights, and on going in a few yards through the sewer-like passage, he found it to enlarge so as to be able to stand erect. This man said that he found rooms of some extent and several small ones on the sides of the passage, but that he did not go as far as he might into the interior, and what struck him particularly were the little side rooms. It is not said that he either found or saw anything particular otherwise. Whilst turning over in my mind, and revolving what I would do, the old smith mentioned to me that if I wished to see a still greater sight in the way of raths, that he would in a few minutes bring me to one much more easily entered, and 'with finer rooms in it:' this last rath being situate at Heathview, near Glenbower. The shades of evening were falling, and I could not avail myself of his offer then, but I will in a few days pay it a visit. One peculiarity, to which I wish to draw your attention, is the fact that the smith and his neighbours say that the entrance to the Heathview fort is not in the fort itself, but situate some yards off, near a dyke, and has stairs descending into it. Perhaps all these details are scarcely worth recital, but it does strike me a reconnaissance of these places by those used to such researches might prove not only curious, but perhaps instructive."

The Rev. John O'Hanlon sent a continuation of his Papers on the Topographical Collections of the Ordnance Survey, as follows:—

"The following is a list of materials for the County and Parish Histories of Dublin, as found in the Catalogue of the Topographical Collection, Ordnance Survey Office, Phoenix Park:—I. Names from Down Survey (see Leinster, vol. i.). II. Letters, one volume. III. Extracts, one volume; index of places to Irish part, not arranged. IV. Memorandums, one volume. V. Name-books, 95. VI. Barony and Parish Name-book. VII. County Index to Names on the Maps, one volume. VIII. List of Streets from Pettigrew and Oulton's Directory, 1845. IX. Repertorium Viride, in Common-place Book 'S.'

"I. The Down Survey, Leinster, vol. i., already referred to, contains the names of the Baronies, Parishes, Townlands, and local objects in the county of Dublin (on the plan previously described), pp. 73 to 141, for the most part written on; some few pages are, however, blank; while pages 73, 74 contain the General Index of Barony and Parish Names in the

County of Dublin. II. The volume of County Dublin Letters is a quarto of 99 pages, closely written, and it contains 22 letters. One of these was written by T. Butler Williams, an artist, who addresses it, with a sketch, to George Petrie, Esq. It is dated 112, Lower Gardiner-street, June 10, 1837. Three of these letters were written by George Petrie; one is without date, and imperfect; the other two are dated respectively April 19 and 23, 1837. Three of these letters are written by John O'Donovan, and dated respectively the 31st of March, and 19th and 20th of April, 1837. The remaining fifteen letters are written by Eugene Curry, and dated respectively May 23, 27, 31; June 29; July 15, 26; August 2, 8, 13, 17, 23; September 1, 4, 8, and 13. All of Mr. Curry's letters are dated from 21, Great Charles-street, Dublin, with the exception of the letter dated the 13th of August, which is headed 19, Clarendon-street, Dublin. Besides these letters, there are three pages of queries, which are answered by Messrs. O'Donovan and Curry. There are three pages of an index, preceding these letters, in Mr. O'Lalor's handwriting. There are sixteen pencil and ink sketches of ground-plans, antiquities, &c., for the most part drawn by Eugene Curry, besides three maps of the county of Dublin. Two of the latter are on tracing-paper, and one of them, bearing date 1610 (I presume from Speed), is so much pressed together by recent binding that I could not open it without injury; the other is drawn from the Petty Down Survey Maps. The third is on thick drawing-paper, and traced on squares by J. H. Clark, for the Ordnance Survey purposes. III. The Extracts are contained in one quarto volume of numbered 135 pages. There is an index of two pages preceding. The extracts are from 'Annals of the Four Masters' (English); from 'Irish Calendar' (English and Irish character); from 'Ogygia'; from 'Archdall's Monasticon'; from Colgan's 'Acta Sanctorum'; and 'Trias Thaumaturga' (all in English); from 'Poem on Hugh O'Byrne,' MS. L. T. C., H. 1, 14 (the latter in the Irish character, and transcribed by Mr. Anthony Curry).¹ The Index of Places to the Irish part, or rather names, contained in the extracts, consists of only six pages of foolscap paper, containing, on an average, only from twelve to thirteen names on each page—in all, considerably under an hundred names.² This paucity of number, in the present instance, is to be attributed to the few Irish Documentary Records referring to the county and city of Dublin, which became thoroughly Anglicised at an early period; the consequence of which was the application of English names to most of the places therein, in most of the existing documents. IV. The quarto volume of Memorandums contains 395 numbered, with

¹ The volumes of the County Dublin Antiquarian Letters and Extracts have been removed to the Royal Irish Academy since August last. They have been re-bound, and were submitted to the inspection of the Members and Associates of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, at that brilliant and most tasteful reunion, known as the "Conversazione," so highly creditable to the President, Members, and Officers of our National Academy, and which

must long survive amongst the pleasing recollections of all who had the delight of being present on that occasion. These and other specimen volumes of the Irish Ordnance Survey Records and Maps were objects of special interest to the many distinguished Irish and foreign visitors then and there assembled.

² This Index is in the handwriting of Eugene Curry, both in the Irish characters and their Anglicized equivalents.

50 additional unnumbered, written pages. I find, however, that a deduction of 92 pages must be allowed, as the first numbered page is 92, and the numbers afterwards follow consecutively. There are besides 15 unnumbered pages, double columns, of an Index to the Dublin Memorandums, preceding the foregoing. There are many interesting topographical notes in this volume by Dr. Petrie, and by Messrs. O'Donovan and Curry; together with maps, plans, pencil-sketches, private notes and cards, engravings, &c., referring to the County Dublin. V. The Name Books are 95 in number, and on an uniform plan with those previously described. VI. The Barony and Parish Name Book of Dublin County, a quarto volume, bound in vellum, contains 86 numbered leaves, although there is nearly double that number of pages written on: there are, besides, two pages of an Index of Dublin Parishes preceding, and referring to the subsequent pages; as also one page of 25 various authorities for the spelling of the different parish names. As usual in similar volumes, Dr. O'Donovan has settled the orthography for the Ordnance Maps; and he has, for the most part, given the Irish name in the Irish character, with its Anglicised form in English. It is also interspersed with many valuable antiquarian notes by the same learned authority. VII. The County Index to Names on the Maps is contained in one folio volume of 151 unnumbered pages, of double columns. In the first column is the name of the townland, and local object or designation, in regular alphabetical order to the end of the volume; and in the second column is the name of the parish in which it is situated, and pasted to the leaf on the same slip of paper. This arrangement is adopted for the use of references in the Ordnance Survey Office; but it differs from the former cognate volumes I have examined, as the name of the barony in which the townland or object is situated is not given. VIII. This is merely a transcript quarto volume of 57 pages, closely written, containing a list of streets, public and other buildings, alphabetically arranged, from Pettigrew and Oulton's Dublin Directory of 1845. It is unbound. IX. The Common-place Book 'S' contains only the 'Repertorium Viride Johannis Septimi Archiepiscopi, Dubliñ, agnomine Alanus.' It is a quarto volume, but most of the pages are blank. It, of course, contains most valuable ecclesiastical information, relating to the several deaneries and parishes within the Archdiocese of Dublin. There are no drawings of antiquities by professional artists for the pictorial illustration of the many interesting ruins so thickly strewn over the area of the metropolitan county. The city buildings and ancient remains are likewise neglected; but I suppose it had been imagined that because many tolerably faithful drawings and engravings of these latter have been already preserved or published, there existed no further necessity for adding to the number. To a certain extent, such an omission might be excused; but it must be regretted that copies of historic monuments and buildings had not been preserved; and it must be acknowledged, that many such there were, which have not yet been drawn or represented by engravings; whilst many have altogether disappeared under the influence of modern city *improvements*. Even the Antiquarian Letters have solely references to the county, without the walls of the city. It must be acknowledged that although many illustrated histories and works referring to the city of Dublin have been published, they are sadly defective

as authorities, both in an antiquarian and a descriptive point of view. This general complaint is, however, in process of being remedied, in an effectual manner, by a living and local historian, J. T. Gilbert, Esq., M. R. I. A., who is now preparing for the press 'A History of the City of Dublin,' in three volumes.¹ The first of these volumes has been already published, and bears on every page an impress of the most laborious research, copious information, methodical arrangement, historical accuracy, and tasteful scholarship. Nothing is wanting to render it complete, but accompanying illustrations by the engraver. To a certain extent, also, the omissions of Government have been supplied by a cheap and interesting weekly illustrated periodical, 'The Irish Literary Gazette,' so far as the metropolitan county's relics of 'olden time' are concerned; I allude to the valuable series of articles entitled 'Antiquarian Rambles in the County of Dublin,' by the talented and accomplished civil engineer, John S. Sloane, Esq. Each of these interesting papers is accompanied by a well-executed woodcut of an old church or castle, from an original drawing by the author, and is executed in a style highly creditable to native artists. Mr. Sloane has also given a series of 'Pencilings of the City of Dublin' in the same periodical, which are likewise accompanied by woodcuts after his own sketches.

"The Society will be pleased to learn, that the fact of its being resolved by Government to have the antiquities and records of the Irish Ordnance Survey Office transferred to the Library of the Royal Irish Academy does not preclude the hope that they will be ultimately published by the nation. On the contrary, I have every reason to hope and believe that the date of their publication is by no means distant, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer has resolved that all the existing records bearing on British and Irish history shall see the light in a printed form; and that the funds required for their publication shall be furnished with the full concurrence of the other members of the Government. As a matter of course, the Records of the Irish Ordnance Survey Office will not be passed over; and hence the Members of the Kilkenny Archæological Society have no reason to entertain the disheartening doubts suggested by the published Proceedings for the month of September, 1857."

Mr. O'Hanlon also wrote to the Secretary suggesting the formation of an "Antiquarian Album," "to be preserved in some accessible place, or placed on the table of the Museum, accompanied with the requisite materials for writing, with the addition of dissolved gum or paste," for the insertion of cuttings from newspapers, and manuscript communications worthy of preservation as containing facts or traditions of a certain archæological interest, although not of sufficient importance to be printed in the "Journal" of the Society.

¹ This invaluable work is furnished to subscribers, carriage free, to any part of Great Britain, at the very low price of 10s. 6d. per

volume. The publishers are Messrs. Keeling and Shew, Nassau-street and Dawson-street, Dublin.

The Rev. Mr. O'Hanlon's proposition was warmly received by the Meeting, and ordered to be carried out as soon as possible.

The following descriptive particulars of primeval remains in the vicinity of Bandon were forwarded (accompanied by drawings) by T. W. Belcher, Esq., M. D., Surgeon, Royal Cork City Artillery:—

"The neighbourhood of Bandon abounds in antiquities, two of the most perfect specimens of which are the standing stones at Castlelack and Clohane. The former are situated on the summit of a very high hill, in the parish of Templemartin, about five miles from Bandon. They consist of four large stones looking N. E. and S. W., placed nearly in a right line, and each nine feet from the other;—their measurement in height and girth is as follows, viz.:—

a, . . .	5 feet in height, and 12 feet in girth.
b, . . .	5 " " 10 "
c, . . .	7 " " 12 "
d, . . .	10 " " 13 "

"The remains of a rath are to be found in an adjoining field, but no other building worthy of note is to be seen there. About two miles S. of the town, on the estate of the Earl of Bandon, are situated the pillar-stones of Clohane: like those at Castlelack, they look N. E. and S. W., but differ in several other particulars. *In situ* they form a segment of a circle whose radius is about 100 feet. The stone, which we shall designate *a*, has evidently been moved from *b*, which appears to be its former position: they measure as follows, viz.:—

a, . . .	7 feet 4 inches in height.
c, . . .	2 " 7 " "
d, . . .	3 " 9 " "
e, . . .	6 feet in height.
f, . . .	5 feet 3 inches in height, and 13 feet in girth.

The distances at which they stand, one from the other, are—

a to c, . . .	35 feet.
c " d, . . .	30 "
d " e, . . .	12 "
e " f, . . .	19 "

The stone *a* in its fallen position is now 12 feet from *b*, its presumed base. The ground on which these remains stand is not at all so high as in the case of the Castlelack pillar-stones, and their semicircular position further distinguishes them from those first quoted, which, as we have already said, stand nearly in a right line, and are much larger both in height and girth than those at Clohane. The distances at which they stand, each from the other, may also be noticed, those at Castlelack being equidistant, while the distances between those at Clohane vary considerably."

The following Papers were then submitted to the Meeting.

A CHOROGRAPHIC ACCOUNT OF THE SOUTHERN PART OF
THE COUNTY OF WEXFORD, WRITTEN ANNO 1684: BY
ROBERT LEIGH, ESQ., OF ROSEGARLAND, IN THAT
COUNTY.

EDITED BY HERBERT F. HORE, ESQ.

WHEN the philosophic and industrious Sir William Petty was engaged in preparing his folio atlas of Ireland, it occurred to him to procure chorographic treatises on the several counties of the kingdom, and he accordingly entreated various gentlemen, who by capacity and local knowledge were qualified for the task, to furnish him with accounts of the districts in which they resided. The great geographer's requests received numerous responses, as appears by the results, most of which were to be seen, about twenty years since, in MS., on the shelves of the late Mr. Thorpe, the well-known London bibliopole. The science of Archæology was not sufficiently popular in the days of the author of the Down Survey to warrant the publication of these, now old and valuable, contributions to the topography of our country. The then new race of gentry had no associations with the past of Ireland. Veteran colonels and captains, who had officered the iron-sided battalions of the Republic, and had been rewarded for storming Irish castles and walled towns by grants of the estates of the recusant defenders, did not sympathize with the ancient glories of the Gael, nor care for architectural remains, which, for the most part, had been battered into ruins by Commonwealth cannon. It was not until Vallancey published Sir Henry Piers' useful, however discursive, tract on Westmeath, that any one of the MSS. under consideration was rendered serviceable by the instrumentality of printers' ink; and not until our own day did a second treatise of similar origin, the excellent account of West Connaught, receive publicity, by means of the Irish Archæological Society. The space, in these our *fasciculi*, is necessarily broken and contracted; it is therefore intended, for the present, only to publish one of the three MS. collections made for Sir William Petty, relative to the county of Wexford. At the same time, as it may be interesting to know somewhat of the antecedents of Mr. Leigh, the writer of it, we prefix the ensuing notices of his ancestor, John Lye, who filled the post of Interpreter of the Irish tongue to Queen Elizabeth's government in Ireland.

John Lye, as Interpreter to the State, an important functionary during the disturbed reign of Elizabeth, is frequently noticed in

our public records and correspondence; and his services obtained rewards which, conjointly with services loyally rendered by one of his descendants to Charles II., placed his posterity high among our landed gentry. His extraction is a curious archæologic question. He was, of course, conversant with the Irish and English languages. He appears to have been one of the few remarkable men of the native race of that period, who became singled out from the general disaffection to the English Crown, and who, serving the Government by their talents and loyalty, rose to power and honours, and founded wealthy and noble families. Of such distinguished men we may mention Sir Patrick Fox, also Interpreter and Intelligencer to the State, ancestor of Fox of Fox Hall; William O'Duinn, who exercised the same office, and was, probably, progenitor of the family of Doyne; and Patrick Mac-an-Crossan, who, as Sir Patrick Crosbie, founded the extinct house of the Earls of Glandore.¹

The Mac Laighid, or O'Lees, were hereditary physicians in West Connaught. One of them, Morogh "O'Lye," as he signed his surname, an eccentric inhabitant of the county of Galway in the time of Charles II., having failed to recover his mortgaged and forfeited patrimony after the Restoration, commenced the practice of medicine and surgery, and, in order to give himself fame, being in possession of an antique vellum MS., written in Gaelic and Latin characters, treating of medicine, and which probably belonged to his professional ancestors, he imposed on the vulgar by asserting that this wonderful book had been given him in the enchanted island called I-Brazil, whither he had, he declared, been forcibly conveyed. The "Book of I-Brazil" is to be seen in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, and besides containing, as we must notice, a signature of the "Lee" family, is curious for that mixture of astrologic and medical lore which pervaded the science of medicine when Dan Chaucer satirized "Doctours of Physike." Referring to the pages of a contemporary, the "Ulster Journal of Archæology," which prosperously continues to strew the path of hoar antiquity with flowers, our readers will find, in a paper on "Gaelic Domestics," that the ancient native leech, who had his serviceable abode in the house of an Irish chieftain, was sometimes known by the awe-inspiring name of "The Astronomer." Morogh O'Lye, a mere quack, as well as an impostor, does not seem, according to the good author of the chorographic account of Iar-Connaught, to have realized much of that precious metal which Chaucer deemed to be the idol of his imaginary practitioner; but we may hope that this deceiver, in after years, though he did not, like Prospero, drown his book, became more devout than the old poet's type of his professional brethren, whose "studie was but

¹ "Tribes of Ireland," p. 25.

litel on the bibel." Whether John Lye, before he became interpreter to the state, spoke Irish or English as his mother tongue, his maternal parent having been either a *Gael* or a *Gall*, or whether he studied either language "on the grammar," are parts of our unsolved question. Yet we may observe that it was an obvious advantage for a member of a family of doctors, one of a learned profession, to render himself capable, so far as speech went, of practising in every house. In one of his petitions to the Crown, he says that, "*being an Englishman*," he is very perfect in the Irish tongue.¹ He is designated John "Alie" in a record of the time, and also "Lye." Alie may either be an Anglicised form of O'Lye, or a corruption of an ordinary English form of surname, "At the Ley." Soon afterwards, his descendants took the name of "Leigh." Possibly they may have been of the same family as Captain Thomas Lee, who unquestionably was cousin of Sir Henry Lee (the famous old knight of Ditchley), and who became so much *Hibernicis ipsis Hibernior* as to have had his Irish and mortal career closed at Tyburn for his share in Essex's mad revolt. However, in a letter dated 1600, the interpreter writes of his "cousin," Sir Charles O'Carroll, which connexion, as it implies an anterior relationship with the chieftains of Ely O'Carrol, seems to favour a Gaelic origin. It is impossible to say how the phrase, "being an Englishman," was interpreted by Lye, or in his day. He may have been freed from "Irish servitude," and granted the right to use the English laws, and so have considered himself no Irishman, though born in Ireland. At any rate, he was serviceable to the English Government, and was duly rewarded; so that we may trace his brief story with the reflection that, if he was of native origin, his is an exceptional instance of loyal and valuable service to the Crown. The first record in which his name occurs is the Memorandum Roll of the Exchequer of 9th Elizabeth, in which is the following entry:²—

"John Lye, junior, prays inolment of the following:—

"Forasmuche as it is verie requisite and necessarie to the state of this realme, in consideration of the daylie resorte of the Irishe gentlemen and others of this realme for their severall affayers to the same, to have and use an Interpreter for the better understanding of their greves, and redresse of their causes; and for that we have had long tryall and experyence of our servant John Alie, whom we have used in that service, and he being a person most meet and convenyent, for sondry respects and good considerations, to serve the Lords Justices in our absence, We the Lord Deputie and Counsell have condiscended and agreed that he the said John Alie, as interpreter to the state of this realme, shall have and receive the Fee of twelve pence Irish per diem; Willing and requiring you the Threasorer

¹ State Paper Office, 5th Jan., 1586-7.

² Rot. Excheq. 9 Eliz.

³ Communicated by the late James Frederick Ferguson, Esq.

or Vicethreasorer for the tyme being upon sight or register of these our letters to be made, to paye unto him the said Fee of xiii^d Irish per diem, as the same shall tearmlie growe unto him, taking his bill testifyinge the receipt hereof shall be yuere sufficient warrant in that behalf, given at Carlingford, the xxiiith of September, 1587.

"HENRY SYDNEY,

"To our trustie, &c.

"ROBERT WESTON, &c. &c.

"Sir W^m Fitz William, Knt.

"Vicethreas' &c. at Wars, &c."

The second notice is an entry in the Council Book of "a freedom of forty marcs to John Lye, the interpreter, in respect of maintaining a bridge upon the black-water, in the county of Kildare."¹ By this order he was exempted from the payment of a sum he owed the Crown, for a consideration more appreciated in his time than even in those palmiest days of grand juries, when Squire Somebody,—

"Of his great bounty,

Built a new bridge at th' expense of the county."

The State dragoman's services had already been rewarded by a lease of Crown lands in the shire he was assisting to keep passable, as appears in a State Paper entry of 1571, of the suit of "John a Lee, interpreter to my Lord Deputy, and a messenger unto dangerous places." He was employed as an envoy from Dublin Castle to the great Gaelic chieftains during times of danger, and in places of peril of wild woodkerne, who little respected even an ambassadorial officer. His petition, already noticed, of 1587, is dated from Clonagh Castle, in Kildare; and his suit was for a grant of Rathbride, a manor in this county, which was conceded to him, and became the seat of his descendants. Stowe mentions that on the trial of Sir Brian O'Rourke, in the year 1591, at Westminster, for various acts of high treason, "Master John Lye, of Rathbride, a gentleman out of Ireland, was appointed to interpret between the Court and the traitor."

Captain John Lye, who wrote from Clonagh to the Secretary of State in 1599, was perhaps the son and successor of the State Interpreter, who died, full of years, in 1612, and lies buried under a flat tombstone, in the graveyard of Kildare Cathedral, near the large ash-tree, with this brief inscription:—

"John Ly de Rabrid, armiger, et Amy FitzGerald, anno 1612."

The grandson of the interpreter, and author of the chorographic treatise about to be given, became "Robert Leigh, Esq., of Rosegarland" (in the county of Wexford), which ample estate was conferred on him for his loyalty to the exiled Charles II. The proofs of devotion to the royal grantor are acknowledged in the patent grant,

¹ Add. M.S. Brit. Mus. 4790, p. 317.

which sets forth that:—"The King, being very sensible of the many services performed to him at all times by Robert Leigh, Esq., both in foreign countries, in the time of his exile, and at home since his restoration, in recompense thereof," bestowed on him, for these honourable considerations, which diametrically differed from the reasons for the numerous grants of the period, the extensive property still possessed by his descendant, F. A. Leigh, Esq.

The original treatise is in the possession of Sir Thomas Philipps, Bart., Middle Hill, Worcestershire, by whom a copy was obligingly communicated to the editor. When it was transmitted to Sir William Petty, it was accompanied by the following letter from the writer, who probably penned the MS. at Rathbride, his seat in the county of Kildare, as he speaks of being at a distance from Wexford, and this absence from the district he describes accounts in some degree for much of the omissions he apologizes for:—

"SIR,—The time drawing now neere in which you tould me you intended to rid yourself of the worke you had in hand in order to the Irish Atlas, I send you herewith, tho' very imperfect, the best account I can (at this distance) give you of the Countye of Wexford. I neede not desire you to make use only of such off the particulars as you shall judge proper for publique view, but shall entreat you to take no notice of my being your Intelligencer, for though I have with all the certainty I am able tould you all the Remarkable things I could call to mind in those parts, yett its possible some persons may take it amisse their concerns were forgotten. I have made mention of myself upon occasion of my concerns in the County, and should be glad (if it consists with your method) those few words, or some that may expresse the same truth might be incerted, otherwise by no meanes, for I desire it not soe much out of ambition as I doe to shew my gratitude for benefits received, and in hopes that others of my father's posteritye may be the more moved to serve their King here after, for the Example's sake.

"I am, sir, yr. affectionate kinsman,

"and humble servant,

"ROBERT LEIGH.

"I wish you may be able to read these papers, for besydes the want of skill in the dictating part, the boy that writt has comitted many faults alsoe, which I beg you to excuse."

Although our chorographer evidently felt more interest in the antiquities of his native land than, as we imagine, the ordinary rural gentlemen of his time experienced, he might well style his treatise "very imperfect." His description of New Ross and the adjacent baronies is a mere superficial account of half the shire of Wexford, comprising the country that had come immediately under his observation; and, although he was no Gallio so far as archaics are concerned, he deserves little praise for a literary performance he might easily have rendered full, accurate, and valuable.

(To be continued.)

EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL OF THOMAS DINELEY,
ESQUIRE, GIVING SOME ACCOUNT OF HIS VISIT TO
IRELAND IN THE REIGN OF CHARLES II.

COMMUNICATED BY EVELYN PHILIP SHIRLEY, ESQ., M.A., M.P.

WITH NOTES BY JOHN O'DONOVAN, LL.D., M.R.I.A.

[Continued from Vol. I., *New Series*, page 188.]

LANGUAGE.—The Language is spoke in the Throat like y^e Welch. It is sharp and sententious, with quick apothegmes¹ and proper allusions, wherefore their comon Jesters, Bards, and Rimers, are very pleasant to those that are well vers^t in the s^d Language.

The true Irish differeth so much from what they comonly speake, that it is rare to meet with one who can either write, read, or understand it, unless it be a learn'd Irish Schoolmaster, who setts much by himself upon that score; wherefore it is prescrib'd among certein their Poetes and other Irish students of Antiquity. They have also a distinct character from us, an Alphabet whereof was bestow'd on me at Rallahine² Castle, in the county of Clare.

They differ also so in their speaking since their Rebellion, and their very language is so confounded, that of different countreys they understand one another not without difficulty.³ Though they that do speake English here throughout the whole Kingdom speake it generally better and more London-like⁴ then in most places of England.

This language hath an affinity with the Welch, according to the

¹ This account of the Irish language is taken nearly verbatim from Campion's "Historie of Irelande," cap. iv., Dub. ed. 1809.

² *Rallahine Castle* (in Irish *Rát Láirín*, Anglice nunc, Rathlaheen).—A ruined castle, situated in a townland of the same name, in the parish of Tomfinlough, barony of Upper Bunratty, and county of Clare. This castle belonged in 1584 to Donnell, son of Sioda Mantach Mac Namara.

³ *Not without difficulty*.—This is also the case in England. An English attorney, a native of Northumberland, removed to Kent, where he lived for twenty years without visiting his rustic friends in the North. After the lapse of twenty years and three weeks, at length, however, he paid them a visit, when he found that they could not under-

stand his new dialect; and they flocked from all quarters to hear Cousin Bob talk South country language, which entirely lacketh "thee" and "thou." The attorney himself told me this in Gray's Inn, in the year of our Lord, 1846.

⁴ *More London-like*.—The reason is plain, because they had not English long enough among them to have it split into dialects. The inhabitants of the Islands of Aran, in the Bay of Galway, where Cromwell established an English colony, speak better English than the natives of Dublin. At the time of our author, however, the English language was not so much *italicised* in London as it is at present. The author of a Welch grammar, printed in 1595, observes that the females in London are beginning to pronounce *a*, *é*, and *é*, *i*, (*ee*)!!

learned Antiquary Cambden, who calleth y^e great number of British words in use among the Irish infinitam vim Britannicarum dictionum; he believes also that they first inhabited this land.

The chief followers of Strongbow in y^e conquest of this nation under Hen. 2^d were Welch and borderers, as [*blank in original*], Walshes, &c. In the Bishoprick of Loughlin, there is a Town call'd Villa Wallicorum¹ anciently. The Walshes by name were possess't among [*blank in original*].

Careg and Craig, in the Welsh Tongue, signifieth Rock or Stone; and of the British Welch are *Carreg Fergus*² (a seaport and Garrison, fronting part of Scotland as Dunbritan Fyrth Water, Arren Isles, Dunanart Castle, &c.); elsewhere are Craig-mont Griffin in the county of Wicklow; Carreg in Shurie; Carrigaaspin; Craig-Owhny Castle, whereof the Walshes of Worcestershire once had possession, whose Chappel is adjoining to y^e ruines of Abby Owny,³ the prospect of which Craig Owhny I have touched off page []; and Craigwading also received its name from the Brittaines.

*Llis*⁴ also in British signifieth a Court or Pallace, of which in the Kingdom of Ireland are Lisfenin, Lismore, Lislofty, Lismakery, Liskaloge, anciently belonging to the Mac Mahones, now in the hands of George Ross, Esq^r as tenant to Henry Earle of Thomond.

Glyn, or Glan,⁵ are British words; of these you have in Ireland Glinmoloura, Glandmelurr, or Glanmelour, neer which is a famous spaw water, within less than two small miles of Ballendery, the estate of Mr. Henry Temple, in the county of Wicklow, whose mansion house I have sketch't out, page [].

Glangibbon, Glinregnold, Glynburry,⁶ Glyndelory,⁷ and Glyn,⁸ belonging to Major Fits Gerald, in the county of Limerick, whose scituation, see page [].

¹ *Villa Wallicorum*.—Which some think was originally called Graig na mBreathnach, i.e. the "graigne" or town of the Britons, or Welshmen. Keating mentions Graig-na mBreathnach, but it is probable that by it he meant Walshe's Graigue, in the county of Meath.

² *Carreg-Fergus*, &c.—The words carraig, carraig, carraig, cneag, are of more frequent occurrence in Irish than in Welsh. The word is, however, common to both dialects, and, therefore, no argument can be adduced to show which is the *original*, because both nations had the word and its derivatives at the same time.

³ *Abby Owny* (mannistir Uamhne).—Now Abington, county of Limerick. It was granted to Captain Walshe, in the fifth year of the reign of Elizabeth; but it was forfeited by his family in 1641.

⁴ *Llis* (Llior)—Is also an Irish word, and

is applied to ten thousand forts of earth. It is simply an enclosure of earth, and has no dignity attached to it. Its diminutive, Lliorin (*lisheen*), is applied to a great number of very small earthen forts. Liskaloge is now called Fort Fergus; on the river Fergus, county of Clare.

⁵ *Glan* (*Gleann*)—Is also an Irish word, as well as British. Glenmelurr is called by the Irish Gleann Maolighra. It was the name of the seat of Fiach O'Byrne, celebrated by the poet Spenser.

⁶ *Glangibbon*, *Glinregnold*, *Glynburry*.—Should be Clangibbon, &c. Our tourist got these names from books.

⁷ *Glyndelory*.—This is one of the names of Glenmalurr, above mentioned, which shows that the tourist had it from reading.

⁸ *Glyn*.—The seat of the Knights of Glyn was called by the Irish Gleann Corbraighe. See "Annals of the Four Masters."

Innis, Inis, or Enish, signifying an Island in Welch and Irish, or other British, occasion'd these proper names in Ireland, as Inis-Corthie, Inissirocan, Enish Mac Ony,¹ Enish Erkey,² Enish Jerbied, Enish Kirked, which four last islands are the proper estate of the noble Henry Earle of Thomond, which so abound in venison that at the season, in boats between these Islands, I have seen his hunts-men halter at-trap, and put ropes upon y^e heads of good bucks in the water. Inishoven,³ Inisdiock,⁴ Inisinag.⁵

Rath,⁶ signifying a large ditch, moate, or trench, or lough, in Irish as well as British, hath form'd several names,—as Rathfoelane⁷ Castle and Mote, belonging to Mr. Henry Colpoys, a very worthy English gentleman.

Many of the moats, as well as the forts encompassed, were first made by the Danes. Beda⁸ will have Rathe a Saxon word, and many places in this kingdome are compounded therewith; but it is mostly thought British. Stanihurst sayth Omnes Insulæ locos et lacos [lucus] Wallici nominis gloria implevit. The Renown of the Welsh name⁹ hath filled all the places and groves of the Isle of Ireland.

IRISH BURIALLS.—Monsieur Muret, translated by Mr. Lorrain, concerning Rites of Funerall, ancient & modern, page 131, chap. 8,

¹ *Enish Mac Ony*.—These four islands, belonging to the Earl of Thomond, are now the property of Colonel Wyndham, and are situated in the estuary of the Shannon. Enish-macowney belongs to the parish of Kildysart, and contains 200 acres. Enish-Erkey is a small island at the confluence of the Shannon and the Fergus; and Enish Jerbied is now, and was then called, Enish-Tubbrid.

² *Enish Erkey*.—Sherkey Island. Enish-Kirked was an old name of that now called Canon Island.

³ *Inishoven* (Innr Eoğun, Owen's Island).—There are several islands of this name in Ireland.

⁴ *Inisdiock*.—Inistioge in the county of Kilkenny; now Innr Uéag, anciently Innr Teoc.

⁵ *Inisinag*.—Also in the county of Kilkenny, situated near the confluence of the Callan, or King's, river with the Nore, near Thomastown.

⁶ *Rath*.—Is not derived from the Welsh. The word never signifies 'a lough'; the Welsh settlers did not carry it with them into Ireland, nor did they retain their own Welsh language for any number of generations. They forgot it totally, and adopted the Irish, as the Walshes of the Walsh mountains, in the barony of Knocktopher, county of Kilkenny; the Barretts and Lynotts of Tirawley, in the county of Mayo; the Barretts of the county of Cork; the Joyces of the barony of Ross, in the west of the county of

Galway. These certainly forgot their Welsh language, and, in general, their Welsh origin, very early, and became more Irish than the Firlbolgs or Milesian Irish.

⁷ *Rathfoelane*.—Is a townland in the parish of Kilnasoolagh, near Newmarket, county of Clare, the property of Sir Lucius O'Brien (now Lord Inchiquin). The family of Colpoys is almost extinct in this county. The first of them known there was a merchant residing in Limerick, who purchased from the factor of a Cromwellian adventurer a property in the parish of Tulla. The last of them, Major Colpoys, is dead about thirty-two years. His property was inherited by George O'Callaghan, Esq., whose son sold it to James Molony, Esq.

⁸ *Beda*.—Where does he say so?

⁹ *The renown of the Welsh name*.—They do not appear to have carried any words with them which remain in Ireland, except perhaps *Graig*, and even this is not now recognised as Welsh. The word Lhan had been introduced by the Welsh saints centuries before the English invasion. Grange is not Welsh, but an Anglo-Norman word, derived from the Medieval Latin, *Grangia*. The family named Welsh, in Irish *bryeactnao*, i.e. *Britannicus*, which is unquestionably of British or Cymric descent, is very numerous in Ireland, and sufficiently respectable; but they were never of any great importance in Ireland, like the Geraldines, Butlers, Barrys, Roches, Powers, Berminghams, &c.

speaks of the Caribees, who inhabit the Antilee-Islands. Concerning their Howlings and Lamentations, wherewith they entertain the dead corps, to which they add the most ridiculous and nonsensical discourses imaginable. And not much unlike y^e vulgar Irish. They talk to him of the best Fruits their Country doth afford, telling him that he might have eaten of them as much as he would. They put him in mind of the Love his family had for him, and the reputation he lived in, &c., reproaching him above all for dying, as if it had been in his power to prevent it. As for example:—They tell him, Thou might'st have lived so well, and made so good cheer. Thou didst want neither Manioc, nor Potato's, Bananes, nor Ananas. As y^e Irish, Thou didst want nor Usquebath,¹ Oat-cakes,² Sweet milk,³ Bonny clobber,⁴ Mallahaune,⁵ Dilisk,⁶ Slugane,⁷ good Spoals.⁸ How is it, then, that thou diedst? Thou didst live in so great esteem with all men, every one did love and respect thee; what is the matter, then, that thou art dead? Thy freinds and Relations were so kind to thee, their greatest care was onely to please thee and to lett thee lack nothing; pray tell us, then, why didst thou think of dying?⁹ Thou wast so usefull and serviceable to the country, thou hadst signaliz'd thyself in so many Battells, thou wast our defence and security from the assault and fury of our enemies; why is it, then, that thou art dead?¹⁰

¹ *Usquebath* (uirce beata).—i. e. *aqua vite*, now whiskey.

² *Oat-cakes*.—Still used, and right good food they are.

³ *Sweet-milk*.—Either leathnaót, or milk after being skimmed, before it turns sour.

⁴ *Bonny clobber*.—Written Bonnyclabber in Sheridan's and Johnson's Dictionaries, where it is defined "sour buttermilk." The term is now obsolete. It seems to be intended for bainne clabair, muddy milk—blátao, gen. na blátainne, is now the general word for butter-milk in Ireland and Scotland, so that blátao géar would be the present term corresponding with bonnyclabber, or sour butter-milk. The Bard Ruidh (O'Daly) calls it bearg-blátao.—"Tribes of Ireland," p. 72.

⁵ *Mallahaune* (malaóan).—This word is still used in Leinster, Ulster, and the Highlands of Scotland to denote *cheese*.

⁶ *Dilisk*.—Duilleac, or salt leaf, is still well known in every part of Ireland.

⁷ *Slugane* (sleabán).—This word is still well known. It is usually anglicised "*slough*."

⁸ *Spoals*.—Spólao is still a living word, denoting "*a joint of meat*." Sponblín méit na h-Iníoe was a small joint stuck in the púic on Shrovetide, to remain there till Easter. It was then held sacred, and he who tasted it first on Easter Sunday was secure against disease during the next year.

⁹ *Of dying*.—"Paddy, my darling, you knew that we had potatoes enough for this year, and why did you die?" Words of Dr. Wilde in his last lecture on the Potato, before the Royal Irish Academy, 1856.

¹⁰ *Why is it that thou art dead?*—The Elegy on the death of Edmond Welsh, who was drowned in an inundation of the river *Dincon*, begins:—"A 'Eabmoinn an péirín go bfuair tú bás?"—O Edmond! is it possible that thou hast died? In the Elegy on the death of John (son of William, son of William, son of Cornelius, son of Edmond O'Donovan), who died in 1797, without issue, his female keeper, Bridget Dwyer, says—

A Sheagán uí Ónnabáin mo díomáda péin tu!

A dúineáin diann b'árb-fuil na péile,
Cóg ruar do deann a' ladair leob óile,
D'fag tú gan fear gan mac ag géar-fuil.

O John O'Donovan, my own grief thou art!

Thou beauteous scion of the high blood of generosity,
Lift up thy head, and speak to thy wife,
Whom thou has left without a husband,
without a son bitterly lamenting!

Which last words are allways the Burthen of the Howle and Song to both people, and the conclusion of all their complaints, which they repeat 1000 times, reckoning over all the actions of his life, with all the advantages wherewith he was endow'd.

This done, y^e Irish bury their dead, and if it be in or neer y^e burying place of that family, the servants & followers hugg kiss howle

Ní an iaraóic a raḡainn aḡ iarraib do
ḡaelca,
Cáib riab ḡo raipriṅ amearḡ na
bcréan-ḡear,
O Shab Ua ḡ-Crúinn ḡo binn an féice,
'S ón n ḡneanaig ḡo Carrraig na n-aenac.
A b-ḡiú báin, óoir Sruipe cá an béig-
ḡear,
A nḡndiḡ ó b-ḡinn cá oiribe na
n-beig-beanc;
Anoir ní raḡab ḡo baile na nḡeipleac,
Mar a raib an marcaó 'ran raḡarc
'ran éibe,
Do bí ḡear bpedḡ bíob a bDorc
Láirge an fíona,
ḡear a mDaile Shac do ḡuideac
marḡ gan thaoibearḡ,
ḡear ciuin a Ror ríio ḡriuin na
caoibe,
ḡear brollaig ḡil 'na óoblaó a ḡCill
bhiriḡbe,
A b-cḡaḡ a óuib eopna an mḡlce.

"I need not go borrow relations^a for thee,

They are widely spread among the mighty
men,
From Slieve-Grine^b to Bunnaneigh^c
And from Granny to Carrick of the fairs.

At Fidown^d upon the Suir lives the good
man,
At Graigue-Oveen^e lives the heart of good
deeds.

I will not now go to Ballynearl,^f
Where the horseman lived and the robed
priest.

There was an excellent man of them at winy
Waterford,^g

A man at Ballyhack,^h who did good without
boasting,

A mild man at Ross-mic-Triuinⁱ of the
tide,

A white-breasted man of them rests at Kil-
bride,

Whose barley supported the thousands.^m

^a *Borrow relations.*—This is a sneering observation on some of the professional keepers, who claimed relations that did not belong to the dead man.

^b *Slieve-Grine.*—Now Tory-hill.

^c *Bunnaneigh.*—A place near Graige-namanagh.

^d *Fidown.*—In the barony of Iverk, where lived one of the family of Denn.

^e *Graigue-Oveen.*—A townland in the barony of Iverk, where Cornelius O'Donovan lived.

^f *Ballynearl.*—A townland, where John O'Donovan, the father of Edmond, P.P. of Kilmacow, lived. Both were dead when this Elegy was delivered.

^g *Waterford.*—Dominic, son of John of Ballynearl.

^h *Ballyhack.*—In the county of Wexford, opposite Passage. My grandfather did not know who this relative was.

ⁱ *Ross-mic-Triuin.*—Now New Ross, in the county of Wexford. My grandfather used to say that this alluded to a Mr. Kavanagh, a merchant in Ross, who was his second cousin. Mr. Kinsella, lately Mayor of

Wexford, was descended from him.

^k *Supported the thousands.*—This was Marcus More Hüberlin, of Bawnagealoe, who was a Protestant, but much attached to the native Irish; he fed many persons on his barley after the failure of the potatoes in 1740.

I should like to add the following lines, composed by his sister, over the body of John O'Brien, who was contemporary with my grandfather, but who died a young man, recently married, without children. She first tells him "to get up, and meet his people, who had gone to the town to buy a coffin for him, to tell them that such a wooden box was not required; that John O'Brien was again alive and well, and intended to go to the town next day to buy a new gown for his young wife." He did not respond to this call, and the sister, in a paroxysm of real grief, raves, rambles in her diacourse, accuses the fairies of having carried him off for his youth and beauty; recovers from her delirium, accuses death of injustice, and, after giving vent to her rage against the black tyrant, she recovers from her divine intoxication and returns to humanity, feels that

and weep over the skulls that are there digg'd' up & once a week for a quarter of an year after come two or three and pay more noyse at the place.

The aforementioned Indians instead of laying out their dead, they bind them upp in y^e same form as they lay in y^e womb, thus—having wash't it carefully they colour it over wth red, rub his head with oyle, comb y^e hair; this being done, they bind his legs to his thighs, and put his elbowes between his leggs, tying down his face upon his hands, in y^e usual posture as an infant is in y^e belly of his mother; then they swaddle it up in linnen for buriall, which is in a grave round like a tun, wth various ceremonies, w^{ch} see Muret, page 133.

Severall nations in Asia thought themselves guilty of great impiety should they lett their dead become a repast for worms: wherefore as soon as any one was dead amongst them, they did cut the body to pieces, mixing it with mutton, beef, or the like, which mince meat they eat with singular gust and devotion. They outvyed the Doctrine of Pythagoras, y^t Philosopher maintaining onely a Metempsychosis, or the transmigration of soules into other bodies; whereas these put in practice the transmigration of dead bodies into living

†*Skulls that are there digged.*—I never heard of this custom, nor do I believe that it is true. The Irish of our own times used to

go frequently to lament at the grave of the deceased relative, which is the custom still, and sometimes slept and died on it.

her brother is really dead, and begins to describe the beauty of his person as follows :—

Coirceogair mé aḡ an cailín leat:
Ói bá dóir deara aḡab,
Dá deatnaíha ḡeala aḡab,
Com fearḡ cailce aḡab,
Dá fíinneán leatana,
Deab péarlac glan aḡab,
ḡruab álamn batamail,
Sáil dáoin ḡlar aḡab,
ḡré a d-ḡuḡ na mná caitneamh dúit
 A Shedan O!!

I will begin at the ground with thee.
Thou hast two handsome legs,
Two white thighs,
A slender, chalk-like waist,
Two broad shoulders,
Pearly fine teeth,
A cheek beautifully coloured,
A fine gray eye—
For which the women loved thee,
 O John! oh!

These are the real outpourings of untutored Nature, and a few specimens of natural elegies of this kind would be worth all the poetic elegies of the insincere bards; but it would be very hard to procure a genuine spe-

cimen now, as the people are beginning to feel ashamed of them, and unwilling to repeat them from fear of ridicule, of which they are very sensitive.

All decent, half-civilized people now laugh at these elegies, and hence the better class of farmers have entirely given them up, except in very few instances, where some old female member of the family cannot be restrained from venting her grief in the real old strain of poetry, accompanying it with that howling which seems now to be almost peculiar to the old Irish. John O'Brien's sister adds :—

bá deap é do com a nḡabal an deácta,
bá deap í do fliarab a nḡallast
 ḡraénaḡ,
bá dḡeaḡ é do fearaíh ar mḡaḡab ar
 ar aénaḡ,
Oó a Shedan, mo ḡrúḡ na cḡréḡ ríon.
Handsome was thy waist in the fork of the
 plough.
Handsome was thy thigh in the red leathered
 saddle,
Noble was thy figure at the market and the
 fair.
Alas! John, my love, wilt thou forsake us?

ones. HORACE tells us in his Poems that y^e ancient Irish-men¹ and Britains used this inhumane cruelty only on the bodies of strangers. —Hor. lib. 1. Od.

The manner of burying their dead is much alike through the whole Countrey parts of Ireland. In Citties and Towns the ceremony is perform'd with less noyse.

It will not be amiss to take notice of it in this place, because it is a work of mercy, and properly of Christian Charity.

In Dublin, Limerick, Cork, &c., they bury after the manner of the citties and towns, & according to the Church of England, & without any unusual ceremony; but in the countreyes, countrey towns, & villages it varies. Here they have their wakes in attendance of the Dead Bodies, about which the vulgar light as many candles as they well can by night, & adorn it with flowers, sewen to the shroud, as

¹ *Ancient Irish-men.*—Horace surely does not mention the ancient IRISH. His words are—

"Visam Britannos hospitibus feros
Et lætum equino sanguine Concanum."

Carmin. lib. iii., Od. iv., l. 88.

An ancient scholiast adds, that the ancient Britons used to eat their guests; but Baxter asserts that he intended the Irish! His words are:—"Hoc de Hibernis magis intelligendum. Sanctus Hieronymus scribit se duos Scotos (i. e. Hibernos) in Galliâ vidisse humano cadavere vescentes. Nostrâ etiam tempestate superbissimi sunt in eâ insulâ contra peregrinos, seque solos homines putantes reliquos pro brutis pæne habent"!! Was St. Jerome doating (as Pelloutier and Dr. O'Connor conjecture), or calumniating the Scotie heretics, whom he accuses elsewhere of eating strabour! This irate Father of the Church, alluding to a criticism of Celestius upon his Commentaries on the Epistle of St. Paul to the Ephesians, thus vents his rage against this Scot, who lived in the neighbourhood of Britain; but it is rather curious that he accuses him of eating *stir-about*, not the buttocks of boys or the breasts of girls:—

"Nec recordatur stolidissimus, et Scotorum pulchibus pragravatus, nos in ipso dirisæ opere: non damno digamos, imo nec trigamos," &c.

Camplon, however, who was in Ireland in the year 1567, and who was not a rabid calumniator of the Irish people, like Hammer, or even Spenser, believes that the pagan Irish used to eat human flesh. Hear his words:—

"Solinus writeth that they woonted (because they would seem terrible and martiall) to embue their faces in the bloude of their ennemyes slaine. Strabo, the famous geographer, who flourished under Augustus and Tiberius Cæsar more than fiftene hundred yeares agoe, telleth (without asseveration) that the Irish were greattie gluttons, eaters of man's flesh, and counted it honourable for parents deceased to be eaten up of their children; and that in open sight they meddled with their wives, mothers, and daughters: which is the less incredible considering what St. Hierome avoucheth of the Scots their offspring and allies,* and what all histories doe witnesse of the Scythians their auncient founders."—*Historie of Ireland*, cap. vi., Dub. ed., p. 22.

* *Their offspring, &c.*—The good Camplon is here wrong. The *Scoti* of St. Jerome were the Irish themselves, and not the Scots of North Britain, their descendants and allies. St. Jerome's words are very plain indeed:—"Quid loquar de cæteris nationibus, quum ipse adolescentulus in Galliâ viderim Scotos, gentem Britannicam, humanis vesci carnibus, et quum per sylvas porcorum greges pecu-

dumque reperiant, tamen puerorum nates et feminarum papillas solere abscindere, et has solas ciborum delicias abitrari."

Jerome speaks very gravely, and of what he saw; but he says, also, that he was whipped by an angel for reading Cicero! How, it might be gravely asked, did the *Scoti* get the thighs of boys and the breasts of girls to feed on in Gaul?

the Romans strewed and sprinkled flowers and sweet odors upon the funerall Monument of Scipio.

The Rose particularly was much in use in this ceremony, according to Anacreon, his prayers thereof in one of his Odes:—

Medicatur hæc et ægris
Defendit hæc sepultos.

The custome of burning dead bodies continued among the Romans until A° Dni MCC. Then they buried in the ground. At these Burialls they used to hire woemen mourners of the shrillest voices who, assembling at places appoynted, cried out, making great noyse & moan. The Jewes are best at this, as being—

Fruitfull in tears; tears that still ready stand
To sally forth, and but expect command.

Iuven., Sat. 6.

Though hideous exclamations and howlings are the custome with the Irish at this Duty, yett their Ololoos are watered with few teares, though I have heard them keep up a lamentable dolefull noyse, such as (saith S^r George Sandys in his Journall) may appear by the Ironical personating of a father following of his son's exequies, introduced by Lucian thus:—O my sweet son, thou art lost, thou art dead; dead before thy day, and has left me behind, of men the most miserable. Not experienced in the satisfaccōn of a wife, comforts of children, Warfare, husbandry, not attain'd to ripeness of age. Henceforth, O my son, thou shalt not eat, nor love, nor be drunk among thy equals.

Besides a great number of the vulgar male Irish labourers and servants, here come in the countrey troops of their friends, horsemen, to do honour to the defunct freind or neighbour.

They are banquetted and made much of at the house, accordingly, and dole is given to the poor mercenary howlers, who generally, at Church or Church yard, encompass the next heire with an high note, who more silently laments, if he doth at all,¹ according to Aulus Gellius—

Hæredis flectus sub persona risus.

¹ *If he doth at all.*—This is all drawn from the tourist's imagination. The heirs lamented and generally shed tears of sincere sorrow; but the professional keeners merely howled, and pretended to weep. This is quite natural, and no one need wonder at it.

I have consulted a great number of persons upon the ceremonies that were carried on at Irish wakes towards the close of the last century, and have received strange and inconsistent accounts. The following, from

the Very Rev. John Kenny, Roman Catholic Dean of Killaloe, who knows more of the manners and customs of the native Irish of his time than perhaps any man now living, is well worth preserving. It was written by him in a letter to the Editor, dated September 9, 1856. It should be premised that he describes the wake of an old woman of considerable respectability:—

"Crying at funerals is now almost unknown in [the county of] Clare; but fifty

Or, according as he is left by his father, in Persius, Sat. 6 :—

If thou impair thy Wealth, thy angried here
Of thy last funeral feast will take small care;
And with neglect into thy Urn will throw
Thy bones without perfumes, careless to know
Whether he buy dull smelling Cinnamon
Or Cassia corrupt with cherry gumme.

Funerals in any expensive way, as with us, are in these dayes thought vain, I having neither seen nor heard of but one in above a twelve-months travail in the Kingdom of Ireland, performed with the ceremonial rites of Obsequies, viz. A. D. 1681, that of y^e much-lamented daughter of S^r William King, the present Governor of Limerick. So that dayly not onely there but here, Nobles and Gentry of eminent condicōn & offices are either secretly convey'd to their Sepulture in the dark, or with the light as it were of a dark-lanthorne,

years since the cry was kept up so incessantly that it required some exertion to restrain it during the funeral service at the very grave. The attendants at the funeral, whose friends may have been buried in the same church-yard, generally went to their own family tombs to bewail the loss of their deceased relatives. This is yet practised.

"I never heard a professional keener but once,—more than fifty years since. Her name was Brody, and she was engaged at every wake in the district. As it may amuse you to get a programme of the proceedings, here it is for you :—

"The old woman who was dead was little regretted by her neighbours, and possibly by her surviving partner, who provided a very plentiful supply of whiskey, tobacco, bread, meat, &c., for the mock mourners. I arrived about 11 o'clock at night, when the company had about half assembled. As soon as about a dozen or so was arranged at the door of the dwelling-house, they proceeded to the large room, in which the body was laid out in state, and cried in chorus for some minutes. They were next conducted to another room, in which there was a very profuse supply of eatables, of which they partook. The third move was to a very large barn, in which spirituous liquors of every kind, and tobacco in profusion, with pipes, were distributed.

"The keener never left the corpse for the night. I think she joined every party who cried; but certainly, when the delay between the departure of one batch of mourners from the corpse and the arrival of another happened to be long, she commenced a most plaintive dirge.

"As far as I now recollect it, the attention of the wake folk was much engaged by her; so much so that the room in which she was, though provided with no creature comfort but tobacco and snuff, was much more crowded than the other apartments, in which every luxury was provided. I have no recollection of the substance even of her *Caoineadh*.

"This poor woman was living in 1810, many years after I saw her at the wake. I heard she was of the celebrated family of Bruodin, though she was, in the country, called Brody.

"I can add nothing from the traditions of the county during my own very long life to what you must have often read of the class of *keeners*, who are now extinct in Clare.

"The *abuses* at wakes were so *very great* that, on my appointment to a parish in 1815, I so far discountenanced them that I almost suppressed them in my own parish."

I cannot here resist the temptation of inserting the account of Irish wakes given by another gentleman, of the neighbouring province of Connaught, Denis H. Kelly, of Castlekelly, Esq., chief of his name, who is doing all in his power to preserve the literature of old Ireland, and to illustrate the ancient manners and customs of his ancestors. It was communicated in a letter to the Editor, dated Castlekelly, February 27, 1858 :—

"It is so many years ago since (in my youth) I witnessed the humours of an Irish wake, that I have had to refresh my recollection by inquiring amongst the oldest of our people. From them, I collect that the corpse of the deceased is dressed in clean white

or niggardly buried in the day time, scutcheon'd by some daubing country painter, without the attendance of any officer of Arms, whose dependance formerly used to be upon the performance of Funeral Rites and Exequies.

So that at this day also, not onely here but in England itself, by the neglect of Funeral State & slight of Heralds, the ancient Gentry are prejudic'd for want of publishing their armes & bearings on these occasions, whence have arisen doubts, questions, & suits of law touching their descents and Issues in future. To help on with which y^e daily Church Robberies obliterate the memories of the defunct, covetous filching, pilfrey (and the sordid opinion in some people already that Tombs and Monuments with Epitaphs relish of Roman superstition and Popery), having most sacrilegiously pict out, craz'd, and stoln away, for the metal sake, most of the Inscriptiōns, Epitaphs, Arms, Pedigrees, & history of families upon the goodly Tombes of

grave-clothes, is stretched on its back, on a table in the middle of the room, with five or seven candles round it, according to the circumstances of the defunct (the larger number being used by the wealthier). On the breast of the corpse is placed a plate of tobacco, cut in short lengths, and a plate of snuff.

"A boy stands at the door with a basket of pipes, and each person helps himself according to his inclination. There are seats ranged round the wall, and immediately behind the corpse's head is the place of honour, where sit the chief mourners and most respected guests, amongst whom, in wakes of the higher classes, sits the *keener*.

"When members of the deceased's family or dear friends come in, they bend over the body, and cry, and all in the room join in the chorus.

"When persons who are no relatives come in, they merely kneel down and say a short prayer, and then take a seat, and fill their pipe, and smoke.

"In the inside room are generally beer and spirits, and those who are thought most of are entertained there.

"In the course of the evening, persons dressed as Irish Jack Straws and Jack Puddings come in, and go on with vulgar buffoonery, apparently little in character with so solemn an occasion; but it is done, as the French say, *pour distraire*.

"When the corpse is to be buried, it is placed in the coffin, and carried out feet foremost by four persons of the same name as the deceased; and four persons, also of his name, are supposed to commit him to the earth.

"The professional *Caoineoir* is now extinct in this part of the country, but is well remembered in the barony of Athlone, near

Taghmaconnell, and also in Clare and Mayo.

"The *Caoineadh* was originally an elegiac poem; but I know of no modern specimen of it. There is, in a MS. in the Academy, a copy of a *Caoineadh* made for one of the O'Connor's Failghe, I think for the father of Maurice O'Connor, Lady Desert's father. The Lament of Deirdrè over the sons of Uisneach is a good specimen; and that of Finnheartach over the sons of Turlough, another."

The abuses above referred to by Dr. Kenny and Mr. Kelly were very many in the barony of Ida, county of Kilkenny, when the Editor was a child. So great was the amusement carried on at an Irish wake-house, that all the young persons of both sexes were anxiously on the look-out for the deaths of certain old men and women in the parish. When some of the young men met a very old poor woman, the usual salutation was:—"How are you to-day, Biddy? you are living a long time. What time will you give us the pleasant night over you? We are expecting it now for the last seven years, and you are still as tough as ever, though you are near a hundred years old!"

Various comedies, or rather farcical buffooneries, were carried on during the night, the principal of which was called the *fransa*, a word of which I have never been able to discover the origin or derivation. During this mock ceremony several young men and women were married by a mock priest (usually a weaver or a tailor, called *Robert Sagart*), who was generally in attendance at all the wakes in his parish, and who was the life and soul of the whole farce. He was usually dressed in robes made of straw; his stole was a huge *sugaw* made of oaten straw, and his vestments were mats of the same

our worthy ancestors. O that care were taken yett to preserve what remain !¹ for to my knowledge, not only in Ireland but England itself, monuments of the dead are thus abus'd.

material. He usually carried a huge Paidrin, or beads, made of potatoes of different sizes, on a string, surmounted by a huge frog for a cross. He commenced the profane ceremony by blessing himself with his left hand, and then repeated in Latin, "Ego jungo vos in matrimonium," &c. After each couple was married, he put them to bed in a corner of the room, sprinkling them with water, and, pronouncing a mock blessing upon them in Latin and Irish—"Crescite et multiplicamini" and adding, "Now that ye are joined in the holy bonds of matrimony, may the full blessing of the beggars descend upon you; may ye have plenty of ragged children," &c.

But this blessing was varied according to the genius and humour of the pseudo-priest, who sometimes gave the married couple plain advice about their future conduct as man and wife, and which was generally of so ludicrous a character as to create much laughter. His drollery was exhaustless, but generally gross, and always in bad taste, and intentionally un-instructive. These profane fooleries grew up in wild luxuriance in the days of Ireland's most depressed state, and were continued till finally

put down by the vigilance and influence of the Roman Catholic clergy. These buffooneries were probably continuations of the dramatic performances of the more ancient Irish jesters at feasts and public fairs. See Josias Bodley's "Travels in Leicestershire," in the "Ulster Journal of Archaeology."

The venerable Charles O'Connor, of Belanagare, in a letter to his friend, J. C. Walker, Esq., of the Irish Treasury, dated August 15, 1786, remarks, in his reply to one of his queries—

"You inquire about the dramatic performances of the Irish; they had ludicrous farces at their entertainments, such, I suppose, as satisfied an ill-cultivated taste. I never met with any in writing, and such as were exhibited at wakes were wretched performances indeed."

¹ *To preserve what remain.*—It is to be hoped that our local antiquaries will do all in their power to preserve local monuments, and that family documents calculated to throw light on national history will be printed. Why do not the St. Laurences and the Butlers imitate the Marquis of Kildare?

(To be continued.)

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

GENERAL MEETING, held in the Assembly Rooms, Kilkenny, on
Wednesday, March 3rd, 1858,

THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF OSSORY, President of the Society,
in the Chair.

The following new Members were elected :—

The Very Rev. the Dean of Connor, Red Hall, Carrickfergus;
T. Rice Henn, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, 48, Upper Mount-street,
Dublin; and Robert Stephenson, Esq., Grimsby, Lincolnshire:
proposed by the Very Rev. the Dean of Leighlin.

Colonel Adair, 7, Audley-square, London; and John Ynyr
Burges, Esq., Parkanour, Dungannon: proposed by Lord Clermont.

Lady Emily Richardson, Somerset House, Coleraine: proposed
by the Rev. G. H. Reade.

The Hon. and Rev. Charles B. Bernard, M. A., Kilbrogan
Glebe, Bandon; and the Rev. Edward Bell, A. M., Enniskean,
Bandon: proposed by T. W. Belcher, Esq., M. D.

Edward P. Gribbon, Esq., Architect, 57, Lower Gardiner-st.,
Dublin: proposed by R. R. Brash, Esq.

John Herrick Corbett, Esq., C. E., 84, South Mall, Cork: pro-
posed by R. Corbett, Esq., M. D.

The Rev. Milward Croke, Assistant Chaplain to the Forces,
Parsonstown; and James R. Butler, Esq., Inspector of National
Schools, Parsonstown: proposed by the Rev. Joseph Rogers.

James Delany, Esq., 19 and 20, Westmoreland-street, Dublin:
proposed by the Rev. J. O'Hanlon.

Thomas Williams, Esq., Tipperary: proposed by W. Williams,
Esq.

The Auditors appointed at the Annual General Meeting then
laid before the Meeting the Accounts of the Treasurer for the year
1857, as under :—

CHARGE.

1857.		£	s.	d.
Jan. 1.	To Balance from last year's Account (vol. i. p. 285),	78	16	10
Dec. 31.	„ Members' Subscriptions, at 6s. each, received this year,	179	7	0
	„ Subscriptions, at 10s., for "Annuary," received this year,	8	0	0
	„ Cash received for advertisements,	0	13	8
	„ "Journal" sold to Members,	0	8	0
	„ Donations,	29	7	6
	„ Cash advanced by Treasurer,	25	10	2
		£322	3	2

DISCHARGE.

1857.		£	s.	d.
Dec. 31.	By Postages of the "Journal," circulars, and general correspondence,	27	19	6
	„ Cost of illustrations of "Journal,"	14	12	6
	„ Cost of printing, binding, and paper of "Journal" from January, 1856, to June, 1857,	177	9	5
	„ Cost of "Annuary" for 1855,	20	7	9
	„ „ General printing and stationery,	20	12	10
	„ „ Sundries, as per ledger,	10	18	0
	„ „ „ Mr. Gill's bill,	11	1	5
	„ „ Fuel at Meetings,	0	10	0
	„ „ Carriage of parcels,	0	6	9
	„ „ One year's rent of Museum, to Sep. 1857,	15	0	0
	„ „ Advertisements,	0	7	6
	„ „ Transcribing manuscripts at Lambeth Library and Oxford,	11	18	6
	„ „ Vol. I., first series, bought in,	4	4	0
	„ „ Concluding parts of O'Neill's "Crosses of Ireland,"	3	0	0
	„ „ Coins found at Clonmacnoise,	0	15	0
	„ „ Rent, and caretaker, Jerpoint Abbey,	3	0	0
		£322	3	2

We have examined this Account, and find that there is a balance of £25 10s. 2d. due to the Treasurer.

JAMES G. ROBERTSON. } Auditors.
BARRY DELANY, M. D. }

The Acting Treasurer said that the balance against the Society was more than covered by the arrears of subscriptions outstanding on December 31, 1857, some of which had since been paid in. But it could not be concealed that such an occurrence was most unsatis-

factory, and its recurrence very much to be deprecated. When gentlemen gave in their names as subscribers to this Society, they should recollect that in dependence on their good faith the Officers made themselves liable to heavy responsibilities. He was sorry to say that several persons had neglected to reply to his repeated applications for subscriptions due by them, although they had received the "Journal" of the Society for two entire years. He could not help saying that such conduct, although it might in some cases have proceeded from forgetfulness, yet had the appearance of being dishonourable, as well as uncourteous, and hoped he would not have to complain of it again. Members who wished to withdraw could say so at the cost of one penny, and if they then paid up subscriptions due, no one could blame them: he would, therefore, earnestly urge this course on the attention of those (a small class, he was glad to say) who were in debt to the Society for 1856 and 1857; and would most earnestly urge all Members, who had not yet discharged their liabilities for the current year, to do so at once. He would refrain from issuing a general call for some weeks after his observations were in the hands of Members, and he hoped that this reminder would not be without effect. £27 19s. 6d. postage was a disbursement that ought not to be forced on the Society. It was true that the free issue of the "Journal" by post cost £17 10s. during the year 1857; but the remaining £10 9s. 6d. was mainly caused by the neglect of Members to pay in their subscriptions early in the year, thus rendering the issue of circulars necessary: and to this latter disbursement must be added a considerable sum, for which credit was taken in the Accounts under the head of "Sundries," incurred by the discount on bills, which, in consequence of the non-payment of subscriptions in the early part of the year, were given in the first instance to the printer.

The Meeting having heartily concurred in the sentiments expressed by the Acting Treasurer, the Accounts were ordered to be printed.

The following presentations were received, and thanks ordered to be given to the donors:—

By Robert Mac Adam, Esq.: "The Ulster Journal of Archæology," No. 21.

By the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland: their "Journal," Nos. 55 and 56.

By the Cambrian Institute: "The Cambrian Journal," part 16.

By the Publisher: "The Builder," Nos. 780 to 784, inclusive.

By the Author: "The Law of Treasure-trove: how it can be best adapted to accomplish useful results," by A. Henry Rhind, F. S. A. London and Scotland, &c.

By the Author: "Numismatic, and other Crumbs," by Richard Sainthill, of Topsham, Devon (privately printed).

By the Publisher: "The Gentleman's Magazine," for February, 1858.

Mrs. R. Molyneux presented, on the part of V. Moriarty, Esq., R. M., Kerry, a Portuguese dollar.

Mr. John Dunn presented a silver sixpence of Edward IV., turned up in a field at Garryricken.

Dr. Barry Delany exhibited a very beautiful carving in oak, representing the Blessed Virgin and Child. Its history was not known, but it was probably of French workmanship, and from the bold and free, but at the same time conventional style of the sculpture, might be attributed to the middle or end of the thirteenth century. It was painted and gilt, the robe being blue, with gilt stars; but a portion, at all events, of the decoration was of a modern date. It appeared to have formed an ornament of a bracket or pendant.

Mr. J. G. Robertson exhibited a curious brass Dutch tobacco-box of the Williamite period. The lid and bottom were covered with grotesque carvings, and there were some remains of an illegible inscription. This class of antiquities, so frequently found in Ireland, appears to have been brought over by the Dutch troops of William III.

Mr. Robertson also exhibited a flint arrow-head of an uncommon type, and a leaden penny token, the latter inscribed, "P. Byrne, No. 28, cth. str."

The Rev. James Graves laid before the Meeting forty-three silver coins, forming a small portion of the "find" recorded already in the pages of their "Journal" (vol. i., first series, p. 359), as having occurred close to the celebrated "Seven Churches" of Clonmacnoise, and which he purchased for the Society during a visit to that place in the course of last autumn. He was glad to be able to append the following tabular list of these coins, supplied by Aquilla Smith, Esq., M. D., to whom he had submitted them:—

LIST OF COINS FOUND AT CLONMACNOISE, KING'S COUNTY.

Irish Coins.

Lot	1. Penny, Edward IV.,	Obv., rose and cross: rev., sun, . . .	1
"	2. Groats, "	Two of Dublin and two of Waterford, .	4
"	3. Half-groat, "	Base,	1
"	4. Groats, "	Obv., arms of England: rev., arms of Ireland,	4
"	5. Half-groat, "	Obv., arms of England: rev., arms of Ireland,	1
"	6. Groats, "	Obv., arms of England: rev., arms of Ireland: Fitzgerald arms at sides of the shield,	3

Lot 7. Groat, Richard III.,	Obv., arms of England: rev., arms of Ireland,	1
„ 8. Groats, Henry VII.,	“H” under the arms of Ireland: one with the Fitzgerald arms,	4
„ 9. Half-groat, „	Dublin Mint,	1
„ 10. Groat, „	Waterford,	1
„ 11. „ „	Dublin Mint,	2

English Coins.

Lot 12. Half-groats, Hen. VII., 1st Coinage,	Eboraci (York),	4
„ 13. „ „ „	London,	10
„ 14. „ „ „ 2nd „	Eboraci,	1
„ 15. „ „ „ 1st „	London,	5

The Secretary said, as they had before them some coins from Clonmacnoise this day, he thought it well to mention that the chancel arch of the ancient and most interesting church said to have been built by Dervorgilla, wife of O'Rourke, and paramour of Dermot Mac Murrough, after her retirement to the nunnery there, had been thrown down by idle persons some years since, and was now lying in ruins. The rector of the parish, the Rev. Charles A. Vignoles, had obtained permission from Captain Johnston, the proprietor of the land on which the ruins stand, to have it restored, and he thought some exertion ought to be made to effect this object through the instrumentality of the Society.

The Meeting fully concurred in the desirability of carrying out the suggestion; and the Rev. James Graves, having undertaken to write to persons likely to take an interest in such a work, was requested to report progress at the next meeting of the Society.

The Rev. James Graves exhibited three letters of the O'Neills, of Tyrone, preserved in the Evidence Chamber of Kilkenny Castle, where they, with a number of similar documents of historic interest, were now being carefully prepared for binding. Two were from the famous Owen Roe, and the third from Daniel O'Neill. They were as follows:—

No. I.

“WORTHY S^r,

“I haue made stay of this bearer, Coronett Duine, all this while, in hope to prvide for yo^r either money or Cowes, and by reason of this fright w^{ch} the Creatts haue taken, I could gett neither of the two, occassioned through the Confussion our Creatts are in, by the approaching of the Scotts. S^r I haue gott a note this day from the Country where yo^r monie is due, and

will (god willing), send a troope of horse of my owne to take it vpp, and as soone euer as any pte [parte] thereof is taken vp, or in readines, I will send it to yo^r myselfe. This gent. may tell yo^r that noe indeavou^r of mine is wanting to furnish yo^r, which I beseech to beleeeue from

"Yo^r assured freind to serue yo^r"

"OWEN O'NEILL."

3th of July, 1644.

"Ho. S^r—Our army out of the Weast are at Granard, and I belieue will march to Kells this day or tomorrow, they come in a very gallant compleate manner, I hope to meett wth them tomorrow about Kells. If yo^r could send to the Isle [of] man for store of pvision as though it were for yo^r owne vse, and helpe vs to what yo^r could spare thereof, the marchants who shold take y^r paines to bringe the same might bee sure of good paym^t for it."

The letter, which was written by a secretary, but signed in autograph, was addressed—"Ffor Liffen^t. Colonell Mathews, my assured freinde, at Newrey, Theise;" and sealed with Owen Roe's signet. Colonell Mathews, in whose handwriting it was endorsed—"Owen O'Neill's letter by Cornett Doyne"—was half-brother to the Duke of Ormonde. The signet and signature of Owen Roe have been carefully engraved, and are represented on the Plate which faces this page, being as much as possible fac-similes of the originals. The signature, as might be expected, showed a greater familiarity, on the part of the writer, with the sword than with the pen. Mr. Graves believed that these signatures of Owen Roe O'Neill were unique; at least he had been informed by the historian of the "Confederates," the Rev. C. P. Meehan, that he had in vain searched for Owen Roe's autograph amongst the Irish manuscripts preserved on the Continent. The signet was a small one, but well engraved—exhibiting a shield, bearing two lions rampant combatant, supporting a dexter hand couped at the wrist; in chief three mullets; in base a salmon naiant.¹ There is a good memoir of Owen Roe in the "Ulster Journal of Archæology" (see vol. iv., pp. 25-39), accompanying an excellent lithograph of a supposed portrait of that celebrated leader. He could not say, however, that he was satisfied with the claim set up for the authenticity of the original picture. It did not appear that the family to which it now belonged were in any way connected with the O'Neills; and yet, as the Editor of the "Ulster Journal" states, "it is worthy of remark that the characteristic features of the face may still be traced in various members of the family to which the portrait belongs;" and the author of the Memoir candidly admits that "that sensitive mouth has

¹ These are the arms of "O'Neill of Ireland" given by Sir Bernard Burke in his "General Armory," except that the salmon

is there said to be "naiant in the waves of the sea." There is not any indication of waves on the seal.

not the masculine severity and compression we should have expected from the character of General O'Neill." He (Mr. Graves) was of opinion that the portrait represented some member of the family who still own it, represented in fancy costume, and in the character of Owen Roe O'Neill; and this opinion of his, let it be worth much or little, he thought it well to put forward here, in order that this very interesting question may receive the further consideration of which it is worthy.

No. II.

"S^r,

"I haue sent yo^r before hand by this bearer your Ensigne the sume of twenty three pounds three shillings and sixpence str., wth, truely, to gett in hath taken vp my time this last weeke. We haue a Prouinciall meeting this day at Carricke [Carrickfergus] where I hope to gett more for yo^r, and I pray yo^r S^r beleue that noe indeaue^r of mine is wanting to furnish yo^r, and that really from the hearte of

"Yo^r affe^cōnatt freind to serue yo^r,

"OWEN O'NEILL.

"29^o of May, 1644."

This letter, written by the same amanuensis as the last, and also signed in autograph by Owen Roe, does not retain its seal: it was addressed—"Ffor my worthy freind Lieutenant Collonell Mathews, These;" and endorsed in Colonel Mathews's handwriting—"Owen O'Neill's letter by Ensigne Rice with 23^l 3^s 6^d." The money mentioned in these letters seems to have been the assessment levied by the "Confederates" after the "Cessation," for the purpose of supporting the war against the Parliamentarians; and the letters are evidence that General O'Neill was true to his engagements. For an interesting account of the "Creaghts" mentioned in the first letter, see a Paper by John P. Prendergast, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, printed in a previous volume of the "Transactions" of the Society (vol. iii., pp. 420-30).

No. III.

"Noyon 20. Fe: 1652,

"May yt pleas your Ex:

"The honor yo^r did mee of your letter of the 16^o I communicated, ass soon as I receaued it yesterday, to My L^d Digbye, whoe then could say noe more (being commanded by the duke del beuf to wayt vpon him at Roye) then that hee was infinitely ioyed att the hopes yo^r gaue him of seeing of yo^r, and that ass matters stood wth him now, hee could neyther giue no^r answere any apoyntment yo^r Ex: could order: nor doe I see howe he can make any other answere vntle the duke de Nemeurs bee beaten or

oblegged to retreat; for the court and army expect more from his discretion, then ther strengh o' the dukes conduct, both wth, iff I am not misinformed, are uery inconsiderable. When I writt to his Ma^{ty} that My L^d Digby would onely trust yo' Ex: wth what hee had to say consarning his Ma^{ty}'s seruice, It was not that hee intended to exclude the chancellor [the Earl of Clarendon] from the secretest thought hee had, butt becaus hee doubted hee could not wth eas o' safety to his health make the iurny, and therefore did not mentione him to mee. When the occation will giue way to yo' meeting hee'le bee infinitely glad M^r chancellor came wth yo' Ex: and iff yo' brought wth yo' that foolish blew ribban, wee ayme att, Ile not say yo' Ex: will bee the welcomer butt Ile make yo' the better cheere.

"I humbly thank yo' Ex: for moueing the King about my mony; its true y^t I know yo' Ex: an ill solissito^r, but haue euer found yo' a good remembrancer, wth encourages mee to beleuee I shall not bee forgott when the tresurers come. I would have beene vpon the place ass yo' Ex: aduises, butt that it could not bee handsome to quit my frind in such an occation, though I can not imagine my self uery necessary to him: My L^d Garrett will not bee wanting to solissit more effectually than I, my bissiness, when yo' Ex: will giue him the word.

"The dukede Nemeurs was yesternight to haue been in France wth 50,000 men, whether he intends to pass through champaigne o' piccardie iss not cleer, the defence that will bee made. . . . to bee uery weake, for they can drawe butt. . . . horse and noe foot (but country men) on. . . . and not soe much towards Roye. The is like to be the Dukes greatest ennemy.

"Just nowe newes comes that the Dukes of Nemeurs and Witemberg, the prince of Ligne and cont Tauanmes were yesternight at fonsomme, that they are good men: iff soe theyle bee past this tomorrow wthout resistance.

"Your Ex: Most humble and most faithfull seruant,

"DANIELLE O'NEILLE

"For his Ex: the Marques of Ormonde,

"Louure."

Daniel O'Neill, although the nephew of Owen Roe, was a Protestant, and devoted to the royal cause: he was a most intimate friend of the Marquis—afterwards Duke—of Ormonde, and a favourite of Charles II. (Carte's "Ormonde," vol. i., p. 581; and vol. ii., pp. 104, 112, 282). This letter is sealed with a signet, bearing a head with a Greek helmet,—apparently an antique gem.

The following communication from Sir Erasmus D. Borrowes, dated at "Barretstown Castle, Ballymore Eustace," was then read:—

"Probably the following information regarding the ancient effigy, formerly in old Kilcullen churchyard, and referred to by Mr. Fitzgerald, p. 429, vol. i., new series, may not prove uninteresting. The country people have been in the habit of calling that figure "Rowley Eustace;" but Sir

Rowland Eustace, Lord Portlester, who died in 1496, is buried in New Abbey, near Kilcullen, where his tomb and that of his wife are still remaining; monuments to the same individuals are also in good preservation in St. Audoen's Church, Dublin. It was the opinion of our lamented fellow-member, the late Keeper of the Exchequer Records, who had investigated the pedigree and history of the Eustace family, that the effigy in question represents Lord Oliver Fitz Eustace, who was summoned to Parliament, 48 Edw. III., and of whom there is mention elsewhere as connected with this locality. This monument having been barbarously abused at Old Kilcullen,—at one time used as a flag under a pump; on another occasion defaced by stones, and always undergoing destruction,—I removed it over here to this old castle of the Eustaces, and I now have it recumbent in a mural arch under this roof, and partially restored; this I did with the consent of the late Charles Eustace, the head of the family. Sir Samuel Meyrick thus describes it:—‘In Old Kilcullen Church, in the county of Kildare, is a specimen of the armour worn in Ireland during this reign (Richard II.). It is a monument of a knight of the Eustace family. He wears an haubergeon, in shape like those worn in the time of William the Conqueror, but of chain mail. His legs and arms, however, are protected by jambs and vambraces of plate; his feet by demi-sollerets; his knees by genouilliers; and his elbows by caps; his head is wrapped up in a cloth tied at the top, such as worn in the reign of King John, and called Cargan, over which was placed his conical visored basinet of the form of Edward I.'s time; and he wears, attached by a cord [a strap and buckle] round his waist, a large scimitar [a sword similar to those found in the Shannon at Athlone], at his left side.’—vol. ii., p. 57. Walker, in his ‘Memoir on the Armour and Weapons of the Irish,’ p. 103–4, writes thus of the same figure:—‘The flat helmet which prevailed in England in the time of Henry II. must have found its way into Ireland at a very early period, for we find it on an ancient monument at Old Kilcullen, county Kildare. Plate XII., fig. 2. But this helmet soon yielded its protection to the Salet, which is preserved on a monument at Lusk (in the county of Dublin), of the fifteenth century. Plate XII., fig. 1.’

“And again he observes, p. 107:—‘The pains taken by the English to oblige such of the Irish as were within reach of their iron grasp, to assimilate with themselves in customs and manners, gradually spread the English modes within the Pale. Accordingly, we find an ancient monumental figure at Old Kilcullen, in the county of Kildare, dressed in chain mail, that prevailed in England about the reign of Henry II. Plate XII., fig. 2.’ Do not these extracts support the statement of the Rev. J. Graves, that the Irish wore old-fashioned armour? Sir Samuel Meyrick has omitted to state that the head of the figure rests on a pillow, or flat cushion; his feet on a dog; and some animal passant can be distinctly traced on the front of his helmet over his forehead, probably a stag with a crucifix between his horns—the crest of the Eustace family—typical of the stag, which pagan Eustace was hunting, appearing suddenly with the sacred emblem, and thus converting the heathen hunter to Christianity. Walker is wrong in calling this helmet ‘flat’—it is decidedly conical.

“Last autumn I visited ‘the strong fort of Ballysannon,’ referred to in vol. i., new series, pp. 110–17. No remains of the castle, as seen in the

old drawings, exist; whatever of it remained at the beginning of the last century was pulled down by the Annesley family, with which they helped to build a castellated mansion quite close. The immediate defences of the old castle of the unfortunate Pierce Fitzgerald still exist, though somewhat smoothened off by time; the moat is still there, covered with trees of some forty years' growth, but, strange to say, the remains of the old ash-tree, *so conspicuous in the drawing*, can still be traced. I found two lusty scions growing vigorously from the same old hollow root, right in the centre of the moat. There was no rival near the throne of that old stock; it spoke eloquently of the siege of Cromwell and his mortars; but the mortar practice reminded me of a child and his pop-gun, who brings his little weapon close up to the mark. The spot where the General placed his mortars was not more than some fifty or sixty yards from the castle. I found 'Hartwell' exhibiting the remains of a strong fortress, with one or two large halls, the stone arches yet remaining; and Kiltel Castle (also, I think, mentioned in the despatch) is quite perfect."

The Rev. John O'Hanlon sent an account of the collections made by the Ordnance Survey Department, as bearing on the topography and history of the county of Meath:—

"The following is a list of matters referring to the county of Meath, as found in the Topographical Catalogue of the Irish Ordnance Survey Office, Phoenix Park:—I. Names from Down Survey (see Leinster, vol. ii.). II. Extracts, two volumes (see also page 33); and Common-place Book G, M, and P; Index to Irish part not arranged. III. Letters, one volume, and Index detached. IV. Name Books, 114. V. Barony and Parish Names, one volume. VI. Memorandums, one volume. VII. Index to Names on Ordnance Maps, one volume. VIII. County Docket, one volume. IX. Grand Jury Presentments, 1829, one copy.

"I. The Down Survey, Leinster, vol. ii., is a large folio already alluded to. The names of Meath county are found comprised in pp. 1 to 254, many of which pages are, however, blank. A general index of the barony and parish names of this county, in five columns is to be found at pp. 1 to 3. There are usually three distinct columns on each written page throughout this volume. II. Of the two volumes of extracts, the first contains transcripts from O'Dugan's 'Topographical Poem' (Irish, English, and Latin translation, the Irish transcribed by Eugene Curry, the translations by Messrs. O'Donovan and O'Connor); from 'Book of Kells' (Irish, and Latin translation); from Colgan's 'Acta Sanctorum,' and 'Trias Thaumaturga,' (Latin and English); from Lanigan's 'Eccl. Hist. of Ireland;' from 'Irish Calendar' (Irish); from Duaid M'Firbis's 'Genealogies' (Irish); from 'Annals of the Four Masters' (Irish and English); from 'Keating' (Irish); from Harris's 'Hibernica,' Letter of Mr. Petrie (original); from Archdall's 'Nomenclatura Hibernica' (a MS. preserved in the Library of the Irish Ordnance Survey Office); from Vallancey's 'Collectanea,' Letter of Mr. Petrie on Tara (original); List of Castles of the Plunkets of Meath, furnished from Irish MSS. by Peter Daly; death of Murtach Mor Mac Erca, MS. T. C. D., H. 2, 16; from 'Book of Ballymote;' from 'Book of Lecan,' Tara, a Poem. O'Clery MS., R. I. A. (all the latter in the Irish characters, with some of them translated into English). There are thirteen maps

bound up with this volume. One of them is copied on tracing paper from the Down Survey Map of East Meath, 1689. The next is also on tracing paper, and copied from 'A large, rude MS. map of the province of Ulster,' by Francis Jobson, executed in 1590; it refers to part of Meath. The next is on tracing-paper from a Map of Ireland, printed by Overden and Morden, London, and inscribed to James Duke of Ormonde; it comprises Meath county. The next is on tracing-paper, and gives a representation of Meath county, copied from a MS. Map of Ireland, painted on vellum, and illuminated, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The next is a trace from a handsome map of the province of Ulster, painted on paper, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The next is a trace of a Map of Ulster, by Jobson, painted on paper, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Trace from a map of the county of Fermanaghe, painted on paper, about the reign of James I.; it comprises the county of Meath. Trace from the 'Plot of the Countie Monahan,' painted on paper, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Trace from Speed's Map, London, 1610. Trace from vellum MS. map, made in the sixteenth century, inscribed to the 'espicialle good Lorde, the Earle of Salisbury, Lord Highe Trér of Englande.' Trace from a printed map of Ireland, London, 1711. Trace from a painted map of the province of Ulster, executed on vellum, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, by Francis Jobson. Trace from Ortelius's Improved Map of Ireland, by Charles O'Connor, Esq. All these maps are on tracing-paper. The first volume contains 384 numbered pages, in 4to. The second volume contains 312 numbered pages, 4to, and comprises extracts from 'Annals of the Four Masters' (English), and from the 'Inquisitions' (English), as also from Keating's 'History of Ireland' (English).¹ On referring to page 33, I find allusion made to a volume, numbered 6, and entitled, 'Explanations of names in Antrim, Donegall, Fermanagh, Londonderry, Meath, Tyrone, and Westmeath, by O'Donovan and O'Reilly, 1830.' This is an exceed-

¹ These two volumes were recently bound, and I should not be able to distinguish which was the first, or second volume, but for a single pencil-mark at the commencement of one of them, designating "Vol. 1." They are now in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, together with the volume of Antiquarian Letters, for the county of Meath.

² The contents of this volume are thus given on the title-page:—

	Index page.
Antrim, pages 1 to 15,	1
Donegal, 38 to 41, 56 to 76, 97 to 112,	2
Fermanagh, 298,	8
Londonderry, 124 to 297,	4
Meath, 17 to 25,	5
Tyrone, 38 to 37,	6
Westmeath, 26 to 31,	7

This volume is the sixth, classed under the head of "Miscellaneous," in the Catalogue of the Topographical Collection in the Ordnance Survey Office, Dublin. The second MS.

under this head has been already described in a note attached to the paper on the county of Wexford, already published in the "Journal," vol. i., new series, p. 894, and entitled, "Extracts from the British Museum, Lambeth, Oxford, and Bodleian Libraries, &c." To save the necessity of future description, in possible references to these MSS., I now proceed to describe the four remaining, according to the order in which they are given in the Catalogue. The first MS. is entitled, "Cambrensis Topographia Hibernia, translated, one volume." This is a folio of 250 pages, preceded by an index of 19 pages. On the title-page I find the following heading, "Topography of Ireland, or Concerning the Wonders of Ireland, by Sylvester Gerald Cambrensis." In a note on the same page, by Dr. O'Donovan, we read, "Translated from Camden's Edition, by the late Thomas O'Connor, John O'Donovan, October 26th, 1842." The translation is a literal one, and apparently correct; but the English rendering is not very classical or smoothly idioma-

ingly valuable topographical MS. in folio, containing 298 closely written and numbered pages, presenting a mass of original information on the de-

tic. The third MS. is entitled, "Brife description of Ireland, made in this yeere, 1689, by Robert Payne, and published in London in 1690. In Common-place Book, labelled Cavan, Commonwealth Survey, &c." This is a 4to volume; prefixed to it are three notes, or letters, which refer to the contents. The first is written by John B. Fowler, and is dated, "Record Office, Thursday, 16th July, '85." It is addressed to Lieutenant Larcom, Royal Engineers, and appears to have been written in acknowledgment of a MS. (the present one), received from the latter, which had been compared by Mr. Fowler with the Down Survey, at Lieutenant Larcom's request. According to Mr. Fowler, it had not been copied from the Down Survey, as the names of lands, &c., were in the first place more numerous, and in the second place they differed materially in orthography from those in the Down Survey. Mr. Fowler adds:—"It is evidently an original book, made about the time of the Act of Settlement. For further information I applied to Mr. Hardinge, of the Vice-Treasurer's Office, who has a great variety of the old documents in his custody, knowing that he could explain more particularly its nature. He has given me the accompanying reply, which I think will fully prove to you the purpose for which it was compiled, as well as its date." Next follows Mr. Hardinge's letter, as follows, being dated Record Office, Custom House Buildings, Dublin, 16th July, 1835:—"The Book of the county of Cavan herewith returned was not originally bound up in one book. It was first made up in baronies, and so numbered. Six of these baronies are original, and appear to me to have been an official compilation made up about the period of the distribution of the forfeited lands amongst Cromwell's soldiers, namely, in the years 1652-3. The barony of Tullaghagh was of subsequent compilation, or it seems rather to be a copy of the original compilation, prepared with the other baronies, at the period above mentioned. The collecting of the baronies together into one book may have been at any time subsequent to the preparation of the barony of Tullaghagh. The design of the whole was evidently to show the distribution of the forfeited lands amongst Cromwell's soldiers. It is arranged in baronies and parishes. The waste lands in each parish, where waste lands were, being distinguished from the profitable lands. The value of each parish is prefixed. The volume, if an original one, as I suspect, may have been

used by the Commonwealth for carrying the Acts of Settlement and Explanation into effect in 1665, for the purpose of ascertaining the quantity of lands in the possession of adventurers and soldiers, and guiding the re-trenchments directed by said Acts. I should like to know the depository out of which the book has been taken, and whether any similar documents are to be found in the same place. This book appears to me of some importance as relates to the Trial of the Crown v. The Lord Primate, for lands in the Barony of Tullaghagh; and I have, therefore, notified its existence and nature to the Solicitors of the Crown in that suit.—W. H. HARDINGE." The following note is a query of Thomas A. Larcom, dated June 11th, '42, addressed to a Mr. Stotherd, who replies on the back of the note, that he got "this document from the agent of Mr. Southwell, of Castle Hamilton, near Killeshandra." Then follow these observations, on a leaf of the MS. "(Copy)":—"A very curious survey of the county of Cavan, made, I think, during the 'Commonwealth,' copied in July, 1835, at the Ordnance Survey Office, Dublin, by William Mooney, Civil Assistant." Afterwards we have 67 closely-written pages, consisting of the proprietors' names, the denomination of lands, their admeasurement in poles, halves, and quarters, and the value of the lands in pence, and fractions of pence, in several of the baronies, parishes, and townlands of the county of Cavan. Succeeding this is a transcript of a printed tract, belonging to Messrs. Hodges and Smith, of College-green, by W. Mooney, Civil Assistant. This is entitled:—"A brife description of Ireland made in this yeere, 1689, by Robert Payne," &c. It will be unnecessary to notice this further, as it has been reprinted by the Irish Archaeological Society, for the year 1841, having been edited by Aquilla Smith, M. D., M. R. I. A. Immediately after this tract I find another, with the following note prefixed:—"Copy of a paper lent me by Mr. Burke, of the Irish Rent Office, as bearing on the history of the Down Survey.—THOMAS A. LARCOM, Capt. R. E., 22 June, 1842." This tract is headed:—"A reply to the answers and objections which the farmers of his Majesty's Revenue of Ireland made the 20th January 1689 to Marshall's Plea, and the Attorney-General's Confession." This tract is contained in 45 closely written pages, and was copied at the Ordnance Survey Office, Phoenix Park, in June, 1842, by W. Mooney, Civil Assis-

riation of the names of places within the counties named, and written both in the English and Irish characters. Most of this MS. appears to be in the handwriting of the learned Irish lexicographer, Edward O'Reilly, Esq.,

tant. Next we find three folio foolscap leaves, pasted into the MS., which are headed:—"Copy taken from the undischarged Queries, and Presentments laid on the county Monaghan, at Lent Assizes, 1835." The remaining pages of this MS. are blank. The fourth MS. is wrongly entitled:—"Letter from Dr. O'Connor, relative to the Book of Ballymote." Besides a copy of this letter, which is first in order, there are several other copies of letters, written by the same venerable patriot and learned Irish scholar. The following are the dates of these most interesting letters:—1. On the Book of Ballymote, dated, Dublin, June the 18th, 1781. 2. Dated, Belanagar, August 3rd, 1761, and addressed to Doctor John Curry, at his house in Cow-lane, Dublin. 3. Dated, August 27th, 1761; the latter part wanting. 4. Dated, London, 2nd December 1779, written by Thomas Branghar; and endorsed, Mr. Charles Ryan, near the old bridge, Church-street, Dublin. 5. Dated, Belanagar, March 23rd, 1785; and endorsed, J. C. Walker, Esq., Treasury Chambers, Dublin. 6. Dated, Belanagar, May 13, 1785, endorsed, J. C. Walker, Esq., Treasury Chambers, Dublin. 7. Dated, Mount Allen, June 20th, 1785; no address. 8. Dated, Belanagar, October 14th, 1785, endorsed, J. C. Walker, Esq., Treasury Chambers, Dublin. 9. Dated, Belanagar, Nov. 20th, 1785, endorsed, J. C. Walker, Treasury Chambers, Dublin. 10. Dated, Belanagar, Jan. 10th, 1786; no address. 11. Dated, From my Hermitage, Jan. 31, 1786; no address. 12. Dated, From my Hermitage, Feb. 16, 1788, endorsed J. C. Walker, Esq., Treasury Chambers, Dublin. 13. Dated, Belanagar, Feb. 16, 1786, endorsed, J. C. Walker, Esq., Treasury Chambers, Dublin. 14. Dated, Feb. 28, 1786, endorsed, J. C. Walker, Esq., Treasury Chambers, Dublin. 15. Dated, Belanagar, March 8, 1786; no address. 16. Dated, From Belanagar, near Roscommon, Ap. 4, 1786; no address. 17. Dated, April 26, —86, endorsed, J. Cooper Walker, Esq., Treasury Chambers, Dublin. 18. Dated, Belanagar, June 14, 1786, endorsed, J. C. Walker, Esq., Treasury Chambers, Dublin. 19. Dated, Belanagar, Aug. 15, 1786, endorsed J. C. Walker, Esq., Treasury Chambers, Dublin. 20. Dated, October 21, 1786, endorsed, J. C. Walker, Esq., Treasury Chambers, Dublin. 21. Dated, Nov. 22, 1786, endorsed, J. C. Walker, Esq., Treasury Chambers, Dublin. 22.

Dated, Belanagar, Dec. 18th or 19th, 1786; no address. 23. Dated, Belanagar, Jan. 18, 1787, endorsed, J. Walker, Esq., Treasury Chambers, Dublin. 24. Dated, Belanagar, July 31, 1787, endorsed, J. C. Walker, Esq., at the Treasury Chambers, Dublin. 25. Dated, Belanagar House, Oct. 24, 1787, endorsed, J. C. Walker, Esq., Treasury Chambers, Dublin Castle. 26. Dated, From my Hermitage, July 16th, 1788, endorsed, Joseph C. Walker, Treasury Chambers, Dublin Castle. 27. Dated, From my Hermitage, Oct. 30, 1788, endorsed, J. C. Walker, Esq., Treasury Chambers, Dublin Castle. 28. Dated, From my Hermitage, May 5th, 1790, endorsed, J. C. Walker, Treasury Chambers, Dublin Castle. 29. Another letter, dated, '86, endorsed, J. C. Walker, Esq., Treasury Chambers, Dublin Castle. All the foregoing were written by Charles O'Connor, with the exception of the one already mentioned; and they refer to very interesting matters on Irish History; his agency in endeavouring to effect a relaxation of the Penal Laws, and to procure Catholic Emancipation, &c. They are comprised in 92 pages, or half pages, 4to paper, closely written, and are contained in a bound 4to volume. The fifth MS. is entitled:—"Index to Annals of Tighernach." This is a long and narrow set of columns, stitched into a pasteboard cover, a portion of them, however, being loose. The words are all in Dr. O'Donovan's handwriting, both in the Irish, Latin, and English characters. There are 25 pages, in whole, or in part, in the stitched portion; and there are 27 pages, in whole, or in part, in the loose portion, which contain written matter. It appears to have been well digested, in reference to the several years, in the Annals of Tighernach, and to have been carefully arranged under appropriate heads. It must have cost no small amount of labour to that most laborious and learned of Irish scholars, Dr. O'Donovan; for although we may apply to Ireland the lines in Charles Mackay's lyric, "Hornyard,"—

"Many a noble heart,
Many a noble head,
Labours for our native land
Harder than the horniest head,
For its daily bread;"

—it must be acknowledged, that amongst such worthy literary labourers, Dr. O'Donovan stands pre-eminent.

who was engaged on the Ordnance Survey at its commencement; but whose lamented death occurred before he could have rendered the Department those invaluable services he had already proved himself capable of exercising, on behalf of Irish history, topography, and literature. In this MS. I find a communication of Mr. O'Reilly, in reply to one dated, Longford, 29th April, 1830, and written by Captain Waters, of the Royal Engineers. There are also many valuable pages in Dr. O'Donovan's handwriting, and in that of other persons connected with the Ordnance Survey. There are many historical, antiquarian, and reference notes, interspersed throughout this MS. The Common-place Book G, as a matter of course, has reference to Meath, although there is no index to it, and the contents are on detached subjects. It is a quarto of 340 numbered pages, the greater portion of which are blank.¹ The Common-place Book M is a quarto MS. of 318 numbered pages, the greater portion of which are blank. It contains matter referring to the county of Meath.² The Common-place Book P is a quarto MS. of 312 numbered pages, the greater portion of which are blank; and in the others some mention of Meath occurs.³ The index to the Irish part of the county of Meath extracts is contained in 58 foolscap folio pages, unbound, and tied in a parcel; all in the handwriting of Eugene Curry, and in the Irish and English characters; each page, on an average, contains about fifteen names of places, persons, &c. III. The volume of Meath County Letters is a quarto of 297 numbered and closely written pages, and contains 32 letters. One of these letters was written by the Rev. Mr. Ward, P. P., but is without any date. Four of

¹ To save the necessity of future reference to this MS., I will furnish a list of its subjects. They are:—1. Will of Donall O'Gallagher, A.D. 1626. 2. Tributes paid to Red Hugh O'Donnell, in the time of King James, A.D. 1620. 3. Pedigree of O'Dogherty (English). 4. Description of Aileach, a poem, from the Book of Leacan (Irish); with a literal English translation and comments, by O'Donovan; together with a metrical "Poem on the palace of Aileach, *thickened* and paraphrased, by John O'Donovan," in blank verse. This latter piece exhibits the abilities of Dr. O'Donovan in a new light; it proves him to be not devoid of poetic talent, although, from the didactic nature of his subject and copy, there is not much play allowed to the imaginative faculty. 5. An Irish extract from MS., T. C. D., classed H. 8. 8., on the Antient Hills, Rivers, and Places of Ireland, with an English translation. 6. An Irish extract from the Book of Leacan. 7. Tributes of the King of Aileach (English). 8. Various Irish extracts, from different sources. All this Common-place Book G is in the handwriting of Dr. O'Donovan.

² To save the necessity of a future reference to this MS., I give its contents:—1. Some annalistic and family notes referring to Meath. 2. Forfeitures in Meath, 1688.

3. Parliamentary Papers for 1824, vol. i., referring to Meath. 4. Historical and Topographical Gleanings. Extract from an unpublished Treatise on Antient Irish Topography, compiled from Irish MS. 5. Enactment of Parliament passed at Trim, 9th of Henry VII. 6. Record in the Rolls Office, Ireland. An Indenture made the 21st day of July, in the 8rd year of the reign of James II. 7. County Wicklow (O'R. MS., R. I. A.). 8. Notes relative to the O'Malone family. 9. The agreement of M'Geoghagan and Fox. 10. A Sligo Inquisition, taken 30th June, 1617. An index to this short Inquisition Record is given on two loose papers, contained in the volume.

³ A list of the extracts in this volume is also submitted:—1. Charters of Kells (Irish character). 2. English translation and notes. 3. Various Irish extracts, with English notes. 4. Copy of a letter from Rev. Mr. Todd to Mr. John O'Donovan, dated London, March 29th, 1837, and referring to Irish extracts in the British Museum. 5. A variety of Irish extracts, in prose and verse. All the writing in this volume is by Dr. O'Donovan, with the exception of a short note in English, written by Mr. Eugene Curry.

these letters were written by Patrick O'Keefe ; three of which are dated, Ratoath, August 20th, 22nd, and 23rd; and the fourth is dated, Dunboyne, August 25th, 1836. Dr. O'Donovan wrote the remaining twenty-seven letters, which are thus dated, respectively:—Kells, July 10th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 14th, 15th, 15th, 29th, 30th, 31st; August 1st, 3rd; Navan, July 17th, 18th, 20th, 24th, 25th; August 15th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 17th, 21st; Trim, August 6th, 8th, 11th, 1836. Besides these, there is a letter of Dr. O'Donovan's, simply dated, 10th of February, 1837. There are also several pages of Mr. O'Connor's communications in this volume; but they are undistinguished by locality or date. There are several subsequent annotations of Dr. O'Donovan to be found in the shape of marginal notes; besides several valuable ground-plans in the volume. In addition, there is a map of Meath, drawn by J. H. Clark, O. S. O., 1836, on squares. The index, said to be detached from the Meath letters, is now postfixed, and bound into the volume. It is in the handwriting of Mr. O'Lalor, and excellently arranged. IV. There are 114 Name Books, uniform as to plan and arrangement with others of the same denomination already described. V. The volume of Barony and Parish Names is an oblong small quarto of 160 numbered pages, but of double that number written on; there is also an index of four pages of double columns thereto, and a page of thirty-three authorities for the spelling of the various parishes in Meath, in addition. As usual, Dr. O'Donovan settles the orthography for engraving on the Ordnance Maps, and gives the Irish name, in the Irish character, with the English rendering attached, at the pages devoted to the several parishes. That learned antiquary and topographer has also interspersed many valuable notes on local designations. This volume is not bound, but is secured with pasteboard covers, and appears to have been filled up in July, 1836, such being the date on the cover. VI. The volume entitled 'Memorandums' is a quarto, containing 172 numbered pages, comprising letters, notes, &c., from various persons; portions of engraved maps, &c. An index of two pages, in double columns, and part of another column, precedes these 'Memorandums,' and refers to them; after it, there is an index to extracts, of about two pages, double columns. VII. The index volume to Names on Ordnance Maps is a folio of 151 unnumbered pages. The townland names are in alphabetical order; afterwards follow the barony names, and then the parish names, in which they are to be found. Each page contains, on an average, eighteen or nineteen townland names. This volume corresponds with others similarly entitled, and previously described. VIII. The 'County Docket of Meath' is a printed document, without any date. It consists of eighteen printed sheets in folio, stitched together, without cover, and refers to the various barony, parish, and townland denominations in Meath, with the number of acres in each townland. IX. The 'Grand Jury Presentments at the Summer Assizes of 1829' is a printed octavo pamphlet of 102 pages, the contents of which will be partly known to those who have an opportunity of seeing similar county documents. They refer to repairs of roads, bridges, &c. There are no sketches of antiquities referring to this historically important and fertile county, which is known to contain many interesting relics of the past. Were it not for that charmingly written and elegantly illustrated work, by our eminent and learned antiquary, William R. Wilde, Esq., entitled 'The

Beauties of the Boyne, and its Tributary, the Blackwater,' and for the admirable memoir of the 'History and Antiquities of Tara Hill,' by our venerable friend, Dr. Petrie, published in the 'Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy;' together with the writings of the Rev. Richard Butler, Dean of Clonmacnoise, referring to Trim and its ancient remains,—little would be known to the public at large, regarding the many objects of deep antiquarian interest in the county of Meath. There are various topographical features of our Irish counties, neither described by the tourist, nor sketched by the artist; and yet they are illustrative of ancient manners, customs, and economy. An hundred years hence they will have disappeared from the face of the country, and not a single memorial of them will remain. A mere trifle, in the shape of a Government grant, would enable the Ordnance Department in Ireland to employ artists to preserve their outlines, for the enlightenment of succeeding generations. Would it be too much to demand, in return, for the millions sent by Ireland, to the Imperial Exchequer?"

The following papers were then submitted to the Meeting.

GLEANINGS IN NORTHERN CHURCH-YARDS.

BY THE REV. GEORGE H. READE.

DURING the summer of 1857, while residing for a short time near Bushmills, in the county of Antrim, my attention was drawn to several dilapidated churches, of a very simple and unpretending form of architecture, situate in various parts of the north-east of that county. Indeed, according to Mr. James Ferguson's definition of "architecture," they have no claim to that honourable name whatever, if, as he says, "Architecture is the art of ornamental and ornamented construction," as they are all plain, barn-like constructions, of the most simple and unpretending form, and wholly devoid of any ornament, the door placed in the west end, and in some cases a very small offset, like a diminutive chancel, in the east end. They would seem to be magnified copies of the small, old churches of the seventh century, of which so perfect a specimen still exists in the town of Clones. These churches were originally built by the first settlers of Ulster, in the reign of James I.; yet, though possessing nothing attractive, even in the eye of the antiquary, beyond their roofless walls and dilapidated windows, and in all cases superseded by buildings of much greater architectural pretensions, still they struck me as having an interest peculiarly their own, such as attaches to the humble, dark-coloured "editio princeps" of a volume, which may have its gilt and "hot-pressed" successor adorning the library.

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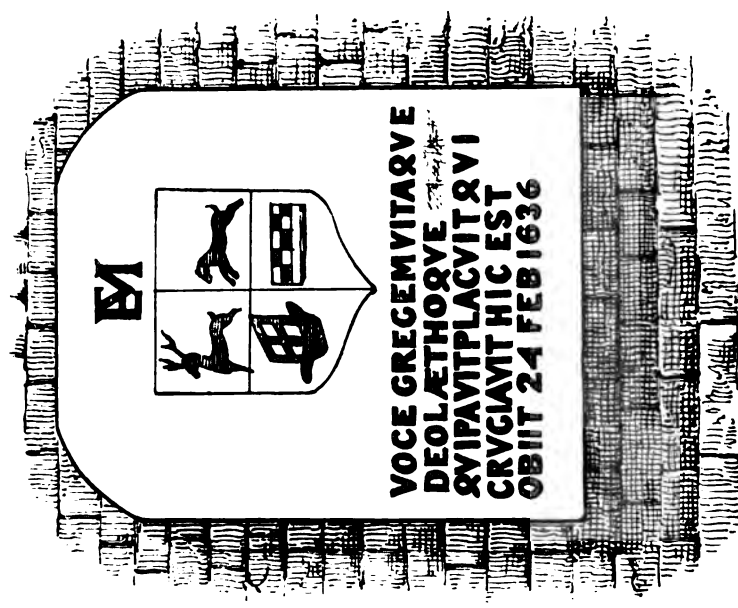
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Nº 1

Designed by J. W. L. Co. J. W. L. Co.



Nº 2

Searching amongst the rank herbage around these ruined churches, I saw a large number of flat tombstones with the letters raised, not incised; and observing here and there the old English form of the first letter of the alphabet, formed like a reversed V with a T-cross on the apex, which ceased to be used upon the coins towards the end of the reign of Elizabeth, I at first thought these tombstones belonged to that period. Fashion, however, did not travel in those troublous times as rapidly as in these railroad and telegraph days; so that the "Old Mortalities" of the county of Antrim continued in happy ignorance of the alteration in the form of the alphabet far into the reign of Charles I. The headstones and mural tablets, however, appear in modern letters, and all incised. I found these slabs scattered—

"Thick as leaves in Vallombrosa"—

through all the church-yards which I visited; but alas! nearly all obliterated, or so much worn away that only a few letters could be deciphered. They are nearly all of a soft, coarse-grained sandstone; and as the inscriptions were in relief, the feet of the loiterers in church-yards had committed so much the greater damage. The "coat-armour," which always formed the centre ornament of the slab, was in most cases wholly obliterated, even in many where the raised edging had preserved the inscription. Upon all the slabs, the legend, commencing at the top, runs round the tombstone, and when it reaches the top again, falls in as a second line, and thence continues across the slab, and not round the edges. Nearly all the names inscribed are no longer found in the roll of fame as landholders or "HONORABLE MEN" in the county, except that of our worthy Associate, Sir Edward W. Mac Naghten, to whose liberality the Society is indebted for the illustrations which accompany this paper. There is also a monument in Derrykeighan church to A: FAITHFUL: SISTER: IN: THE: LORD: SVMTYM: WYFE: TO: WILLIAM: HVTCHE-SON: OF: STRANOCVM; but though there is a gentleman of that name possessor of Stranocum, he disclaims this "faithful sister in the Lord:" she must, therefore, remain unsung or unillustrated—"quia caret sacro vate."

No. 2 in the Plate facing this page is a mural tablet on the west end of Derrykeighan church: the inscription cost much time and labour to decipher—it probably commemorates the virtues of some clergyman of that church, then newly erected. There is no mention of his name; perhaps some member skilled in the mysteries of "Gwillem" may be enabled to recover it from the initials EM, together with the fearless stag and anxious hound. Our very learned Associate, Evelyn Philip Shirley, Esq., of Lough Feea, tells me the arms are those of M^cKenna, probably the same as the M^cKinnons of Skye, referred

to in Dr. Hume's talented paper in the "Ulster Journal of Archaeology," as relating, in 1800, his embarrassment at donning his first pair of trousers after his escape in 1745. The present rector of Derrykeighan, who is about to favour the Society with all that can be recovered of the various incumbents of the parishes in Antrim, has not hitherto discovered any predecessor of his of that name. The monument has suffered much from rude hands, although placed high in the wall: perhaps it was thought better in that very stormy period, so short a time before the outbreak of 1641, to leave the modest name of him, "Qui hic est" unrecorded—the word *FIDELES* appears to be that erased in this plate.

About this time many of the churches were left without any ministers whatever. During Cromwell's usurpation Puritan divines got possession of most of the parishes in the county, which they held for many years. For the following anecdote of one of these I am indebted to the Rev. Thomas Hincks, of Derrykeighan Rectory:—"At the time of the restoration of Charles II., the Rev. Thomas Hogsyard was in possession of the parish of Ballyrashane, where he officiated, it is said, with great acceptance to large congregations. On his refusal to comply with the royal mandate, either to resign or conform, a party of dragoons came one Sunday to the church to expel him. He asked and was permitted to finish his sermon, and on leaving the pulpit he closed it and struck it three times with his Bible, saying—'*I arrest this pulpit in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, as King and Head of this Church, that neither Episcopalian, Erastian, nor indulged Presbyterian, shall ever enter it, or address a congregation in this church, until the top stone of the building is as low as the foundation.*' This denunciation seems to have been literally fulfilled, as the church was soon after in ruins; and from that time until the present building was erected in 1827, there was no church, nor any resident or regularly officiating minister."

The Plate given at p. 49, Fig. 1, represents a headstone in the church-yard of Derrykeighan; it bears the earliest date of any that I saw, viz., 1616, four years after the date of the Plantation: it is in excellent preservation, the letters sharply cut in a very fine-grained gray marble, which is not found in the locality—indeed, as is well known, the surface of the county of Antrim is composed of basalt and its associate minerals, overlying the chalk, which crops out at the edges of the county all round. This basalt is generally columnar, as at the Causeway, above Port Ballintrae, and many other places—doubtless all formed by the same volcanic eruption; but affording no slabs or stones fit for monumental inscriptions. Although I could not find the name of Kar amongst the people in that locality at present, it is a well known and honoured name in Scotland and the north of Ireland; it is common in the barony of Upper

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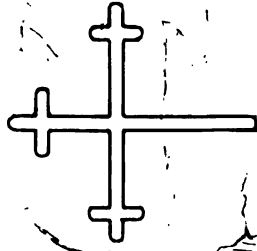
**ASTOR, LENOX AND
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L

HEIRE·LYETH·THE·BODIE·OF·IHNN·MARCHTEH·FIRST·SECTARIE

FIRST·ERLE·OF·XNTRIM·WHO·DEPARTED·THIS·MORTALITYE·THE



OF·OVR·LORD·GOD

1·6·3·0·

Dunluce, where it is now spelled Kerr : in Dr. Hume's valuable map it is mentioned as thirty-seventh in order of frequency.

The Plate facing this page represents the inscription on the tomb, at Bona-Margy, of Shane Dhu Macnachtan, secretary and grand-nephew of Randal Mac Sorley Mac Donnell, first Earl of Antrim. Bona-Margy is remarkable as being the last religious house founded in Ireland. It was built in 1609 by Charles Mac Donnell, for monks of the Franciscan order : it is situated near the most northerly town of Ireland—Ballycastle or Ballycashlain, i. e. Castletown, deriving that name from a castle built there in 1609 by Randal, first Earl of Antrim, who was directed by James I. to raise "faire castels" at reasonable distances "on his vast estates, that the country might be the more speedily civilized."

The family of the Macnachtans is of the greatest antiquity of any in Scotland, and preserves its hereditary descent unbroken down to the present day, the late Sir Francis Macnaghten having been formally acknowledged as head or chief of Clan-Macnachten in 1813. Many of the Pictish monarchs were of this family ; the first we read of was Nachtan Morbet, who died A. D. 480, having reigned twenty-five years. In 685 the Northumbrian king Egfrid ravaged the Pictish territory until his career was stopped at Dun Nachtan, adjoining the lake now called Loch Inch, but long known as Nachtan Mere. In A. D. 710 we find the accession of Nachtan Mac Dereli, who is mentioned in the "Annals of Tigernach" as having expelled the monks of Iona in 717. The family is traced by the genealogists, amidst battles, and forays, and contests for their throne, to the time of Malcolm Canmore, during which period they were the real sovereigns of the North ; they sunk, however, beneath the ascendancy of the kings of that time. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries we find them receiving many royal grants of forfeited lands, amongst which was Fraoch-Elin, or the Island of Heather, which was granted by Alexander III. to Gillechrest Macnachten, Feb. 12, 1267, on condition that the castle should be kept in fit repair to receive the king. This island, which is in Loch Awe, was the traditional Hesperides of Scotland. This Gillechrest Macnachten was father of Donald Macnachten, of whom John Barbour, Archdeacon of Aberdeen, writes in quaint, but, to modern ears, most uncouth rhymes. Macnachten, although a friend of the Bruce's bitterest foe, John of Lorn, yet could appreciate heroism even in an opponent. Bruce was at the time retiring before Lorn's forces, and, riding in rere of his men, was attacked at disadvantage—three to one : he slew all his assailants unaided, whereon, says Barbour :—

"There was a Baron Macnaughtane
that in his heart great keep hath tane

unto the King his chevalry
 and praised him in heart greatly
 and to the Lord of Lorn said he
 sickerly now Sir you may see
 Betane the starkest pundelane
 that in your life time you saw tane
 for yon knight thro' his doughty deed
 and thro' his outrageous man heed
 has felled in a little tide
 three men of meekle might and pride
 and stonied all our men so
 that after him dare no man go
 and turns so many times his steed
 it seems of us he has no dread
 and sickerly in all my time
 I never heard in song or rhyme
 tell of a man that so smartly
 atcheved so great chevalry."

The Bruce (Edinburgh, 1620).

His son, Duncan Macnaghten, accompanied Lord James Douglas on the famous expedition to deposit the heart of Robert Bruce in Jerusalem, in consequence of which the family have a right to carry on their coat-armour "the bleeding heart." Sir Alexander Macnaghten, lineal descendant of Gillechrest, the hereditary constable of Fraoh-Elin, was killed on Flodden-field with King James V.; his son and heir, John, married Anne, daughter of Murdock Maclean, by his wife Anne Mac Donald, sister of the first Earl of Antrim, and daughter of the celebrated Sorley Boy.¹ The honours of this ancient family devolved upon his third son, Shane Dhu, or Black John, who came to Ireland as "Sectarie" to his grand uncle, Randal Mac Sorley Mac Donnell, the inscription on whose tomb is here given. The Mac Donnells and the Mac Mullens are the only names given on Dr. O'Connor's map of "families having possessions in Antrim in the beginning of the seventeenth century," who have representatives at present; the Mac Mullens are known to many as the hereditary "guides to the Causeway;" and from my experience of them I add, most efficient, attentive, and obliging guides they are.

The tombstone here engraved is that of Antony Kennedy, of Balsaragh, now lying in the space formerly occupied by the old church of Billey; this stone, having been buried under ground for a long time, is in a most perfect state of preservation, the letters sharp

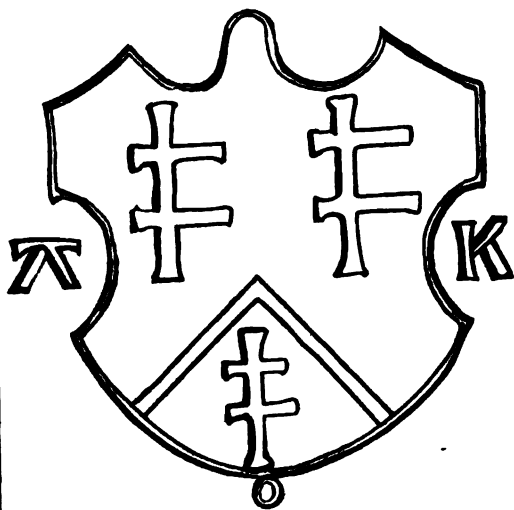
¹ The extent of Sorley Boy's dairy is quaintly stated in an extract from the State Paper Office quoted in the notes to Sir Henry Sidney's Memoir of his government in Ire-

land, printed in the "Ulster Journal of Archaeology," No. 20:—"Sorley, who *was* Lord over 50,000 cows, has now *but* 1500 to give him milk."

HEIR·LXETH·XME·

DAY·OF· DECE
MBER· THE
XEIRE· OF GOD

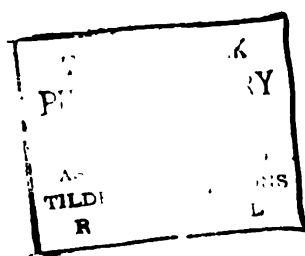
1620



RTCH·WHO·DEPRTED·THE·CHREDE·

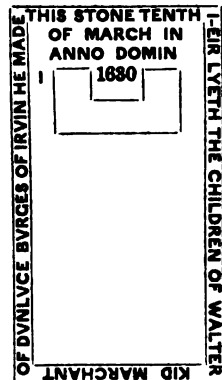
HONORABLE·MAN·CALLED·JNITONKKE

WED·X·OF·BALSA



and clear as when first cut. I could not hear of any "HONORABILE MAN" of that name now in the neighbourhood. This title bears at present in that locality the meaning of talented and intellectual, as well as its usual signification. By the Ulster "Inquisitions" it appears that he held of the Crown by knight's service, but alienated his land to the Earl of Antrim, as witnesses the following extract:—"8th. Jan. 1635—Comes Antrym seis' fuit ut de feod' de vil' et ter' de Ballyloughbeg' 100 acr' Mareside 50 acr' adjacen' super quarter' de Twornyrobert & 1. Molendin' frument' cū 5 acr' ter'—Sic inde seis existen' p̄d Comes p fact' suū alienavit p̄missa cuidā Anth' Kennedy de Twornyrobert et hered' suis imppet' dict' Anth' obiit 1 Augt 1625. Walter' Kennedy ejus fil' et her' tunc fuit' etat 26 annorum et non maritat'—p̄missa tenent' de Re' p s̄vic' mil'—Ann' Kennedy al' Moore fuit ux' dict' Anth' et in plena vita existit et dotat' est de p̄missa—le sessions Hall Carrickfergus 17. Aug' 1636. Walter' Kennedy de Towrnyrobert in C^o Antrim et Elenor' ux' ejus & Quintin Moore & Agnes ux' ejus. seis' fuer' ut de feod' de 1 mes' 7 toft' 8 gardin' 100 acr' ter' arabil' 40 acr' prat' 60 acr' pastur' & 100 acr' mor' in vil' & ter' de Ballyloughbeg' & Cilley [quere Billey] et sic seis' p fin' levat' in cur' Regis coram justic' &c. alienavit p̄missa' Randolph' Comit' Antrym hered' et assign' suis imppet'—p̄missa' tenent' de Re' p s̄vic' mil'." The name of Kennedy is set down as "nineteenth in order of frequency" in Dr. A. Hume's Ethnological Map, in No. 20 of the "Ulster Journal of Archæology," but is not found in the baronies of Dunluce—only in those of Lower Antrim and Lower Belfast.

This tombstone is in the church-yard of Dunluce, a little to the east of the ruined castle of that name; it is very much worn; the arms were sculptured at the foot, but are nearly obliterated. Much interest seems to belong to this monument, erected by the "Scotch burgess," as it shows Dunluce was at that period a place of some consequence, having merchants (the mural tablet inside belonging to another merchant). Perhaps, during the absence of poor Burgess Kid, his children were killed in some of the savage assaults of the Irish about this period upon Dunluce Castle, and were buried together in this grave, over which the bereaved parent afterwards erected this simple and touching memorial. Little mercy would be shown to the captive children of the foreign trader. His name is not now found in the county.



¹ Ballyloughbeg is in the parish of Billey.

I-ERE-VNDER-LYETH-T-E-BODY-OF-FLORENCE
 M · PHILIP · ALIAS · HAMILTON · LATE · WIFE · OF
 ARCHBALD · M · PHILIP · OF · DVNLVCE · MERCH^r
 AND · DAUGHTER · TO · CAPTANE · ROBERT · HAMIL-
 TON · OF · CLADEY · WHO · DEPARTED · T-IS · LIFE
 THE 20th · OF · IVLY · ANNO · 1674.

Death can dissolve but not destroy
 Who sows in tears shall reap in joy.

This tablet is affixed to the north wall on the inside of Dunluce old church; it is a very fine, close-grained, gray limestone, from the same quarry as the headstone of Robart Kar in Derrykeighan Church; the inscription is very clearly cut and well preserved. Above this tablet the Hamilton arms, together with hour-glasses and such like emblems, are cut in a coarse sandstone. The merchant of Dunluce probably found no difficulty in winning the hand of the captain's daughter, if she was mewed up among the solitary gables of this rock fortress; very probably the forty-four years which had passed away since Burgess Kid erected his sad memorial brought on more peaceful times, unless the last line of the couplet refers to a sorrow deeper than the natural grief of the worthy merchant for the loss of his wife.

There are very many other tombstones of the early part of the seventeenth century in the church-yards of the county of Antrim. Besides those exposed and rendered illegible, many will be found slightly covered with earth, and in as good preservation as that of Antony Kennedy. I have given here but a few of these frail memorials of men whose lot was cast in evil times, merely as specimens of what seem to me an interesting class of antiques, fast fading away. Perhaps some of our Associates in that quarter will follow out the search: mine was a very brief and hasty inspection; I visited but a few church-yards during a short sojourn for health; and I believe many monuments of much greater interest still remain to reward their endeavours. On one slab in Derrykeighan, of which I am unable to give a Plate, the coat-armour bore the exact representation of a skene-dhu, and a celt or bronze hatchet fixed in its handle. Could the "honorable man" beneath have won these insignia by the slaughter of Irish kerns armed with their national weapons? As, however, the name is MacCook, they may be only a cook's knife and chopper! The date, too, is the most modern of all, being A. D. 1677, although the letters are raised, not incised, and carried round the margin as in the others. About this period, also, the village sculptors of these slabs began to reform or modernize their letters; but, not to leap too suddenly into the fashion, they compromised the matter by introducing the cross-bar into the T-crossed A, as that letter is thus formed on Mac Cook's tombstone.

EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL OF THOMAS DINELEY,
ESQUIRE, GIVING SOME ACCOUNT OF HIS VISIT TO
IRELAND IN THE REIGN OF CHARLES II.

COMMUNICATED BY EVELYN PHILIP SHIRLEY, ESQ., M.A., M.P.

[Continued from page 82, *supra*.]

MONEY.—The Irish anciently had little or no money,¹ they pay'd their Rents with Corn and Cattle, and traded among themselves by barter of goods and commodities, as in the Barbadoes they do with sugars; and Virginia, Carolina, Maryland, &c., with Tobaccos.

English money here is very scarce, as being prohibited to be carried over out of England in any great summe: because the rebels made use of it to buy ammunition and provision for the wars, whence it was transported by the merchants into forreigne countreys to the great loss of England. In the 43 year of Qu. Elizabeth (1601) it was absolutely forbid by proclamation, as Henry the VII. had before by Act of Parliam^t. At this time no one is allow'd to exceed the sume of five pounds under pain of forfeiture.

Wherefore guineys² are at three and twenty shillings in this kingdome in comon payment.

The most usual money, and that which passeth in the greatest quantity of silver, is Spanish Coyne, known here by the name of a cob,³ an half cob, and a quarter cob.

¹ *Little or no money.*—The only money referred to in the Brehon Laws and other ancient Irish documents are the *Sigol*, the *Screpall*, and the *Croscoc*. See Petrie's "Round Towers," p. 212. Mr. Lindsay, of Cork, says that—"The scarcity of coin cannot be attributed to the poverty of the country, as the large quantity of gold ornaments found in Ireland fully prove. But, from whatever cause, there is no reason to suppose that money was coined in Ireland before the latter part of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century, when it was introduced by the Danes; but probably there was no money actually coined by the Irish princes for at least a century later, as nearly all the types likely to belong to the latter were copied from the Anglo-Norman coinage. That the 'Screpalls' and 'Pinginns' mentioned by the an-

cient Irish writers were not *Irish coins*, but either weights of silver bullion, or Anglo-Saxon pennies and thirds of pennies, will, I think, appear from my paper published in the 'Transactions of the Congress of the British Association,' held at Gloucester, p. 181, showing that the only Hiberno-Danish, or Irish coins which agree with the weights of the Pinginns and Screpalls are the ecclesiastical coins with a rude head and crozier, which are about the weight of the Pinginn, but evidently the work of the eleventh century."—*Original letter, penes* Ed.

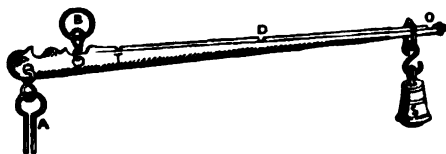
² *Guineys.*—The guinea passed for 22s. 9d. before the assimilation of the currency in 1825.

³ *A Cob.*—A coin current in Gibraltar and the south of Spain, equal to 4s. 6d. English money. Is "cob" a Spanish word?

A sort of pieces of eight¹ at 4° 6^d each, which they call plate pieces, Mexico's and Perues.

The cobs that are weight, as well as the french crown, pass at 4° 9^d but if they want a grain, or turn not the scale or stilyard, they pass but at 4° 6^d.

None here, either in market or publick-house, but with small scales weigh their silver, as well as their gold, before they take it.



An Instrument for weighing Foreign Coyne in Ireland, Silver.

- A. The receptacle for the piece.
- B. The ring to hold in the hand.
- T. The notch for the weight of a Quarter-piece.
- O. The notch of the weight of a four & ninepence piece, call'd a Weight Cob.
- D. The notch of an Halfe Cob.
- E. The steel weight.

Here are also pieces of Portugall coyne w^{ch} go at 7° 6^d, these onely, & now and then a piece of English money pass unweighed.

The copper halfe pence made for the ready change of this nation were after this manner [here follows in the original a pen-and-ink sketch of the obverse and reverse of the coin now known as "St. Patrick's halfpenny:" see Simon, Plate VII., Fig. 142], but called in this A° 1681² and in the place an half penney sett forth, with his Ma^{ties} head on y^e one side and a harp on the other, with the inscrip-
cion of y^e English half penny.

¹ *Pieces of Eight*.—This was a Spanish coin, of the value of 4s. 6d.—probably so named from the figure "8" at each side of the shield; but lately, in Ireland, the name was applied to the half crown, worth 2s. 8½d. before the assimilation of the currency in 1825. In the will of Sir Dermott O'Shaugh-

nessy, 29th January, 1671, he orders his son Roger "to pay eight pieces of eight towards James Dowley his ransom."

² The first halfpenny of Charles II., coined after the "Patrick's pence" were called in, was issued in 1680. See "Simon on Irish Coins," Plate VII., Fig. 144.

(To be continued.)

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

GENERAL MEETING, held in the Assembly Rooms, Kilkenny, on
Wednesday, May 5th, 1858,

THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF OSSORY, President of the Society,
in the Chair.

The following new Members were elected :—

The Rev. Lord Adam Loftus, Ardress Glebe, Kesh; and the Rev. William Thompson, LL.D., The Rectory, Carrickmacross: proposed by the Rev. George H. Reade.

The Rev. Godfrey C. Smith, B.A., Kinneigh Glebe, Enniskean, Bandon: proposed by Dr. Belcher.

The Rev. Robert John Gabbett, Vicarage, Foynes, Co. Limerick; and William Smith O'Brien, Esq., Cahermoyle, Newcastle-West, Co. Limerick: proposed by Dr. Cane.

The Rev. Patrick Magrath, R. C. C., Baldoyle; and the Rev. William Crowe, R. C. C., Howth: proposed by the Rev. Paul Smithwick, P. P.

Captain Michael Phillips, Glenview, Belturbet: proposed by David F. Jones, Esq.

Thomas Bowers, Esq., Graigavine, Piltown; and Mr. James Cleary, Abbey-street, Clonmel: proposed by Mr. Hugh Cuolahan.

William Kelly, Esq., Humberstone-road, Leicester; and Henry Barry Hyde, Esq., 4, St. George's-square, Regent's Park, London: proposed by the Rev. James Graves.

Thomas A. Wise, Esq., M. D., F. S. A. Scot., 17, Abercromby-place, Edinburgh; and Joseph Robertson, Esq., F. S. A. Scot., Register Office, Edinburgh: proposed by Richard R. Brash, Esq.

The Rev. J. Graves reported that, in accordance with the Resolution passed at the March Meeting, he had communicated with various persons on the subject of the restoration of the chancel arch of the ancient building known as the Nunnery, at Clonmac-

noise. He had received so much encouragement that he thought the issue of a circular, containing a brief historical notice of the building and the nature of the repairs required, would produce the necessary funds.

The rector of the parish, Rev. C. A. Vignoles, stated that the proprietor, Captain Johnston, had died since the last Meeting, but his representatives would give every facility to carry on the work of restoration at Clonmacnoise.

It was then resolved that such a circular should be prepared and issued.

The Secretary laid before the Meeting a beautifully executed Card of Thanks, in tinted lithograph, received from the Executive Committee, in acknowledgment of the antiquities contributed from the Society's Museum to the Exhibition of Art Treasures, at Manchester, in 1857.

The following presentations were received, and thanks voted to the donors:—

By the Right Hon. Lord Londesborough: "Miscellanea Graphica." Representations of Ancient, Medieval, and Renaissance Remains, in the possession of Lord Londesborough," drawn and engraved by Fairholt; the "Historical Introduction" by Thomas Wright, M. A., F. S. A.

By the Author: "Sketches on the River Suir." By Charles Newport Bolton, B. A.

By the Author: "Royal Progresses to Leicester," Part III.; a Paper read before the Leicester Literary and Philosophical Society, on the 8th March, 1858. By William Kelly, Esq.

By Robert Mac Adam, Esq.: "The Ulster Journal of Archæology," Part 14.

By the Author: "Poems of Oisín, Bard of Erin. From the Irish." By John Hawkins Simpson.

By the Cambrian Archæological Association: "Archæologia Cambrensis," Third Series, No. 14.

By the Cambrian Institute: "The Cambrian Journal," Second Series, No. 1.

By the Somerset Archæological and Natural History Society: their "Proceedings" for the years 1856-7.

By the Publisher: "The Gentleman's Magazine" for March, April, and May, 1858.

By the Author: "Catalogue of the Antiquities of Stone, Earthen, and Vegetable Materials, in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy." By W. R. Wilde, M. R. I. A.

By the Publisher: "The Builder," Nos. 785-94, inclusive.

By the Rev. Patrick Lamb, P.P.: a bridle-bit of antique bronze, found thirteen or fourteen feet deep in a bog at Ummeracoin, in

the parish of Newtownhamilton. It was a snaffle, with large cheek rings, and of very elegant form. The finder had rubbed one side bright with sand-paper, and got it brazed by a tinker where broken—apparently to fit it for use—but the back retained the marks of the casting.

The Meeting expressed their pleasure that the reverend donor had succeeded in rescuing this interesting antique from obscurity, or perhaps destruction.

By John G. A. Prim: two bronze fibulæ. They were found about twelve months since, in levelling an old ditch at Gorespark, adjoining Goresgrove, near Urlingford, on the farm of Mr. Charles Hewitson, who had given them to the donor. In the centre of the field which this ditch had bounded was a rath, which Mr. Hewitson had lately also levelled, but he reported that nothing was discovered in the operations but some sharpening-stones and a few fragments of wrought-iron, apparently similar to the knives found in such quantity in the raths at Dunbell. Outside the fosse of the rath a small and short “creep,” or sewer-like passage, was lighted on, which contained bones, which were not burned, although there were apparent marks of fire on the stones of which the passage was formed. The ring of the larger fibula of the two was two inches three-quarters in diameter, of penannular form, with flattened ends, on which were stamped ornaments of the triquetral form, the hollows appearing to have been filled with a white enamel. The pin was four inches in length. The smaller fibula was an inch in diameter, quite plain, of white bronze, and apparently of later date than the other. The ring was continuous, and the pin, which was attached after the manner of the tongue of a buckle, did not extend beyond the circumference of the ring. These antiquities were found within two hundred yards of the spot where the portion of the gigantic silver fibula, now in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, was discovered about ten years since.

By Dr. Belcher, of Bandon: a number of small, cylindrical, oblong, and globular glass beads, of various colours, found on the strand at Dunworley, county of Cork. The presentation was accompanied by the following observations:—

“For the specimen ‘beads and cylinders’ I am indebted to the kindness of George Bennett, Esq., of Bandon, a landed proprietor at Dunworley, whose attention was directed to them by the Rev. Dr. Neligan, of Cork. The latter gentleman read an interesting Paper on the subject before the Cork Cuvierian Society, in December, 1857; this he has recently printed for private circulation among his antiquarian friends; and as it will not meet the eye of the general reader, it may not be amiss to give a short abstract of it. For several years Dr. Neligan had casually picked up some few beads during the summer months, but having given special attention to the matter last year, he succeeded in accumulating a considerable va-

riety of various colours, and in a few cases found glass cylinders with inscriptions on them. The most remarkable specimens he represents in a well-executed, coloured lithograph, exhibiting, particularly, one of an hexagonal form, and also the most clearly marked of the inscribed cylinders. The result of his labours he alludes to as follows:—‘Over six hundred beads of the light blue colour, of various sizes, many being round; several of these were broken, but being perforated, I strung all together. There were also numerous fragments or chips of the blue beads, forty-four white beads, with three sets of three stripes, the centre red, and the two outer stripes blue, and others exactly *vice versed*, viz., the centre stripe blue, and the outer ones red; three white beads, with four single stripes, alternately of red and blue; one white bead, with alternate stripes, four in number, of brown and blue, with a few fragments of each; and thirteen red beads, nearly all of various sizes. On inspection, the red beads will be found to correspond with the cylinders of the same colour; if there is any difference, it is that some cylinders are striped, while none of the same coloured beads have stripes. There was also one large light blue bead (the only one which looks like a stone), of an hexagonal form.’ On his return to Cork, Dr. Neligan showed his collection to several friends, who gave various opinions as to their probable origin and use. One suggested their having been used for devotional purposes in Timoleague Abbey, the building of which was commenced in 1350, and which lies four miles in a right line from the strand. The same friend thought the cylinders may have been intended for decades; he was, however, of opinion that their origin was eastern. Again, one considered them Anglo-Saxon; another, Egyptian, with a Coptic inscription; a third fancied them to be of Pagan origin, and said ‘the blue glass was very similar to that of the Scarabæi, usually found deposited in Egyptian mummies; one or two friends suggested their being Venetian; another, that they were for talismans or amulets.’ On the recommendation of his friends, Dr. Neligan sent drawings and descriptions of the beads and cylinders to Lord Londesborough, J. Y. Akerman, Esq., F.S.A., Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries in London, C. Roach Smith, Esq., and also to W. S. W. Vaux, Esq., of the British Museum. In reply Mr. Akerman says—‘they do not appear to be very ancient;’ Lord Londesborough—‘to me also they have a most Coptic appearance;’ Mr. Smith—‘they bear an eastern character; they will probably turn out to be not remotely ancient;’ Mr. Vaux believes—‘they all came from the east, probably from Alexandria or Syria; the inscriptions are in Arabic;’ and again he writes—‘from the character of the writing, which is a late form of Cufic, they are probably of the date of the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries.’ He further conjectures that they may have been stranded from shipwreck; and, in support of this view, Dr. Neligan quotes a passage from Smith’s ‘History of the County and City of Cork,’ relating a descent of Algerine pirates on Baltimore, in 1631, and mentions a local tradition of a pirate vessel, containing these beads, having been wrecked on the coast of Dunworley about 300 years ago; also suggesting their Phœnician or Egyptian origin from the fact that, by all writers, the invention of glass has been ascribed to the Phœnicians, and also that glass has been found in Egyptian relics of great antiquity. Dr. Neligan makes another suggestion—that the colours of the stripes on the

white beads are very like the colours found in illuminated missals and MSS. of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. He further remarks the existence of St. Anne's Well contiguous to the place of find, and as, according to Smith, this place was much resorted to for devotional purposes by the peasantry of his day (1720), asks, 'could the beads have been intended to be sold for such uses to the frequenters of the well?' The subject is one deserving investigation, and it is only to be regretted that Dr. Neligan's Paper on 'Ancient Glass Beads and Cylinders' is confined to private, instead of being extended to general circulation."

By W. T. Jones, Esq.: a large number of similar beads, from the same place. The donation was accompanied by the following analysis of the beads by Professor Blyth:—

"The red cylinders are of transparent green or bottle glass, covered with a glaze of the same glass, holding a considerable quantity of peroxide of iron as the colouring matter. This glaze originally presented a vitreous aspect, though opaque. This is still exhibited in its conchoidal fracture. The present earthy appearance of the exterior is due to the friction in the sand to which the beads have been subjected. The dull appearance of the blue beads is due to the same cause. The colouring matter is, in these, oxide of copper. The glass is much more imperfect than in the cylinders, is only semi-transparent throughout, probably from the presence of large quantities of air-bubbles which have not been expelled. The beads were evidently made from a mixture which had not been sufficiently long heated to render it homogeneous, as in the case of the green cylinder glass."

By the Rev. Dr. Neligan: a most interesting tinted lithograph of several cylinders and beads from the same place, and now in his collection.

By John L. Lindsay, Esq.: an Anglo-Saxon penny, considered by the donor to be the coin termed in ancient Irish MSS., a "pin-quinn;" also two unpublished coins, which he supposed to have been struck in the time of Henry II. or Richard I. Writing to the Secretary, the Rev. James Graves, Mr. Lindsay says:—

"I suppose you have heard of the large hoard of coins lately found near Newry: they consisted, I understand from Dr. Smith (who will probably publish a more particular account of this hoard), of the following, viz.:—

- "5 Pennies of William the Lion.
- 2 Halfpence, 'Johannes Dom.'
- 1 Halfpenny, 'Caput Johannis' (unpublished).
- 10 Masle farthings.
- 289 Pennies of John, 'Roberd on dive.'
- 1 " " 'Johannes on Diveli.'
- 1 " " blundered.
- 2 Halfpence, 'Roberd.'

- 1 Farthing, 'Roberd.'
 534 English Pennies of Henry III., 14 mints, all short cross.
 5 Halves of ditto.
 238 'Patricii,' reverse 'De Duno;' many of them broken.
 26 „ reverse 'Crag' or 'Cragfevf.'

"The total number of the coins was 1115.

"The only unpublished coins in this hoard are the 'Caput Johannis' and the 'Patricii,' coined at Downpatrick and Carrickfergus. The 'Patricii' were probably struck either in the reign of Henry II. or that of Richard I.; they are farthings, and weigh about $5\frac{1}{4}$ grains when perfect. I enclose a specimen of each mint, which, with one of the ecclesiastical coins I have supposed to be pinquins, weighing 8 grains, I would thank you to place in the Museum of our Society. The 'Patricii,' particularly those of Carrickfergus, are mostly mutilated and in bad condition."

By the President: two jettons dug up in the garden of the Deanery of St. Canice.

By the Rev. Dr. Spratt: Wilson's Dublin Tradesman's token, found in an ancient well in Aungier-street, Dublin.

By Mrs. Anderson: a London groat of Edward IV., and an English shilling of Elizabeth.

By John G. A. Prim: the Tradesman's token of "Thomas Fitzgerald of Thurles."

By Robert Stevenson, Esq.: an impression of the ancient seal of the Mayoralty of the borough of Grimsby, in England.

By Aquilla Smith, Esq., M. D.: a thirty-shilling note of the "Kilkenny Bank" of Mr. Joseph Loughnan, dated 9th September, 1818.

Dr. Corbett, of Cork, exhibited a curious pamphlet, entitled:—"A True Relation of all the Proceedings in Ireland, from The end of *April* last, to this present: sent From *Tristram Whetcombe*, Mayor of *Kinsale*, to his Brother *Benjamin Whetcombe*, Merchant in London. With A Certificate under the Hand and Seal of Sir *William Saint-Leger*, Lord President of Munster. As also The Copy of an Oath which was found in a Trunck in *Kilbrienne* Castle, after the Rebels were fled from thence, the first of *June*, 1642." London, printed, by order of Parliament, for Joseph Hunscomb. 1642.

Mr. J. G. Robertson exhibited a leaden seal, which bore marks of having been appended by a cord or string; it bore on one side the letters and figures, N. P., N12II. 1797; the other side was much defaced. He asked for information as to its origin or purpose.

The Very Rev. the President suggested that it had been a seal attached to linen imported from Holland, certifying its authenticity.

Mr. Robertson also exhibited the impression of a bronze signet ring, found near Armagh in the year 1857, and now in possession of Dr. Petrie, bearing the letters "ION," above which was a crown of three strawberry leaves. These letters were presumed to stand for "I. O'Neill."

The Rev. Mr. Graves remarked that rings with a crowned "I" were common, and, to whatever personage those rings belonged, the impression which was now exhibited seemed to have been of the same class, giving the name "John" a little more *in extenso*. He did not think it could be in any way connected with the O'Neill family. The form of the letters was of the beginning of the fifteenth century.

Samson Carter, Esq., C. E., on behalf of J. G. Gibbon, Esq., C. E., sent a drawing of the old monument of the Whittey family existing in the ruined church of Kilmore, barony of Bargy, county of Wexford, accompanied by a copy of the inscription, as follows:—

"Hic iacet Walterus Whittey, De Balleteigue, &c. Armiger, qui
Obyit 9 Novembris, Anno Dñi. 1630, et Helena uxor eius Fillia
Hamundi Stafforde De Ballyconnoure Generosi quæ obyt 27
Aprilis, Anno Dñi 1646 et Catharina Prima uxor Ricardi Whittey
Armigeri Filia Philippi Devereux De Balmagir Armigeri quæ
Obyit 18 Augusti Anno 1646 quorum Gratia idem Ricardus primo-
genitus p'dicti Walteri et Helenæ cum uxore sua secunda
Catharina Eustace Filla Olyveri Eustace De Ballynunnry
Armigeri Me Fieri fecit. 29 ianuary Anno Dñi 1647.

"Yee Christian friends in passing by, youre prayers wee humbly crave,
That heere interred expectinge christ a Restinge place maye have
And as for them that went before prayers yow maye surely yelde,
The licke of those that are to come expecte when yow have neede."

Mr. Michael Kearney, Clonmel, sent an inscription on a headstone in the church-yard of Darragrath, near Woodroof, midway between Cahir and Clonmel, county of Tipperary; which, although of no great antiquity, was worth preserving for its singularity.

Here lies the body of
Andrew Coffoe who
was Murdered by Den-
nis Ryan and his Son
y^e 29th F^y 1755.

The Rev. C. B. Gibson, M. R. I. A., sent the following communication relative to John Annias the poisoner:—

"Mr. Daniel Mac Carthy, in his interesting paper on 'State-craft in the sixteenth century,' says, when speaking of Annias the poisoner (vide

vol. i., new series, p. 408):—‘No success has repaid my search after any further account of him.’ If Mr. Mac Carthy will turn to pages 556 and 557 of the ‘*Pacata Hibernia*,’ he will find two of his letters; the first, dated June, 1602, addressed to Father Dominick, Beerehaven, in which he warns him to be careful in fortifying Dunboy Castle, filling the chambers with hides and earth. He inquires about ‘cord and saltpetre,’ and in conclusion commends his friend to the special care of God. We conclude from these letters, that John Annias, as well as ‘James Archer the Jesuit,’ were engaged in the Spanish expedition (under Don Juan de Aquila), which landed at Kinsale in 1601.

“As his second letter is short, and was written ‘a little before his execution,’ and as I have a remark or two to make upon it, I shall ask a place for it here:—

“‘A LETTER from JOHN ANIAS to the BARON OF LIXNAW, a little before his Execution.

“‘In trust is treason. So Wingfield betrayed me. My death satisfies former suspicions, & gives occasion hereafter to remember me; & as ever I aspire to immortalize my name upon the earth, so I would request you by virtue of that ardent affection I had toward you in my life, you would honor my death in making mention of my name in the Register of your country. Let not my servant Cormock want, as a faithful servant unto me. Let my funeral & service of the Catholique Church be observed for the soul. Heere I send you the Passe and Letter of that faithlesse Wingfield, having charged the bearer, upon his dutie to God, to deliver this unto your hands. O’Sulevan was strange to mee, but inures himself to want me. Command me to Captain Tirrell, O’Connor, your sister Gerode Oge. This the night before my execution, the eighth day of November 1602, & upon this sudden I cannot write largely.

“‘Your loving Bedfellow sometimes,

“‘ISMARITO.’”

“He speaks in this letter of ‘former suspicions.’ What were these? Had they reference to the report of his intention to poison Florence Mac Carthy? This may or may not have been the case. ‘O’Sulevan was strange’ to him. O’Sullivan was an honest man, and knew Anias had acted traitorously to his country. On the other hand, the Baron of Lixnaw had been his ‘loving bedfellow, sometimes.’ But ‘Misfortune’ (might plead the Baron) ‘makes us acquainted with strange bedfellows.’ Very true, but the whole style of the letter is not that of a thoroughly bad man. His desire to have his name mentioned in the Register of his country; his ardent affection for his friend, expressed in his dying hour; his adherence to his original faith, and his care of his faithful servant, are not the marks of one totally depraved. It is possible after all, perhaps *probable*, that he never contemplated the poisoning of Florence; but that his great enmity to Cecil and Carew caused him to ‘give out (as yt sameth) so vyle an untrewth.’ Let us be just and charitable to

¹ In the first letter to Father Dominick he signs himself “John Anias.”

them all, to the secretary and president, as well as to Annias. Whatever was his crime, it did not justify Wingfield's entrapping him by a 'false passe and letter.' In those days there was too much truth in the words, '*in trust is treason.*'"

The Rev. James Graves said he had received a letter from Mr. Albert Way, dated at Venice, April 26. Although abroad in quest of health (and every lover of antiquity should hope that Mr. Way would return with a good store of that greatest of earthly blessings), yet he had not forgotten this Society, as was evident from the following communication:—

"Amongst the manuscripts in the public library at Nice, a collection which owes its origin to the suppression of certain monasteries in the Sardinian States, there exists a small volume, no doubt portion of the spoils of some old conventual library, which may possibly be regarded with interest by those who investigate Irish antiquities or literary history. It is entitled '*Manipulus Florum*,' and appears to have been the result of the laborious studies of a certain Fellow of the Sorbonne in the fourteenth century, '*Magister Thomas de Hybernia*,' doubtless a native of Ireland. At the end of the work is found the following colophon:—

"*¶ Hoc opus est compilatum a magistro thoma de hybernia quondam Socio de Sorbona.*

"*¶ Explicit manipulus florum.*"

"And at the close of a '*tabula*' or index of the various subjects comprised in the volume, which is, in all probability the autograph of Thomas de Hybernia, the following date is found:—

"*¶ Finit* [*finitum*] Anno domini *MD*. ccc. vi^o die veneris post passionem apostolorum petri et pauli."

"The compilation consists of numerous extracts from various authors, arranged under the words or subjects which they serve to illustrate or explain. A few of these subjects will suffice to show the nature of this medieval commonplace book; and although the volume, it will be perceived, is comparatively of slight literary importance—no portion of its contents being the original composition of the learned Fellow of the Sorbonne, an Irishman by birth—it may appear not wholly undeserving of attention, as serving to indicate the various authors most in esteem at the period, and most readily accessible to the writer. Nor is this brief notice offered without the hope that they may serve to draw forth some particulars regarding the Irish scholar with whose memory it is connected, or the original productions, possibly, of one who, as the evidence here supplied gives us assurance, had drank copiously at the best sources of ancient erudition and sound doctrine. The list of subjects commences thus:—

Abstinencia.
Abusio.
Acceptio personarum.
Accidia.
Adjutoria.
Adventus domini.
Adulatio.
Advocati, &c.

"At the close of this 'tabula,' after the date before given, is found a 'tabula scriptorum,' indicating the writers and treatises from which the extracts were compiled. Amongst these the following occur:—

S' Augustine.
S' Ambrose.
S' Jerome.
S' Gregory.
S' Bernard.
S' Hilary. and others.

Also—

Libri Ysidori.
Libri Johannis Crisostomi.
Libri Rabani.
Libri Prosperi et Damasceni.
Libri Anselmi.
Libri B. de Sancto Victore.
Libri Hugonis de Sancto Victore.
Libri Alcuini [*Alcuin*].

"Then follow 'Libri diversorum auctorum,' and amongst these are worthy of note:—

"Plinius de Naturali hystoria.

"Raby Moyses, qui intitulum dux Dubiorum.

"Valerius Maximus de memorabilibus dictis et factis Romanorum, &c.

"Dissuasio Valerii ad Rufinum ne ducat uxorem.

"Macrobius de sompno sipionis [*Scipionis*].

"Libri Tullii; Rethorica vetus; Rethorica nova; De Amicitia; De Officiis; De Senectute, and several other works of Cicero.

"Libri Boecii, de Trinitate, and others.

"Libri Senece; Epistole ejus ad Paulum Apostolum; De beneficiis, and many others.

"It may deserve mention, that in this catalogue the various works enumerated are described with the following singular precision; the first and last words of each work are given, as in the following example:—

"¶ Rabij moyses, qui intitulum dux dubiorum vel nenero? (?) continens partes tres. Principium—in nomine domini dei mundi fac m̃ uiaz (?) Finis—sedentibus in regione umbre mortis lux oriatur."

"The MS. is very neatly written. The initials are rubricated, and painted blue. One leaf seems to have been lost at the beginning of the volume."

Ware and Harris ("Writers of Ireland," pp. 74, 75) state that Thomas de Hybernia was born at Palmerstown, near Naas, in the county of Kildare. The "Manipulus Florum" was printed at Venice in 1492, and went through many subsequent editions.

Mr. Way also mentioned that he was struck by remarking, amongst the fresco paintings which cover the walls of the beautiful conventual church of Chiaravalle, the first Cistercian foundation in Italy, a painting of St. Malachy, with the legend:—"S. Malachias Archiep' Armacani, ordinis Cisterciensis;"—and over the figure:—"Hinc di-

uitia, oratio Justi penetrat cœlos." This painting was not, however, earlier than the sixteenth century.

He saw also a painting entitled "S. Cristianus Archiep' in Hibernia, Cisterciensis;" as also one of Edmund Archbishop of Canterbury,—works attributed to Fiamminghini.

The following papers were then submitted to the Meeting.

ON ANCIENT MASON MARKS AT YOUGHAL AND ELSEWHERE; AND THE SECRET LANGUAGE OF THE CRAFTSMEN OF THE MIDDLE AGES IN IRELAND.

BY E. FITZGERALD, ARCHITECT, YOUGHAL.

IT is now pretty well known that our mediæval architectural remains bear an undoubted impress of the age in which they were erected, independent even of tradition or history,—as, to the practised eye, the tapered window ope, inclining door-jamb, and massive wall of well or ill-wrought masonry, the form, style, and construction of arches, workmanship of sculpture, and section of mouldings, &c., each and all contribute in forming unerring clues to the date and period when erected.

But, that the early builders incised secret marks on the products of their heads and hands may not be generally known, yet is a fact well worth our attention.

That the craftsmen and masons of the middle ages, in Ireland, not only had private marks, but also a dialect called "Bearlagair-na-sair," which was unknown to any but the initiated of their own callings, is also a fact worth our particular attention.

This dialect has been preserved to our own times, and is still used among masons (though not exclusively confined to them) in the counties of Limerick, Clare, Waterford, and Cork; to the two latter counties it is chiefly confined in the present day. The writer made it an amusement, during part of the last year, to jot down, from among his masons, every word of "bearlagair" he could get an inkling of, until he conceived the subject was exhausted; and indeed, it is but fair to say, when the men found it was an amusement "to book their slang," they gave every facility in the collection, in general, except an odd, crusty old craftsman, who thought it "very wrong to let out their secrets;" but, when hinted, from mischief, that it was *only* for "prenting" they were being collected,

the old *Arrick*¹ was well inclined to draw the *Limeen*² from his *Rochawn-thour*³ on his more communicative comrade, and swearing "it was three inches of his *Gladeen*⁴ he'd get, if such a thing was done when *he* was a boy."

The words are now thrown into something of order, and a glance will show they are more than mere slang, or a dialect got together by an ignorant set of unlearned operatives. This will at once be seen, as Hebrew, Greek, and Latin enter often into their construction, the Irish always predominating. From this fact the language and mason-marks are here placed together, the writer believing them to belong to the same body of craftsmen.

Numbers of our ancient architectural remains are dotted over with mason-marks, hitherto scarcely noticed for want of attention being called to them. The writer is informed that Holy Cross, Askeaton, and Hoare Abbey, Rock of Cashel, are among the marked. Mr. Wakeman, writing on Leighlin Cathedral, in the "Irish Ecclesiastical Journal" for July, 1851, says:—"The southern transept no longer exists, and its archway, which is as old as any portion of the building, and exhibits upon several of its well-chiselled stones the singular incuttings known as masons' marks, is now used as the doorway of the church. The curious characters which are supposed to indicate the work of the bands of Freemasons, who, during a considerable period of the middle ages, wandered from place to place, as their services were required, occur on many edifices of Early Pointed work in Ireland, but have never, as far as we know, been collected or properly examined. This is greatly to be regretted, as by a careful examination and comparison of the so-called masons' marks, as they occur in this country, with those which in England and upon the Continent have excited the attention of ecclesiologists, some additional light might be thrown upon the architectural history of Europe, during a period most remarkable for the grandeur and excellence of the monuments which it has bequeathed to us." Thus we have an additional interest thrown around our old Irish architectural remains, which the Members of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society may well turn to account, as, if each Member copied the marks in his own vicinity, a collection might without much difficulty at once be effected, and the desired comparison at once drawn. Towards effecting this purpose, specimens are given on our plate from two celebrated ancient continental cathedrals, some from Scotland, and others from the ancient remains at Youghal.

This comparison would be the more interesting, as it may also substantiate the opinion which seems so generally received, con-

¹ *Arrick*, a mason or artificer.

² *Limeen*, a trowel, worn in the breeches-belt by the side, and, in fights, becoming in

a mason's hand a very formidable weapon.

³ *Rochawn-thour*, the breeches.

⁴ *Gladeen*, the knife.

cerning the migration of the itinerant Freemasons during the middle ages; but on what authority this opinion is founded has not been given or satisfactorily settled. Brewer, in his "Beauties of Ireland," touches on the subject: alluding to the similarity of features existing between the Irish and English edifices, during the period under consideration; he says, in vol. ii., page cxvi., of the Introduction:—"That the religious edifices of Ireland should display a sympathy in fashion with those of England will indeed be esteemed highly probable, when we remember that such structures were rarely, in either country, the works of native artists. It appears that bands of architects and workmen, of different nations, who had been long in the habit of travelling over Europe, in search of employment from the princes, nobles, and clergy, in the erection of churches, castles, and bridges, were incorporated by the Pope towards the close of the twelfth century, and were, at the same time, endowed with various other important privileges. Under the name of Free and Accepted Masons, this fraternity was well known in Ireland and Britain, and erected the principal churches of both countries." Now, as to Brewer's assertions relative to these structures, both in England and Ireland, being rarely the work of native artists, it seems to me to have been far from the fact, for the reverse, as far as Ireland is concerned, is certainly nearer the truth, which any one may prove for himself by looking into Petrie's work on our ancient Irish Architecture; as it will be there seen that the Hibernian works of the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries—far more artistic and important than any works of the same era on the Continent or in England—doubtless, must have been the work of native architects and artists. Therefore, if the Irish took precedence in their architecture in those early ages, it is not to be supposed for a moment that they lacked architects and craftsmen in the latter part of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century; and, from the advanced position in learning and architecture at the time in Ireland, there is good reason to conclude it was she supplied other nations with the materials now said to have been borrowed from them by her. The mason-marks gleaned even from the old buildings at Youghal nearly prove this, as they are identical, in many instances, with those of Scotland and the Continent. Two marks, in particular, from the Round Tower at Brechin, a structure Dr. Petrie says he will prove to have been built by *Irish churchmen* about the year 1020, are identical with two we have at Youghal; and others from the Cathedral at Presburg, a much later building than the Round Tower—a clue which, coupled with other proofs, to the writer's mind, shows that the Irish of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were the identical itinerant architects, and building Freemasons of the times in question. Our Irish precedence in

learning and architecture, before the English invasion, is an interesting subject, well worthy the attention of Irish archæologists.

And now, with reference to our accompanying Plate of mason-marks, it must be admitted to be a curious and interesting page. The three first lines, Nos. 1, 2, 3, except the three last angular marks, are taken from the interior of St. Mary's Church, Youghal, —most of the marks being several times repeated through the church, some being from thirty to forty feet from the ground. The marks are confined to the wrought stones of piers, quoins, and arches, and exclusively to the thirteenth century work; there being earlier and later works in this structure, yet no mason-marks have been yet discovered on them. Indeed, the writer has examined several eleventh and twelfth century Irish buildings, and as yet has not discovered any mason-marks on them; but does not, on this account, consider other buildings of the same date, in other parts of the country, exempt from them. The fifth mark on the second line, a fern, is taken from a tomb-flag or stone coffin-lid of the thirteenth century, inscribed with ROGER DEIVIL. E. This mark is not used in any other part of the building, but is among the mason-marks of St. Ninian's Lodge of Freemasons, Brechin. Roger Devil's name appears on the Battle Abbey Roll, so that it would appear that he, though by descent a soldier, was one of the "craft." The three triangular marks on the third line are from the Dominican Friary at Youghal, a building founded in the middle of the thirteenth century; three marks are all that could be found on it: but very little of the Abbey is there to be examined, as the destructives of Cromwell's time nearly demolished it. These marks are much used in St. Mary's, and occur among my collection from Scotland also, and, on that account, are not repeated in the Plate. Similar marks are also used in the continental cathedrals. The first two marks on the fourth line, in the form of crosses, are from the Round Tower at Brechin, which the late lamented Patrick Chalmers, Esq., F. S. A., published, with a number of others from Brechin, in the "*Archæologia*" for 1852, and to the kindness of whose brother, John J. Chalmers, Esq., of Aldbar Castle, Brechin, the writer is indebted for a copy of Mr. Chalmers's Paper and Plates, which are here referred to. Mr. Chalmers mentions that "but two distinct mason-marks are on this Tower, but they are frequently repeated, so that it may be inferred that only two masons were employed in preparing stones for the building—a supposition probable enough in itself." He also says that they "are generally cut along the whole length and depth of the stone," and that "Dr. Petrie says that he is to prove it (the Tower) to have been built by Irish churchmen about the year of our Lord 1020."

The remainder of the fourth and fifth lines are from the cathe-

ANCIENT MASON MARKS.

Irish, Scotch, and Continental,

From ancient Ecclesiastical Structures at Youghal.



Nº1,



2



3

From old Buildings at Brechin, Scotland.



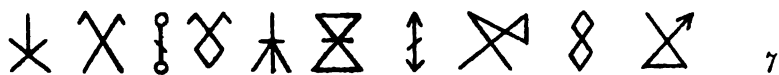
4



5



6



7

From St Ninians Masonic Lodge-Book Brechin.



8

From the Cathedral of Strasburg, France.

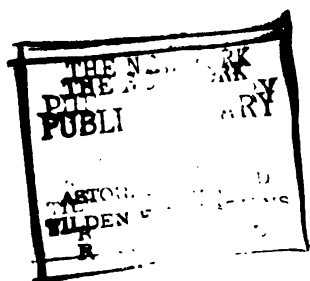


9

From the Cathedral of Presburg, Hungary.



10



dral tower and steeple of Brechin, supposed to have been built between 1354 and 1373.

The sixth line of marks is also from Brechin, and is taken from the interior and exterior of the *Domus Dei*, or *Maison Dieu*, founded by William de Brechin in 1264.

The seventh line is from the Castle of Melgund, built by Cardinal Beaton in 1542.

The eighth line is a selection from the Cash-book of St. Ninian's Masonic Lodge, Brechin, where they are appended to the names of various members of that Lodge, from 1714 to 1847 inclusive. All the Scotch marks here given are copied from Mr. Chalmers' Plates. The first eight marks to the left, on the ninth line, are from Strassburgh Cathedral; the three others to the right, on the same line, and the tenth line, are copied from the walls of the Cathedral at Presburg. The continental marks here given were copied from the cathedral, in 1851, by the Rev. A. B. Rowan, of Tralee, and presented to the writer by Mr. Windele. Mr. Chalmers, in writing on the use and origin of mason-marks, says:—"These marks, in all probability, had their origin before the Christian era; and this would, indeed, be placed beyond all doubt if the marks observed by Colonel Howard Vyse and others, on stones in the pyramids of Egypt, were mason-marks, and not quarry-marks, as in some instances he has proved them to be; or if he could identify the secret societies of Egypt with those of Freemasonry, as has been attempted. It is only reasonable to suppose that mason-marks have been modified by and added to symbols connected with, or illustrative of, facts and doctrines of the Christian faith. A quarter of a century has barely elapsed since the rule that each mason should have his distinctive mark, and should affix it to every stone hewn by him, was strictly enforced in the district I have referred to (Scotland); and even now, when many men are collected together on a work, the rule is observed, though not with so much strictness. It was a law in St. Ninian's Lodge at Brechin that every mason should register his mark in a book, and he could not change that mark at pleasure." The rule given by the craft for the formation of the marks is, that they shall have at least one angle; that the circle must be avoided; and cannot be a true mason's mark unless in combination with some line that shall form an angle with it; that there is no distinction of ranks; that is, that there is no particular class of marks set apart for and assigned to master-masons as distinguished from their workmen; if it should happen that two masons, meeting at the same work from distant parts, should have the same mark, then one must for a time assume a different distinction, or, as heralds say, "a difference."

Mr. Chalmers, speaking on the introduction of Freemasonry, mentions:—"It is said to have been introduced into Scotland A.D. 1140,

at the building of the Abbey of *Kilwinning* [by the way, a very Irish name, and significant of what has been already advanced], and to have been preserved in greater purity in that country than in any other in Europe; but, be that as it may, it was probably brought in at the first employment of foreign masons. The continued purity of Freemasonry in Scotland may have contributed to the longer use of the mason-marks in that country." Probably Mr. Chalmers was not aware that the system is *still* carried out in several parts of England, among the operative stone-cutters, though not in connexion with the "free and accepted masons." The writer was shown last year, at Lisnore, by Mr. Brown, architect to the Duke of Devonshire, several stones which were imported for the "Carlisle Tower," then erecting as an addition to the Castle, cut with mason-marks. The fourth mark on the right-hand side of the seventh line on our Plate was exactly similar to one of them. And Mr. Brown said, that when he was at Chatsworth, he had a book with hundreds of marks in it, and with the masons and stonecutters' names attached to them; and that, as a new hand or craftsman was put on a job, he added an additional nick or score to his master's or foreman's, so that at once every man's work was known by his mark.

There can be little doubt but the marks and secret language were the origin of the marks, signs, and pass-words of our "free and accepted masons" of the present day; but a fact worthy of notice is, that the operative masons of the present generation look on the theoretic brethren of the ancient craft not with the most benignant feeling of brotherhood, as a verse or two from one of their old doggerel songs may plainly show, which the writer has occasionally heard hoarsely trolled forth among his men, not in the most finished harmony, but not yet the less lustily, when they were in what they called "their glory" over their beer at a foundation or finishing pot. A principal man among them would then very politely ask—"Now, boys, let us have a few verses of—

"THE LADS WITH THEIR APRONS ON."¹

"You masons brave, that courage have

To execute each artist's plan,

I pray give ear to what you hear,

And that from a mason's son.²

Let Babel's height not you affright,

Or the Temple that the heavens planned;

That pile of state was made complete,

And built by lads with their aprons on.

¹ It is not an unusual saying among those "lads," when they see a horse the worse of the wear, and his owner overpraising his powers, as is often the case:—"His hide

would just make two aprons; what will you take for him?"

² The son of a mason was always a privileged man among them.

"On Egypt's plains they took great pains
 To raise the Pyramids so high;
 Who had them made, it is not said,
 Nor can they tell the reason why.
 How they had stood before the Flood,
 For to deny it no man can,
 But this they may sincerely say—
 They were built by lads with their aprons on.

"And, you masons bright, take no delight
 In what they call Freemasonry,
 For with their mock signs, their squares and lines,
 Or any of their damned mystery.
 For it is well they know it was by you
 That all their wondrous works were done;
 They'd pledge their souls to steal our trowels,
 And mock us with their silk aprons on."

Thus we have leather *versus* silk aprons, the practical men in leather looking in derision on the theoretic men in silk.

The part of our subject on mason-marks has so extended, that the secret language must be deferred until a future Meeting.

THE CLAN KAVANAGH, TEMP. HENRY VIII.

BY HERBERT FRANCIS HORE, ESQ.

"THE Clan Kavanagh *under* Henry VIII." would not be a correct heading for a brief memoir of the state of this celebrated sept during the middle of the sixteenth century, because, besides that their chief received a yearly black rent of eighty marks from the Exchequer of the King of England, this tribe was, at first, almost virtually independent of his Majesty's somewhat nominal sway in Ireland. A full account of this ancient clan, which was, during many centuries, the ruling family of the Gael of Leinster, would, of course, elucidate the political and social history of the Milesian people of our archæological district more completely than an account of any other house. Our pages are too intermittent to admit of giving such a history otherwise than piecemeal, so, for the present, we introduce to the reader's notice two original documents highly illustrative of the state of the clan at the period in question. The first of these records is a letter addressed, in the year 1541, by Walter Cowley, Surveyor-General, to the Viceroy, narrating what had passed in a recent interview between the writer and Cahir Mac Art

Kavanagh, a distinguished leader of the clan. This letter, which is preserved in the State Paper Office, is, indeed, one of the most curious we have met with during frequent and protracted researches in that rich repository, since it discloses, in a unique degree of detail, the social condition of an Irish clan of the period, and develops the thoughts and intentions of a chief of the race in the direction of assimilating their habits and usages to English models.

To present the reader with a graphic picture of the normal state of Irish septs in the beginning of the sixteenth century would demand too large a breadth in this brief memoir. A single point may suffice to give an idea of the condition and mode of life of a "King of Leinster" at the commencement of that age. The chronicler¹ who records the death, in 1512, of King "Mauritius," writes of him by his popular name, "*Maurice the Woodkerne*." This chieftain, who probably is identical with Murrough *ballagh* Kavanagh, styled Mac Morrough, or chief of the clan, by the Four Masters,² evidently obtained his soubriquet from (like the celebrated Murrough *en ranagh*, i. e. of the fern) inhabiting wild places, and practising the roving and ravaging life of a leader of foresters, who were, doubtless, more predatory and less polite than the merry men who called Robin Hood master. Among the presentments of injuries sustained, made to the High Commissioners of 1537, are representations from the Irishtown of the city of Kilkenny, to the effect that Mac Murrough was accustomed to exact black rent from the town of Gowran, and that his kernetighe, that is, the foot-guards of his household, had recently stolen horses thence. In this year his force, when combined with his kinsmen, O'Byrne and O'Toole, amounted to 300 horsemen, or well-born cavaliers, declared not to be surpassed for hardiness in Ireland, and between 600 and 700 kerne. His horsemen exceeded the number that could be mustered by the King's portion of the five shires of Leinster. Such being his ascendancy, it is not surprising to find Lord Butler writing, in 1538, "M'Morrow calleth for his black rent in the counties of Kilkenny and Wexford." Referring to Professor O'Donovan's quotation of an account of this clan in the year 1572 (at page 119 of our first volume, new series), it will be observed that the chieftains of that time still maintained "thieves" for the special purpose of plundering the Saxon; a fact that may be referred to without any squeamishness on the part of archæologists, since it was regarded at the time, by the Gael, as a retributive and glorious means of, in the phrase of Roderic Dhu, rending prey from the robber.

The second document is the "Agreement and Ordinances" entered into between the Viceroy and certain seniors or *ceancinnés* of

¹ Dowling.

² Murrough *Ballagh*, i. e., the Freckled,

though a wood-kerne, repaired and endowed Leighlin Castle.—See "Annuary."

the several divisions of the tribe, consequent upon the reformatory steps proposed by one of their body. This paper is also more curious in its provisions than any other of the same character we have read ; and its covenants will, no doubt, be compared by the reader with the previously recorded propositions of the intelligent leader of the movement, to examine how far his suggestions were attended to or departed from. To the good sense and loyalty of Cahir Mac Art Kavanagh, the extraordinary result, that a considerable portion of his estate is still inherited by his descendants, after a possession of many hundred years, is probably due. Recollecting that similar cases of such venerable tenure of landed property are rare in Ireland, and indulging in a belief that they would be less rare had the lords and chieftains of the sixteenth century acted in the prudent spirit evinced in the instance before us, we cannot but view with interest these statements of the methods proposed, and means adopted for giving civilization to Cahir Kavanagh's country, and permanency to his lordship over it.

The documents about to be given are so intelligible, that few comments are needed. Some sketch of the previous history of the clan may, nevertheless, be serviceable.

Donald Mac Art Kavanagh, who was the Mac Murrough, or chief, of his clan, at the epoch of Edward Bruce's invasion, seized the opportunity of this shattering blow to English power in Ireland to extend the territory and dominion of his ancient race, by recovering for them the greater part of the county of Carlow, and three parts of the county of Wexford. He assumed his ancestors' title of King of Leinster ; caused the bordering Englishry to render him black mail, for the consideration of protecting them from being plundered ; and proved so formidable to the Government in Dublin Castle, that it was deemed politic to pay him a stipend of eighty marks yearly, which was continued to his successors during two hundred years, under the name of " Mac Murrough's black penny," and is the sole recorded instance of continuous *cios-dubh*, or black rent, having been rendered by the crown to a line of Irish kings. As the clan increased in numbers and strength, they ejected the colonists descended from and planted by Strongbow's barons from out the wide countries around Mount Leinster, banishing Lord Carew from Idrone, where " Carew's Wood" became their best fastness ; uprooting Lord Neville from Baron's Court, near Gorey, in order to extend a main branch of their royal stem, the *sliocht* Kinshellagh, in this direction ; expelled the Dennes from the barony of Cayer, and seized its castle, now Wilton ; sacked the strong garrison fortress of Ferns, the citadel of the ancient metropolis of their former dynasty ; destroyed the original fortalice at Enniscorthy, and by driving away the Prendergasts and Rochforts, feudal lords of the adjacent districts, gave

broadier scope to other branches of their indigenous root, namely, to M'Wadock, M'Davidmore, and O'Murphy. When assembled in 1408, under the banner of the celebrated and heroic Arthur the Younger, they drove raids into the far south-east, where they burned Whytney's Castle of Ballyteige; and then, having marked their course through the Saxon colony of Forth and Bargy by a broad and lengthened train of fire and smoke, they fluttered the traders of Wexford in their dovecots by shouting *Ceinsalach-abo!* under the town walls. They burnt the walled and flourishing seaport town of Ross on the day Richard the Second landed at Waterford, and reduced this once prosperous and populous city to the condition of a ruined and tributary village. They slew, in battle, the great Mortimer, heir to the throne of that sovereign; and by these and similar deeds of daring, so aroused the wounded pride of the English monarch that he twice led two mighty expeditions into the country of this fierce and formidable clan, with the express object of crushing them.

Let us now trace the immediate descent of the principal actor in the matters about to be set forth, namely, Cahir Mac Arte, commonly called Lord or Baron St. Molyns of Ballyann.

Dermot *Lávderg*, i. e. the Red-handed, son of the famous Art oge, the Mac Murrough who heroically and effectually resisted the two grand attempts on the part of Richard the Second to subdue him, had, for his portion, the lordship of St. Molyns, the manor of Fernamanagh, part of Farrenhamon, and the barony of Ballyann. He died in 1417, and is ancestor of the *Slíocht Diarmada Laimdeirgh*, or race of Red-handed Dermot. His son, Dermot, left issue, Arte, father of Lord St. Molyns, and ancestor of the present Kavanagh of Borris. As is well known, the kingship of a clan was not hereditary, but elective. In the case of the great tribe under review, the succession to their chieftancy seems to have oscillated between several *Slíochts*, or septs, of which the most distinguished were the lines of St. Molyns, Garryhill, and Colenelyne.

The "Rentall," or Memorandum Book, of the ninth Earl of Kildare mentions the following members of this clan as recipients of the Earl's gifts of "chief horses," or chargers, which he customarily presented to friends and military followers.

In the year 1514:—

"To M'Morowe, a bay horse, and to his wiff a grey hackney.
To Moriartagh Kavanagh, a black.
To Morice Kevanagh, a bay."

In the year 1520:—

"To O'Morowe, a bay.
To Gerald Kevanagh, a grey."

In the year 1523:—

“To Kayer Encrossy, a sorell.
To Donyll Kavenagh, a black.
To Enna Kavanagh, a sorell.”

In the year 1524:—

“To M'Morowe, a sorell.
To Art M'Gerald Kavanagh, a dun.”

Besides these entries of presents to members of the clan, there are others of “duties,” or tributes, conceded by them to the Earl, in consideration of his extending his powerful protection to them. These rents were mostly such as “a groat upon every cow that grazed on certain lands,” and had been conceded by “Morrhough Ballagh, by Cayer, son of Arte Buoy, and other *ceanncinis* of *sliochts*. It is observed in a State Paper of 1537, “A Memorial for winning Leinster,” that most of the Irish of the province were under tribute to the Earls of Kildare, and part of them to the Butlers, “which,” adds the writer, “hath been the most occasion of preserving them.”

The annalist Dowling, Chancellor of Leighlin, has recorded several curious particulars respecting the frequent contests between the several septs of this clan for its sovereignty. He chronicles that, in the year 1522 Gerald Kavanagh, the “M'Mochardus,” who made himself to be called King of Leinster, and leader of the Lagenians, died, and was interred at Leighlin. And how, four years subsequently, Cahir M'Arte, of Polmonty, set fire to Drumreagh Castle, near Killamea, or Old Abbey, and thereby burnt Cahir Mac Maurice oge Kavanagh, and his mother, Meav, and other persons. The actor in this incendiary feud, one of many, doubtless, that taught him to prefer the peaceful English laws of succession, became a reformer and a baron of Parliament.

It appears by the first and most curious document in the printed Irish State Papers, describing the general dominancy the Gaelic race had attained to in the beginning of the sixteenth century, and stating that the King's Exchequer paid then (anno 1515), yearly to “M'Murho,” eighty marks, and that the county of Wexford “payeth yerely to *Mc Murho*, and to *Arte buoy*, £40,” that the clan was then ruled by two separate toparchs, one, “Mack Morough of Idrone, chief captain of his nation,” residing west of Mount Leinster; and on the east, the other, Arte the Yellow, who is styled Mac Murchadha by the annalists, who, according to them, enjoyed full sovereignty without opposition, and died at Enniscorthy in 1518.¹

In a description² of the state of Ireland in the early part of the century under consideration, it is stated:—“M'Murghowe is

¹ For his pedigree, see vol. i., new series, p. 120.

² Add. MS., 6917.

Prince of Leinster. He and his kinsmen will be 200 horse well harneysed" (provided with armour), "a batayle of galoghs, and 300 kerne." At the same period, the Englishry of Wexfordshire could only raise 60 horse and 200 kerne; and are described as "so environed with Irishmen that they cannot answer the king's deputie, neyther have power to keepe themselves, save only by paying tribute to Irishmen." Yet, though such was then the overshadowing force wielded by the mountain chief, it succumbed to the superior potencies of two great families, the Butlers and the Geraldines, whose rise also dates from the Bruce's invasion, when the heads of their houses were elevated to earldoms. The lords of Kildare gradually extended their influence over the province which now gives them the title of Duke, making, among other native clans, this of Kavanagh tributary to them; and eventually, after the temporary fall of the Geraldines, Piers, the Red Earl of Ormonde, quelled the pride of the Kavanaghs, and narrowed their territory. The Red Earl's second son, Sir Richard Butler, was created Viscount of Mountgarrett (a castle lying close to Ross, and protecting this town from the mountaineers), received a grant of a vast estate in "the *fassagh* or forest of Bantry," and was recommended for a still larger grant, "with the name of Erle in base Leinster," in order "to defeat an Irish name, which was accustomed to be there among the Irishmen, viz.: MAC MORCHOWE." For centuries, indeed, this proud patriarchal title was as much loved and feared in Ireland as that of Mac Ailin More in Scotland.

Robert Cowley writes, April, 1538, as follows respecting "M'Murroagh, who calleth himself Prince of Leinster:"—

"When Sir William Skeffington was Lord Deputy, and lying at Dundalk, after the death of the late M'Murrough, one Dowling Kavanagh, who had the right to the principalitie of the country, and yet was willing to obtain it by the King's favour, contrary to the usage of his ancestors, resorted to the Lord Deputy, desiring to be admitted to his right by the King's authority. He at the same time offered to furnish 340 galloglasses yearly, being 680 men. But the Earl of Kildare dispossessed him, and placed Cahir M'Innycross, who is aultier or fosterer to the Earl, as M'Murrough."¹

The creation of this chieftain by the powerful Geraldine is referred to the year 1530 by the chronicler, Dowling, who names Cahir as *Mac Gerald*, a patronymic evidencing his connexion with the dominant Anglo-Irish family of Leinster; and says also that he was commonly called *M'Nehenyne crostey*, viz.: the son of the natural daughter, who may have been born to a previous Earl of Kildare. The new chief, if not nearly related to this great nobleman, was his intimate ally. As his *aultier*, the care of perhaps more than one of the Earl's children was intrusted him. The Viceroy met him, in 1536,

¹ State Paper Office.

at one of the Earl's houses, Kilkea; and Lord Ossory styles him the Earl's "servant and norishe, called M'Encrosse."¹ In July of that year, the Earl's brother-in-law, the Lord Deputy, gave him the custody of Ferns Castle by indenture, as the "M'Murgho." Other particulars respecting this chief, who is stated by Sir George Carew to have been "the last King of Leinster," may be found in the first part of our "Annuary." His power waned after the suppression of Silken Thomas's revolt; while that of Cahir Mac Art, the more warlike leader of "the race of red-handed Dermot," grew, and, with his character as a politic reformer of his rude *sliocht*, raised him at length to the peerage. Cahir Mac Art was the most renowned warrior of his day in the south-east of Ireland. We read, in our "Annuary," of his plundering the towns of Old and New Ross; of his standard-bearer being killed in the latter town; and of the Bishop of Ferns procuring him to coerce certain refractory tenants in Fe-thard, by bringing down his swordsmen to burn their houses. He was a power, such as, without which, no right could be enforced. Mac Murrough's island, near Ross, then harboured "a syght of wylde Irish," whose strength he employed on special occasions. This insulated post, or water-fastness, so favourably situated for taking toll from traders on the river, probably had been the chosen residence of his predecessors, the clan kings, named Mac Murrough, and, as such, derived its peculiar name. "Polmonty," the seat of our warrior, on the southern sloping end of the White Mountain (deriving its name from *poul*, a pool, and *montigh*, a house on a moor), was also well placed for receiving toll, as will presently appear; but we must again refer to the above-mentioned publication for proofs of this lord's activity, up to the year 1536, in availing himself of his commanding position. He was an abettor, if not an actor, in the formidable revolt of the Leinster Geraldines. The eighth Earl of Ormond, in a statement of his services in suppressing this rebellion, writes that, in January 1535-6, finding that Cahir Mac Art, and his kinsfolks dwelling in the *fassagh* (weald or wild) of Bantry, and in Old Ross Castle, were giving aid to the insurgents, he led the royal forces thither, took the fortalice, and prevailed on the Englishry of the shire to join in "annoying" the said "king's enemy." In the same year, Robert Cowley recommends that a "pile," or fortified tower, be erected at "Tymolyn, wherein now enhabiteth divers of Macmorois' kynnesfolks," and that the town there be walled and colonized.

St. Molyns is the modern form of the Erse name *Teach Molyng*, i.e., the house of Molyng, a celebrated bishop and saint of the seventh century. Mediævally, the little town here was much resorted to as a place of pilgrimage. A curious inquest² taken in 1301, regard-

¹ Printed State Papers, vol. ii., part iii., p. 157.

² Inquis. Tur. Lond., 29 Edw. I., No. 149.

ing the fee of the land, states that the adjacent lands are waste, supporting felons and robbers; and that an allotment of a small portion to the church of Tathmolyag will prove advantageous to the king, the earl marshal, and all people. The town was rebuilt in 1349, by the viceroy, says Friar Clyn, who also records how, in the following year, "and chiefly in September and October, there came together, from divers parts of Ireland, bishops and prelates, churchmen and religious, lords and others, and commonly all persons of both sexes, to the pilgrimage and wading of the water at Thath Molynges, in troops and multitudes, so that you could see many thousands there at the same time for many days together. Some came from feelings of devotion, but others, and they the majority, from dread of the plague, which then grew very rife."

An interesting account of Lord Leonard Grey's military expedition against "Mac Morgho and other the principall gentilmen and capitynes of his nation" is given by the Seneschal of Wexford, in an unedited letter, dated 30th September, 1538, now preserved in the State Paper Office. The army continued the space of a fortnight "destroying the Kavanagh's countrie, and taking their castells." No less than 800 horse and foot were furnished by the county of Wexford towards this acceptable service. On this occasion the Dublin Council acquaint Henry VIII. that the clansmen had submitted, and offer to hold their lands of the crown. This offer the Government councillors refer to his Majesty's pleasure, whether to accept it, or, on the contrary, to exile the clan; but they observe that they themselves propose merely to banish "the gentilmen and men of war." Mac Murgho sent a hostage to Dublin Castle, in pledge of peace, and of restitution of any robberies committed by his men; as did Morytagh mac Arte buoy, Cahir mac Arte, and "O'Morgho," chief of the Morghoes or Murphys.¹

According to a statement of the Earl of Ormond's, this "capteen of the Kavanaghs, and mortal enemy to the king and his subjects," took active part with Silken Thomas in his rebellion, having "committed inffienit spoils, robberyes, burnings, and murders" on the Earl's tenants and other loyal people; and so favoured was he by the Geraldine party, that, when taken prisoner by the Seneschal of Wexford, and delivered into custody to Lord Leonard Grey, this partial viceroy suffered him to escape, since which, continues the Earl, he "hath commyttid hurtes to the kinges subjectes to the value of 3000 markes."²

After this period, the Lord of Poulmonty, who evidently was a man of extraordinary endowments, attached himself to the Government. When, in 1540, a measure was proposed to the crown for providing a strong military establishment in Lower Leinster, with

¹ S. P. O.

² Printed S. P., vol. iii., part iii., pp. 22, 42.

head-quarters at Ferns, and certain English officers and distinguished Gaelic captains were recommended to form the staff, he was named third in command, and to retain "the king's castle of Clonmullen, whereof he is already constable." On this occasion he is characterized as "a sadde" (i. e., discreet, staid) "man, and a good capteyne."¹

The foregoing notices are, perhaps, sufficiently introductory of the following letter, which sets forth the measures proposed by this intelligent chief for the social reform of his country, and which we might further preface, by some remarks on the normal condition of Irish clans at this period, did our space admit; but will content ourselves by repeating that we have not met with any document more aptly illustrative of the then vexed question of clan reformation.

"WALTER COWLEY to the L. D. ST. LEGER. 15th March, 1540-1.

"MYNE ESPECIAL GOOD LORD,

"After the sending forth of my other letters, I had long communication with Oahir M^cArte, who uttered such words unto me as your Lordship woll moch mervaille thereof. In conclusion he saith that whiles he shall live, he will content himself with whatsoever thing your Lordship will limit unto him, although you left unto him but his sherte. He sayth that his auncestors were the first that ever brought Englishmen into Ireland, and wisheth that himself had that happ to begin such good order and obedience in Ireland as all the rest of Ireland should follow. He confesseth that coyn and livery, with other Irishe extortions, causeth them to keep nombres of ydlemen, which fall to robories and felonies; and is contented to begin after this sort. Never to take, ne suffer to be taken, any coyn or livery, or like Irish extorcion, in all his contre, but to make his houses after English sort, and have at the least xx horses in a stable, and every horseman to have but one horse and a nag. To apporcion his contre and lands to bear unto him rent, victuall, and corn in To have his tenants' houses with benches and bordes, after English sort. And he himself and his contre for one year forth to have English apparail to their habilitie. And not to chardge his contre otherwise, except onely at hostings and jorneyes to serve the king; and then to have carriage and victuall with them. He will be bonde also that the king, in endowing vicars with the third part of the tithes, himself having the half of the two parts, the king to have the other half of all the tithes and aultarages in his contre. And desireth that one or two honest and indifferent persons be auctorised as Senescall . . . among all the Irishry in that parties of Leynster. And he and they to pay their fe and wages honestly; and that his contre, M^cWadick's contre, M^cDavid More's, O'Morrowe's, Donoghe Cavanaghe's sonnes and others be made a countie by the name of the countie of Ferns; and he himself one yere to be the King's Shireffe; and so from year to yere to peruse all the gentlemen of habilitie therein. He desireth that ordres be prescribed in writing, on great paynes to be ex-

¹ Printed State Papers.

cuted, for their quiet and obedience : but not yet extremitie or triall by the course of the common law. He beseecheth also that when the father is attainted, that the son, being a true man, shall not forfeit his possessions; for he saith there is nothing will now bring all Ireland to universal obedience than to bring them out of that doubtful opynion they have, which is that they feare their possessions, which, being all disordered, they have kept synce before the birth of Criste, wolde, by attaynder and civile extreme ordres, be sone lost from the hole blode, and so the gilltes to smart for the offence of another. He saith also he hath many childs and ydlemen, whom he must hitherto have kept to strengthen himself against others, and now he shall not be hable to finde them, and therefore beseecheth that of other possessions, which the king as yet hath not, in dyvers places in Leynester, part of his childs and men may be preferred to farmers or inheritance, for rent, as they may the better be hable to live and serve. He undertaketh, with your aide and good favors, to bring all Leynester to the like submission. He willed me to certify thus, and offred to cum himself unto your Lordshippe therwith. Howbeit, I have stayed, till I shall knowe your pleasure. Fynally, his request is, to have his lande he posseseth of the king, and to holde it to him and his children on these conditions and covenants premised. I have willed this bearer to ride in all haste, and to retorn with speede, so as if your pleasure so be, I may take down with me Cahir and others; for he saith presisly he will be ordered herein, and in all other things as shall please your Lordship. Ordre shall be taken with the Rimers, so as parcels of their land shall rest with the king for their offence. And there are men ynough that laboureth to have it for rent. The Lorde worketh wonderous in you, which I beseeche may long Our Lorde send unto you your noble hart's desire. From the borders of Cahir M'Arte's contre, the xvth of Marche.

"Your Lordships, &c.,

"WALTER COWLEY."

Of all the curious paragraphs in the foregoing expression of the chief of the Kavanagh's earnest desires, the most remarkable, certainly, is his beseeching entreaty that the feudal law of forfeiture on attainder should not be enforced in the case of his clansmen, who had, as he believed, retained their patrimonies from a period anterior to the Christian era. On this question of fixity of possession, of retaining the means of life—of love of country—which has ever lain close around the Irish heart, we cannot do better than refer the reader to the admirable introduction by the Very Rev. Richard Butler to his edition of "*Dowling's Annals*," in which searching and elegant essay he has instanced the strong natural feelings of tenacity ever exhibited by the Irish Gael in clinging to their land, by this very case of the clan Kavanagh, who, on submitting to St. Leger, were assured by this excellent viceroy, on his quick perception of the main cause of their fears, that the king coveted not their lands nor goods, but merely desired their obedience, which, observed he, would soon redound most to their own profit. Five years subsequently to Cahir M'Arte's plea for protection from Government for his tribe, on the ground that his ancestors were the first that brought

Englishmen to Ireland, the Lord Deputy adduces the same reason, as a motive for refusing to undertake, at Ormonde's desire, the expulsion of this tribe; and he refers to the remarks made by the Earl of Thomond, as chief of the O'Briens, as to the peril of rousing the universal indignation of the Irish Gael by an undertaking so cruel and unjust.

From the mention of the chieftain's wish that his tenant's houses should have "benches and boards," or, as we would say, tables to sit at, and forms to sit upon, it is evident that the peasantry still followed the antique fashion of seating themselves on straw or rushes spread on the floor, and that tables were as exotic as chairs and forks. Good farmsteads were then even more needful than in the present day, when they are still, on some estates, the principal agricultural and moral desideratum.

The passage next worthy of remark touches on another question of forfeiture, and one that was then viewed with even more sensitive sympathy, namely, the sequestration of bardic property. In our day we can hardly estimate the full strength of the superstitious sanctity that attached to the estates and property of bards. To plunder this semi-sacred caste was sure, in the belief of the Gael, to draw down supernatural vengeance, so that they were bold men who adventured to reap where a rhymers had sown, or, rather, to let their cattle roam where bards' cows had formerly grazed in safety. The offending poets were, no doubt, those reported in a despatch, given in our "Annuary," as harbouring rebels in the barony of Bantry, in the county of Wexford; and were, probably, Mac Eochies or Kehoes, then hereditary bards to the kings of Leinster. These peccant poets, however, are at present in the common category:—

"Of chieftains, now forgot, who beam'd
The foremost then in fame;
Of bards who, once immortal deem'd,
Now sleep without a name."

The same accusation of succouring rebellious plunderers was laid at the door of these rhymers' neighbours, the O'Dorans, a cognate and equally revered caste of hereditary Brehons, or country judges, who were accused of exercising their judicial profession in making divisions of the robbers' prey; and who, as we shall see, were subsequently included in a commission for repartitioning the clan estates. The sentence of sequestration seems to have been carried out against the poetic offenders: but the Brehons retained their tract of land, situated around Chappel, near Castleboro, until the reign of Charles II., when it was bestowed on an ancestor of Lord Carew, the present noble owner. Very different, we may well imagine, was the phase presented by this district when, as a portion of the *fassagh*, or waste wilderness, of Bantry, its wide undulations of gorse and heather, unfenced and unfertile, fed the Brehons' kine

and goats, to its aspect in our day, smiling, as it does, with corn, green crops, and variegated plantations, contrasting agreeably with the rugged Blackstair mountain in the background, adorned with a palace worthy to stand in a continental metropolis, and with, more than all, in the eyes of every improving landlord, comfortable tenants' houses, well provided with "benches and boards after the English sort."

Whatever superstitious apprehensions may have been felt by the vulgar of the time under view, as attaching to the commission of injuries to a caste so tabooed as the bards, our reformer must have been deemed free from a concurrent prepossession for another professional class of pretenders to supernatural authority, the country witches, since there is an entry in the Council-book¹ of a letter, dated 1543, from Dublin Castle, to "Charles Fitz Arthur, for sending a witch to the lord deputie, to be examined."

Pleasant would it be to see as good a full-length equestrian portrait of this chief as the well-known contemporary drawing of his great grandfather, the renowned Arte, King of Leinster, engraved in the "Ulster Journal of Archæology," vol. ii., p. 55, and given as the vignette to Moore's "History of Ireland." We should then perceive that "the sherte" the loyal chieftain was content to be left with did not resemble our modern scant and flimsy under-garment, but was an ample plaited robe, fashioned beneath the girdle like a kilt, coloured with saffron, and embroidered with silk; unless, indeed, it was mostly hid, like King Arte's, under a coat of mail, and a red *cochal*, or short mantle. In the summer, however, he preferred, no doubt, to do battle in one sole and sufficient tegument.

So steadfast was the loyalty of this chief of one *sliocht* or section only of the clan, that although Cahir M'Innycross was M'Murrough, the name of "Carolus filius Artari Kavanagh" figures in the Roll of the Parliament of 1541, among the names of other chieftains whom it was proposed to elevate to the peerage. He would seem to have sat in Parliament, and hence, perhaps, received his first and best known title of Lord St. Molyns. Obviously, it was of no small consequence to him that he should convert the frail life tenure of his seigniorship over his sept into an hereditary ownership of the land from which they only rendered him small seigniorial dues. The first legal steps in this direction are shown in the ensuing document. In the year 1543 the following agreement² was entered into with the clan on the part of Government:—

"The Agreement, ordinances, and covenants, made between the Lord Deputy and other Councillors of the King's Majesty, whose names are

¹ Add. MS. 4790.

² Translated from a copy of the original entry in the Mem. Roll of the Exchequer,

18 & 14 Ellz., m. 18, obligingly communicated by the late custodian, the lamented J. F. Ferguson, Esq.

subscribed, and Cahir M'Innycrosse;¹ Gerald Sutton; Art, son of Donald; Maurice, son of Art *buoy*; Cahir, son of Art Cavenagh; Dowlyn Cavenagh, and other principal men of the nation of the Cavenaghs, at the town of Ross, the 3rd of September, in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of the most serene prince our Lord Henry the Eighth, by the grace of God King of England, France, and Ireland, to be observed by the subjects of his Majesty commonly called the Cavenaghs.—Anthony St. Leger,² *scilicet*.

“First, it is covenanted, ordained, and agreed to, that as the castles and manors of Ferns and Eunniscorthy are proper and peculiar manors of our Lord the King, that they [these manors] shall have such and so ample territories, and arable lands, woods and pastures, as Thomas Eustace, Viscount Baltinglas; John Travers, Master of the Ordnance; Edward Basnet, Dean of St. Patrick's; Richard Butler and Robert St. Leger, Esquires, or three of them; and as John O'Doran,³ Ferganyn O'Doran, Caher son of Art, Moriertagh⁴ son of Art *buoy*, and Gerald Sutton, Cavenaghs, or three of them, shall limit, bound, and assign.

“Item, further it is agreed by the aforesaid Lord Deputy and Council, and the aforesaid Cavenaghs, that the King in the same manner, after this, shall peaceably have the castles of Cloghamon and Clonmullen, with all their territories, according as the foresaid Viscount, John Travers, Dean, and others, the said Commissioners, shall limit, bound, and assign.

“Item, that the said Cavenaghs shall make a new partition and division of all their lands, so that all those who may lay claim to the territories of the manors and castles aforesaid, so assigned, or who had them heretofore in possession, may be recompensed by the same, as to the said Commissioners may seem expedient.

“Item, in like manner it is agreed that all those who have any lands vacant and waste, and at present uncultivated, shall cultivate and till the same lands within the space of a year, under penalty of forfeiting all and singular said lands for ever to the King.

“And lest any obstacle shall prevent the inhabiting and cultivating such lands, on account of the poverty of the lords of these waste lands, our Lord the King will accommodate the needy with certain moneys for buying horses and other necessary instruments of culture, until such time as by the more abundant produce of their lands they may be able to repay the same, provided they pledge a third part of their said lands to the King's Majesty in security of said repayment, as the custom of warranty (*impensationis*) runs, and is practised in that country.

“Item, it is agreed that after the said Cavenaghs have made the said partitions and divisions of lands amongst themselves, and each shall have been impartially apportioned to its possessor, then the said Deputy and Council shall, to the utmost of their power, endeavour to procure royal letters patent to confirm to each, and to their heirs, the said lands for ever, after the custom of the English.

“Item, it is agreed that all waste and unfruitful lands shall be exone-

¹ Cahir Mac Nynecross seems to have been son of Gerald (Mac Donnell *Reagh*), who lived in Ferns Castle.

² Sir Anthony St. Leger was then Lord Deputy.

³ The O'Dorans were, as before observed,

hereditary chief Brehons or Judges to the clan.

⁴ Moriertagh, or Murtough, as he is called by the Four Masters, is styled “Mac Murtough” by these chroniclers. He died in 1547.

rated for three years from the impositions called Coyne and Lyverye, Carriage, and such like exactions, for the better occupation and cultivation of those lands.

"Item, further it is agreed that the lordship of St. Molyns shall be committed to the custody and care of Caher, son of Art, to be held without any division or partition to be made therein between his kinsmen; these conditions being added, viz.:—That he shall reasonably maintain the accustomed fairs there. And that he shall build himself a house or mansion there, and inhabit it. And further, he shall not permit any wicked, nefarious, or plundering act to be committed at the pass there, or in other parts adjacent thereto, neither by land nor by water, under penalty of forfeiture of the said lordship to our Lord the King for ever.

"Item, it is agreed that the King shall have the particular land called *le Quarkyll* [Garry-kill?], and all the lands lying between Carlow and Leighlin, with a castle there in Idrone, as the said Commissioners may limit, bound, and assign.

"Item, further it is agreed that the aforesaid Cavenaghs shall banish, repudiate, and exclude all their idle men [*otiosos suos homines*], called in English *Idlemen*.¹ And that no one of them for the future shall ride armed, save only any captain or officer of the Crown for the time being, under penalty of forfeiting the arms. And that it shall be lawful as well for the captain of our lord the King in those parts, as for the said officer, to take to himself all arms from all those using them within the country aforesaid.

"And that no one of the aforesaid Cavenaghs shall demand in the lands of others, beyond the bounds of their own country, any exactions called Coyne and Lyvery, or Foys,² Cosshiers,³ or other impositions whatsoever upon any pretence, but shall live content with their own revenues. Nor shall keep or maintain any men of war except those which each of them may keep in their own houses.

"For the performance of these articles on the part of the aforesaid Cavenaghs the said Cahir son of Art gave a pledge, until his son Gerald shall be given as a hostage. And Cahir M'Innycrosse and Gerald Sutton are similarly bound to performance of the premises under penalty of forfeiting their lands, together with Art M'Donnogh.

"And thereupon the Lord Deputy and Council promise for the performance of these articles to intercede with the King; so that, if it shall be His Majesty's will, these premises shall then be ratified.

"(Signed),

"JAMES ORMOND AND OSSORY.

"GERALD AYLMEY, *Justice*.

"JAMES BATHE, *Baron*.

"THOMAS CUSACK, *Master of the Rolls*."

Referring to our first comment on Cahir M'Art's entreaty that the feudal law should not be brought to bear on his country to the

¹ Idlemen were edel, i. e., noble or free men, the warriors of the tribe.

² Foys were extra meals begged of the landholders by idlemen.

³ Cosshiers was *cois-a-ri*, cess or rent, for the king, rendered by receiving him in Cosbery. See "Ancient Irish Income," "Ulster Journal of Archaeology."

extent of making land escheatable on attainder, the reader will remark that the wish of this intelligent and reformatory chieftain was utterly negatived in the strange proviso, in the above covenants, by which he is to suffer forfeiture of his lordship if he should permit any act of robbery to be committed in the "Pass of Poulmonty." Truly the penalty was a severe one! His ancestors had, certainly, received their stipend of eighty marks yearly from the Exchequer for the consideration of protecting the king's high roads: but it was a perilous tenure, at the time under review, to hold anything subject to forfeiture, if a pack-horse on the White Mountain, or a cot on the Barrow, were robbed of a roll of Kilkenny broad cloth, or of a butt of Rob. Davy's wine.

The fairs to be maintained were held at St. Molyn's, or Taghmolyn, which was also much resorted to as a place of pilgrimage. The "Pass of Poulmonty" was well-known to be the only road between the countries lying east and west of the Barrow and the range of *Sliabh Lein*. Probably not even a foot-path existed either where the royal mail now traverses Scollagh Gap, or where waggons roll along above Newtownbarry. Chief Baron Finglas includes the Pass of "Pollemounty" in the list of the passages of the kingdom notorious for their dangerous character. Lord St. Molyns probably erected the castle here, remains of which are still visible; and his vigilance is to be applauded, since he did not suffer the penalty of his bond, but transmitted a large estate to his posterity, who may, in the year of grace 1858, repeat his belief, with gratitude, that the land has been theirs from times before the birth of our Lord.

There are reasons for believing that this road by Poulmonty was, mediævally, the only road between the south of Wexfordshire and the metropolis, or, at least, the only one that could be traversed in tolerable safety whenever the Wicklow clans were under arms. In a few years, a railway will convey travellers through this Pass, where, three centuries ago, mountain brigands were wont to levy a toll on any stray voyager.

In 1544, when the services of a considerable band of brave Irish troops were required by Henry for the war in France, this chieftain furnished and despatched nineteen kerne as the contingent from his country. They were led by "Captain Edmond MacCahir," marched to the sound of "Edmond Pyper's" music, and formed part of that force whose savage mode of warfare is described by Holinshed as dismaying the French enemy. In the next year our hero seems to have obtained, by his good sword, the sovereignty of the entire clan. To quote the words of the historian Ware:—"Contentions daily increased between Cahir Mac Art of Polmonty, and Gerald Mac Cahir of Garryhill, men of great renown in those parts, each of them assuming to themselves the lordship of

the country. At length both of them collected their forces and resolved to try it out by battle; also the time and place were appointed to fight. They fought with equal loss, for (as they say), Cahir lost about an hundred men, and Gerald as many. However, Cahir at that time obtained the lordship; whether by agreement or no, I know not." Dowling's Annals are the authority for this affair, which is thus described:—"Cahir Cavanagh M^cArt de Poolmohown, *alias* Polmonty, baronetus de Sancto Moling" [i. e. Baron of St. Molins, the title he was known by after he was raised to the peerage], "*habuit victoriam de Gerald M^cCahir de Garrowcheyll, juxta Hacketston, ubi ceciderunt de Byrnen et aliis in Idouagh 100, et tam multi et altera parte.*" This general wager of battle resembles the famous clan duel between the Clan-Chattan and Clan-Kay. Trial of claims by public combat, even under the authority of Government, lingered longer in Ireland than in England or Scotland: the latest remarkable instance being that of the duel of the two challengers of the chieftaincy of the O'Connors of Offaley, which was fought in 1583, before the high officers of State, in the Courtyard of Dublin Castle.

Cahir's success and supremacy had the consequent effect of making him turbulent and over-ambitious. Sir Anthony Colclough writes from Carlow, in April, 1548, to the Lord Deputy, respecting a prey recently taken, which, although his Lordship's letters had been delivered to Cahir Mac Art, this chieftain refused to restore, and denied that the thief was his man. The Irish lord also protested that he would that no man should be hung for mere theft, for that he considered the Brehon law of restitution juster. Colclough reports that the horse taken in Moryertagh Oge's prey had been got back, and this English knight complains that his neighbour, Sir Richard Butler, is an evil example to all men, in taking of preys, in "*bordravages*," wounding of men at night, and taking gentlewomen prisoners.¹ In September, 1548, the Lord Deputy wrote to Cahir Mac Arte, stating that he had sent his mind to him by a messenger. On the 11th of the ensuing month, the sheriff of Kildare reports that Hugh, chief of the Byrnes, had gone to see Cahir, and that they had agreed to make a prey, in order to purchase silk, saffron, and cloth, in Kilkenny. In the following month the Corporation of Wexford request the Viceroy to send down four lath-makers, because, say they, "*as for all laths used in this town, we have them of the dwellers in the Duffry and the quarters thereabout under the jurisdiction of Kayre Mac Arte Kavanagh Mac Morrough.*" A letter was soon after addressed to this chief by the Deputy, thanking him for his good conformity and constancy in the king's service. In January, 1549, the Lord De-

puty writes to a gentleman in the county of Wexford, in acknowledgment of letters complaining of injuries done by Arte Buoy;¹ expresses his wish that the gentlemen of the county would join together in good love and amity for the king's service, and that they need not fear the oppression of any such as Yellow Arte, who, the writer mistrusts not, will see the harms recompensed, for Sir Richard Butler has promised as much in his behalf. In an interview at Leighlin Bridge, the chieftain expressed himself pleased with the Deputy's letters, but complained of the constant feuds with Butler and Arte Buoy. In March following, Walter Cowley again drew up a "device for the reformation of certain exactions in the country of Cahir Mac Arte Kavanagh, who has made a very honest offer, which is meet to be embraced and well accepted." In December, 1549, a project was sent to Government for making a bridge over the Barrow between Duske Abbey and the Kavanagh's country. "No thieves," wrote Colclough about this time, "that be, come now in Idrone; but Idoright is full." Apprehensions had long been felt that the Kavanaghs would besiege Ferns Castle. Upon some members of the Government visiting Kilkenny in the month of February, 1550, the chief of the clan would not venture to put himself in their power by going to them, but they managed "to allure his wife" into entering the city walls. The lady's mediation, however, was ineffectual, for it is stated in a despatch of 26th March, that he had "by tradymēt," i. e. by betrayal, obtained possession of Ferns Castle, "the chief garrison the king had in those parts, and guarded by Sir Richard Butler." This seizure of the most important fortress in South Leinster, the very Delhi of his ancient dynasty, was a first step in revolt. He, doubtless, assumed the proud title of "King of Leinster," by which name, as Sir Richard, when Lord Mountgarrett, afterwards declared² "base Leinster" (i. e. the people of the lower countries) "was wont to call M'Murrough." His aspirations soon received a check. Sir James Ware writes that, on the 4th November, 1550, Cahir Mac Art, whose territories had recently been attacked and ravaged by the royal forces, submitted himself in a great council held in Dublin before the Viceroy, and *publicly renounced the title of MAC MURROUGH*. His power was then set liimits to, and large possessions were taken from him. The entire affair seems to have been deemed by himself to require to be explained in person before the throne of Edward VI., for in August of the next year, he obtained license from the king "to come to England, as he wishes it."³

On the accession of Queen Mary, Cahir Kavanagh was created a Peer of Parliament, with the title of Baron of Ballyan, by patent

¹ This same Arte the Yellow was sometime afterwards treacherously slain by Sir Nicholas Haron, Governor of Leighlin.—See "Ul-

ster Journal of Archaeology," vol. ii.

² S. P. O., 16 July, 1559.

³ S. P. O.

dated 8th February, 1554; and, "for the better support of the title," had a grant of *the office of captain over his kindred*, and all other the inhabitants of the countries of Mac David More, Edmond Duffe, and the Duffrey. His power, however, was not to extend over either Enniscorthy, Ferna, Glascarrig, O'Morchua's country, or Idrone, north of Glandelure. He was permitted to retain a body of kerntighe, twenty-four in number; and his Tanist, Murrogh, was to retain but twelve.¹ This patent conferred the peerage only for his life, because he had only a life interest in the rulership of his tribe. He enjoyed the new honour but for one year, dying in 1554. In chronicling his decease the Four Masters characterize him as "a successful and warlike man, worthy to have become Lord of Leinster, had it not been for the invasion of the English," an expression denoting that he had refrained from being inaugurated Rí LAGEN, a title formerly so coveted by his ancestors, but which it had now become so perilous to assume, that Moriartagh oge Kavanagh, of Garryhill, when elected, in 1580, to the dignity, refused to accept it.

Lord St. Molyns is sometimes mentioned by this title in contemporary State Papers, and sometimes as Baron of Ballyann. He encountered some severe attempts to deprive him of his patrimony by legal proceedings, but fortunately prevailed in transmitting it to his posterity. Sir Anthony Colclough was a claimant of the barony of St. Molyn; and there is a curious letter from its lord, respecting this law controversy, preserved among the State Papers. According to the following document, the adverse claim of the Anglo-Irish family of Bossher must have gone nigh to oust him:—

(Egerton MS., 72, p. 211.)

"A Decree, made at Dublin, 8 Feb., 1552 [7^o Ed. 6.], by Sir Thomas Cusake, Knt., Lord Chancellor of Ireland, whereby it was ordered, that Jasper Boyssher, of Ballyconyke, Co. of Wexford, Gent., and his heirs, shou'd have and possess the Manor or Lordship of Ballyane, against Cahir M'Arte, of Polmoyntie, & others, & the heirs of every of them, for ever, according to his right and title showed and proved for the same; provided always that he shou'd not by virtue hereof intermeddle with the poss^{ns} of said Tenements till such time as the L. D. and Coun^t did determine their further pleasure therein, and for as much as sundry days were limitted by the L. D., and Coun^t to the heirs of said Cahir and others to prove their right and title to the premises, and a late day was prefixed for their appearance and proof of their title, the first of this present term, viz. in *Octavis Trinitatis*, when, none of them appearing or showing any title, the L. J. Sydney & Coun^t Decreed that the said Jasper and his heirs for ever shou'd have and enjoy the said Lords'p till the same shou'd be recovered against him by suff^t judgment at the common law, or by the decree of the chief Governor and Coun^t of Ireland, provided that this order be

¹ 1 Liber Hibernie, vol. I., part I.; Peerage of Ireland, p. 87.

nothing prejudicial to any Bonaught due to the Queen's Galloglas upon said lands, which by order of the country ought to be paid."

Lord St. Molyns had six sons, Bryan, Torlough, Crean, Mortaugh, Arthur, and Dermot. The second married a sister of Robert Browne, of Mulrankan, in the barony of Bargy, county of Wexford, whose murder, and the subsequent armed attempt of the knights and gentlemen of the shire to avenge it, when they were signally defeated by the mountain clan, are related in Holinshed. Dermot was, after his father's death, and in consideration of his own good and faithful services, nominated, 18 March, 1555, Tanist or secondary to the chieftancy of the clan, which was then enjoyed by Maurice, Baron of Colelyne.

The following patent¹ creating him Tanist is remarkable :—

"Rex et Regina, &c., oībus ad quos, &c., salutem. Cum nos Maria p'dict' p' lras nostras patentes de dat 8^o. die Februarii a^o n^{ri} 1^o. Charolum M^cArte Kevanagh ad statum sive gradum Baronis de Ballyane durante vitā suā ereximus ac ei durante vitā suā officium Capitaneatis sup consanguineos suos et alios p'iam de M^cAmore Edī Duff Fedoragh et le Duffer inhabitantes concessimus (exceptis nobis heredibus et successoribus nostris omnino reservatis Dominis Maneriis Terris et aliis possessionibus quibuscunque de Enescorthe, Fernes, Glascarryke cum pertinentiis ac patria vocata O'Morrowes Country et Ydrone ex parte Boreali de Glandelur). Ac etiam concessimus eid Charolo omnes perquisitiones infra partes illas existentes una cum hiis proficiis et commoditatibus sequentibus viz., quod prefatus Charolus annuatim durante vitā suā super patrias sive territoria predicta (quarum ipse ut premittitur habet gubernationem) habebit viginti quatuor Turbarios vocatos kerntye suo seipso et duodecim alios dicto Morgh Kavanagh qui post eum in Gradum Baronis de Cowellelyne futurus sit. Et quod ulterius idem Charolus durante vitā suā tam pro meliori gubernatione Regiminis sui Predicti quam pro servitio nostro hujusmodi rationabiles Custumas expensas et commoditates granorum Monete et aliarum rerum habebit de tempore in tempus per schedulum huic annexum inter ceteras conditiones dicto Charolo prescriptas plenius apparet salvo jure cujuslibet eo quod expressa mentis. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus Patentibus teste prefato Deputato nostro apud Dublin VIII^o. die Februarii anno regni nostri primo. Cumque p'dictus Maurus ut Baro de Cowellelyne predict' nunc per mortem dicti Charoli acceptatur habens predictos viginti quatuor turbarios ac officium Capitaneatis modo et formā predictis, sciatis quod nos de gratia nostra speciali ac ex certa scientia et meremotu nostris de assensu dilecti et fidelis consilarii nostri Anthonii Seyntleg[?] ordinis nostri Garterii Militis Deputati nostri Regni Hibernie ac ex consensu et advisu nostri consilii ejusdem regni nostri, in consideratione boni et fidelis servitii per dilectum nostrum Dermotum M^cChart Kavanagh filium predicti nuper Baronis de Ballyane predict' nobis et successoribus nostris in dies impend', nomina-

¹ Some portions of this document are evidently incorrectly printed, but there were no

means of comparing it with the original in the Patent Rolls (2, 3 Philip & Mary).—Ed.

mus facimus et exeamus eundem Dermotum secundarium sive Tanistam in officiū capitaneatis predict' necnon successorem in eodem officio a die mortis predicti Mauri ordinamus et constituimus per presentes unacum p' ficuis et comoditat' supradict'. Ac ei predictum numerum duodecim Tarbariorum Mauri in vita predicti nuper Baronis de Ballyane medio tempore concedimus et assignamus dum tamen, &c. In cujus rei, &c. Teste, &c., octodecimo die Martii anno Regni nostri secundo et tertio."

Bryan, the eldest son of Lord St. Molyns, is mentioned in the year 1567, as "Brian Mac Caher Mac Arte Cavenagh, of Slught Dermott Laderagh," in an indenture with the Queen, among the covenants of which were certain advantageous ones, freeing him from contributions with the counties of Wexford and Carlow, in any charges, and from bonaught of galloglasses. He married a daughter of Hugh mac Shane O'Byrne, sister of the brave and famous leader of revolt, Fiach, chief of the Ranelagh sept; and had, in 1572, two sonnes and two daughters, whom, says a writer of this date, he "*brings upp at English schoole.*"

To this unusual education the permanence of his posterity during the subsequent century of "troubles" is, it may be believed, mainly owing.

In that very year, young Donnell Kavanagh, great grandson of Moriortagh mac Arte the Yellow,¹ accompanied the accomplished traitor, Stukely, to Spain, and, from being brought up there, received the soubriquet of *Spaineach*. His *anti-Sassanach* education led him to take a foremost part in Tyrone's rebellion, at which time he was "Chief of his Name." His son, Sir Morgan Kavanagh, Knt., of Clonmullen, forfeited the ancient patrimony of his sept. On the other hand, we find an interesting anecdote in proof of the loyal and friendly disposition of Bryan Kavanagh towards the English, in the "Memoirs of Sir Peter Carew" by his follower, Hooker, who tells how, on the death of this noble and extraordinary man, who had been kind to Bryan, and saved his property from confiscation, the warm-hearted Irishman was so smitten with grief as not to survive. If other kings of our ancient clans had evinced as early, or earlier, a spirit of assimilation to feudal laws and habits, and had acted on it, like the leaders of the race of Red-handed Dermott, instances of Gaelic preservation of landed property would be far less rare than they are.

¹ Art the Yellow was son of Donell *Reagh*, (the swarthy), who gave him 20 mart lands. He lived in Enniscorthy Castle, and was elected chief of his nation. He died in 1618. His son Moriortagh was "McMurrough," and died in 1647. Another son, Maurice, or Morris, had issue two sons—Dermot, who

inherited "Kylecholenelica," and Murrough, who was created Baron of this place (Cole-line) by Queen Mary: but we learn that this Murrough was subsequently executed at Leighlin, "because," say the annalists, "he had begun to exalt himself, and foment disturbances against the English."

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

GENERAL MEETING, held in the Assembly Rooms, Kilkenny, on
Wednesday, July 7th, 1858,

BARRY DELANY, Esq., M. D., in the Chair.

The Rev. James Graves, Hon. Sec., stated that he had received a letter from the Private Secretary of his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, conveying the gratifying intelligence that his Excellency "had much pleasure in acceding to the request" of the Honorary Secretary, that he should become a Member and Patron of the Society. His Excellency was therefore unanimously elected a Patron of the Society, in the room of the late Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of Carlisle.

The following new Members were also elected :—

The Rev. Joseph Callwell, Aghavea Rectory, Brookborough ; and the Rev. Robert Stanley, Rectory, Edermine, Enniscorthy : proposed by the Rev. George H. Reade.

Albert Callanan, Esq., M. D., 1, Morison's-quay, Cork : proposed by Richard Corbett, Esq., M. D.

Richard Linn, Esq., Banbridge : proposed by Alexander C. Welsh, Esq.

Thomas Baker, Esq., M. D. : proposed by T. L. Cooke, Esq.

The Rev. Edmond Madden, Courtfield Cottage, Ross, Herefordshire : proposed by J. F. Shearman, Esq.

Arthur J. Boyd, Esq., Parade, Kilkenny : proposed by John G. A. Prim, Esq.

Thomas B. Morris, Esq., 40, Upper Sackville-street, Dublin : proposed by Mr. James Cleary.

P. Moore, Esq., Academy-street, Cork : proposed by the Rev. James Graves.

The Hon. Secretary laid before the Meeting a communication from Mr. James Crosby, of London, conveying a formal resolution of the newly established Kent Archæological Society, proposing

that the Societies be placed in connexion for the interchange of publications, &c. Mr. Crosby writes :—

" Church Court, Old Jury, E. C., 18th June, 1858.

" MY DEAR SIR,—The Council of our Kent Society had its first Meeting on the 10th instant, at Lord Camden's, when I had the pleasure of proposing the union of your Society with ours for the interchange of publications. The proposal was agreed to unanimously, and I now enclose a formal letter from the Secretary. I exhibited a volume of your Transactions as evidence that you would be worthy coadjutors, and as a pattern for our people to follow. We go on admirably, and now number nearly 600 members. I think I may promise you a very respectable volume in the course of the year.

" Very sincerely yours,

" JAMES CROSBY.

" The Rev. James Graves."

The proposal was unanimously agreed to, the Meeting expressing their satisfaction that the labours of the Society met with recognition in the sister isle.

The Hon. Secretary said that having communicated to Captain Alcock, of Wilton, the failure of Lord Templemore's agent, Mr. Knox, to carry out his engagement relative to the repair of Dunbrody Abbey, he (Mr. Graves) had been directed to send back the ancient seal connected with Dunbrody, which Mr. Knox had asked for as an equivalent for Lord Templemore's proposed expenditure, and which Captain Alcock had at once, in the most liberal manner, consented to give. Mr. Alcock said :—" I am sorry that Lord Templemore delays the required repairs to those beautiful ruins." The antique was returned to its owner.

An invitation to the Members of the Society to attend a *Conversazione* at the Architectural Museum, London, was also laid before the Meeting.

The following presentations were received, and thanks voted to the donors :—

By Robert Mac Adam, Esq.: "The Ulster Journal of Archæology," No. 22.

By the Publisher: "The Gentleman's Magazine" for June and July, 1858.

By the Royal Irish Academy: their "Proceedings," Vol. VI., part 4.

By the Surrey Archæological Society: their "Collections," Vol. I., part 2.

By the Author: "The History of the Ancient Scots," by the Rev. Duncan M'Callum.

By the Cambrian Archæological Association, "Archæologia Cambrensis," third series, No. 15.

By the Author: "An Account of Ancient Glass Beads and Cylinders, found on the strand of Dunworley Bay, Co. Cork," by the Rev. William C. Neligan, LL.D.

By the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society: their "Original Papers," Vol. V., part 3.

By the Publisher: "The Builder," Nos. 795 to 804, inclusive.

By the Author: "Stereoscopic Views of Clonmel and the Surrounding Country," by W. D. Hemphill, Esq., M. D. Nos. 4 to 8, inclusive.

By Mrs. G. Anderson: an interesting autograph letter of Lady Morgan's, when, as Sidney Owenson, she was a boarding-school girl in Dublin. It was dated Oct. 30, 1794, and addressed to her father, Mr. Owenson, Theatre, Cork.

By Mr. Dunn, Kilkenny City Relieving Officer: a small Copper Coin found in Kilkenny." Dr. Aquilla Smith, to whom it had been submitted, considered it to be an early French Baronial coin.

By Walter Croker Poole, Esq., M. D.: a Cutting for the Album of the Society, relative to "The old Countess of Desmond."

Mr. James G. Robertson exhibited a coin, found on the grounds of the Model Farm of the National Board of Education, near Kilkenny. It was of brass, and simply bore the annexed letters stamped on one side; from the place of its discovery it might be presumed to be a Kilkenny Tradesman's Token.

Richard Long, Esq., M. D., of Arthurstown, Co. Wexford, sent for exhibition a bronze thumb-ring of large size: it bore the letter "W." crowned, and appeared from its workmanship and the form of the letter and crown to belong to the fourteenth century. It was given to him by an old lady, Miss Myra Devereux, whose ancestor received it from the last Abbot of Dunbrody Abbey, who also was a Devereux.

The Rev. James Graves said that Mr. Le Hunte of Artramont, near Wexford, had shown him an impression of a bronze ring with a similar device—a crowned "W." The only difference in the make of the rings was, that that described by Mr. Le Hunte was corded or twisted diagonally across the entire hoop, whilst, in Dr. Long's ring, the cords or ridges ran parallel with the hoop for some distance at each side of the signet, crossing it diagonally only at the back of the hoop. It was a curious coincidence that a ring found near Wexford (as was the case with the ring alluded to by Mr. Le Hunte) and this old family relic should bear the same device. Perhaps, but this was a mere conjecture, there was some allusion to the initial letter of the town or county of Wexford.

The following communication was received from Alexander Colville Welsh, Esq., Dromore:—

"In the 'Journal' of the Society, vol. i., new series, page 79, there is a description given of a rare specimen of ancient ring-money; though rare, the specimen is not, however, unique. Among others in my collection there is one of a similar kind. It is composed of about thirty light-coloured gold bands, having about a like number of darker alternate narrow bands, beautifully executed in the joining and soldering. On a close inspection it discovers the avaricious disposition of our predecessors; for it is no more than so many rings or bands of fine gold, placed on a solid hoop of brass, each band decreasing from the outer surface to the inner part of the brass ring: it is so highly finished that it would have deceived a skilful metallist before the great discovery of Archimedes reached our isle. I conjecture that the brass was first beat to its present form, and each band of gold fitted separately. My reason for this supposition is this,—had the brass been first overlaid with the gold (which is about the thickness of ordinary note-paper), and then soldered, the force required to bend it to its present shape would have caused the joints to yield, for, notwithstanding the ductility of the gold, though the outer parts might have expanded, the inner could not have been compressed without causing the injury to the joints which I have mentioned.

"It is worthy of observation that the greater number of ancient ring-money was produced by the hammer, and in general they show traces of hammering on the surface; but in the one I have described no such marks are perceptible, the surface being perfectly smooth and even: the discovery of the mode of its formation is owing to a slight deficiency in the brass, which caused a small portion of the gold to press into the hollow. I should, perhaps, mention that at each extremity the gold bands are pressed over, so as partly to cover the ends of the brass ring, which gives it the appearance of having been rudely severed across; the weight is 6 dwts. and 10 grs. It was found some years ago, with one of solid gold, weighing 4 dwts. and 6 grs.; both were sold to a jeweller in Belfast, from whom I purchased them. The ring above described is not a solitary instance of an early attempt at counterfeiting, for I have another of a similar kind which is formed of three pieces of copper wire parallel, and covered with fine gold, and bent to the ring shape; the gold beaten or pressed into the two hollows caused by the three wires, which gives it the appearance of a triple ring: unfortunately, it was broken in two before it reached me. It was found in the townland of Ballymacormick, about one mile from this place. It would be highly interesting if the one in possession of Mr. Nelis could be particularly examined without injury, or weighed in water to ascertain whether it contains any spurious metal. Some persons might object to this, supposing it would take away from its intrinsic value; but, if so, it would add to its antiquarian worth.

"Should the above notice be worthy of a place in the Transactions, it may, perhaps, lead to a more particular search being made, which may bring to light other valuable specimens of ring-money now lying unnoticed in the cabinets of the curious."

The Rev. J. O'Hanlon sent a continuation of his valuable labours amongst the records of the Ordnance Survey of Ireland: his

present contribution had reference to the topographical materials connected with the county of Louth, and was as follows:—

“The following are the matters referring to the county of Louth, as marked in the Catalogue of the Topographical Collection, Ordnance Survey Office, Dublin:—I. Names from Down Survey, and Book of Survey and Distribution (see Leinster, vol. i.). II. Extracts, vol. i. (see, also, page 33, Index to Irish Part, not arranged, and some are contained in the volume of Armagh and Monaghan Letters). III. Letters, vol. i. IV. Name-Books, 43. V. Parish and Barony Names, one sheet, vol. A. VI. Memorandums, one volume. VII. Index to Names on Maps, one volume. VIII. Sketches of Antiquities, 3.

“I. The names from Down Survey, &c., are to be found in the folio Leinster, vol. i., already alluded to, and are contained within pp. 685 to 765. There is an index to the parish and barony names, in two columns, on page 685. The arrangement of the matter is similar to that relating to other Leinster counties, in the same volume, as already described. II. This volume of Extracts is a 4to, newly bound,¹ consisting of 167 numbered and loosely written pages. It contains Queries from Dr. O'Donovan, addressed to Messrs. O'Keefe and O'Connor, concerning the county of Louth; excerpts from ‘Annals of the Four Masters’ (English); from the ‘Irish Calendar’ (Irish); from Colgan’s ‘Trias Thaumaturga’ (English); from Colgan’s ‘Acta Sanctorum’ (English); from Archdall’s ‘Monasticon.’ On the last page is a double-columned index to proper names, in the pages preceding. The reference to page 33 relates to the matter concerning Louth, contained in a MS., the contents of which have been already detailed in a previous communication. It is known as No. 2 of the Miscellaneous MSS., and is entitled ‘Extracts from the British Museum, Lambeth, Oxford, and Lambeth Libraries.’” The index to Irish part of extracts is contained, on three loose pages of foolscap folio paper, in the Irish and

¹ This volume has been suitably bound and lettered, and, in accordance with the uniform design, adopted in regard to the other MSS., which are being prepared for removal to the Library of the Royal Irish Academy.

² In order to save reference to the special contents of the Common-place Books on future occasions, I find it expedient to present a complete catalogue of them, with a summary of their matter, according to the alphabetical and numerical arrangement adopted in their classification. There is a detached List of these Common-place Books, in three folio leaves, which are placed, separately and unbound, in the “Catalogue of the Topographical Collection in the Ordnance Survey Office, Dublin, in charge of the Civil Assistant, Joseph Mooney.” It is preceded by a note from P. O'Keefe (dated 26th Oct., 1842) to George Petrie, Esq., apparently in answer to a query of the latter, regarding a mistake in the binding or arrangement of a particular Codex, amongst the Common-

place Books. All of the latter MSS. are well bound, and in quarto shape; but, there are some Indices thereto, detached from them, as will be subsequently noted. Some of these Common-place Books are paged, whilst others are not; and in many of them, the greater portion of the leaves is entirely blank. In the first place, I shall give the summary of the contents of each, under inverted commas, as noted in the “Catalogue of Extracts, Transcripts, &c., contained in Common-place Books;” and whatever observations succeed, in a different shape, shall be understood as recording the description, opinions, or notes of the present writer, on the original MSS., after a careful inspection of their contents.

COMMON-PLACE BOOK A.—“Topographical Dictionary; List of Irish words that enter into the Composition of many names of places in Ireland.” This is an invaluable MS., almost entirely in the handwriting of Dr. O'Donovan; it might be said altogether, but for the introduction of a few pasted or

English character. These pages are tied in blue wrapping-paper. The extracts contained in the volume of Armagh and Monaghan Letters, referring to Louth, principally treat of ancient territorial arrangements; and, for purposes of description, come more properly under the docu-

loose slips of note-paper, containing a few observations, germane to the subject. The pages are not numbered. This MS., containing 188 pages (excluding insertions), is about the average size and uniform width of the remainder of the series. It is well filled throughout with composite words, and proper names of places in Ireland, which are arranged in alphabetical order. It contains an incredible number of references to MSS. and published works, with derivative etymologies and historical notes, in English, Latin, and Irish. The latter is usually in the Irish character. The amount of research bestowed on this single MS. can only be comprehended by one who has examined its contents; I should say, the time employed on it must have formed no inconsiderable portion of a man's life, were I not well assured of the almost superhuman industry of the compiler, and of the endless variety of MSS. he has transcribed, not to speak of the many valuable works he has already published.

COMMON-PLACE BOOK B.—“Alphabetical Lists of all the names of Parishes, Granges, Territories, Townlands, &c., occurring in the Irish Ecclesiastical Annals of the Diocese of Connor, and in Archdall's *Monasticon Hibernicum*, under Co. Antrim; Indices Locorum to Dubourdieu's *Statistical Survey* of the Co. of Antrim, to Hamilton's *Letters* concerning the North Coast of Antrim, to M'Skimming's *History* of the County and Town of Carrickfergus, to the *History* of the Town of Belfast, to that part of Usher's *Primordia* which treats of Ireland, and to O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*; Genealogies from M'Fibris; Extracts from *Bibliotheca Stowensis*, &c.; Index to Correspondence, &c., concerning names of places, antiquities, &c., in the County of Antrim.” This MS. contains 826 numbered pages, well filled, and all in Dr. O'Donovan's handwriting, with a few immaterial exceptions. The names of places are in the English, Latin, and Irish character; with the genealogies all in the Irish character. This MS. is exceedingly valuable for the purposes of the Irish topographer and genealogist.

COMMON-PLACE BOOK C.—“Glossarium Topographicum Hibernicum, collected from various printed Books and Manuscripts; Indices Locorum to; the *Life* of St. Patrick, from the Book of Armagh; Dubourdieu's *Statistical Survey* of the County Down;

Hardiman's *Irish Deeds* in *Transactions* of the Royal Irish Academy; that part of Archdall's *Monasticon* which treats of the County Down; the *Ecclesiastical Annals* of the Diocese of Down; Adamnan's and Magnus O'Donnell's *Lives* of St. Columbkille.” The pages of this MS. are not numbered, but are for the most part well filled, in Dr. O'Donovan's handwriting, exclusively, and in the English, Latin, Greek, and Irish characters. This MS. is full of valuable historical notes and references, especially to the following published works and MSS.:—“1. A Glossary of the Irish Language by Cormac Mac Cuilleanain, King of Munster and Bishop of Cashel, who was born in 881 (see *Ann. Inisfal.*). 2. The *Annals* of Tigernach, Abbot of Clonmacnoise, a man worthy of the highest historic credit. 3. The *Annals* of the Four Masters, published by the Duke of Buckingham, vol. i. 4. The second volume of the same *Annals*, in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy. 5. Usher's *Primordia*, printed in 1639. 6. Colgan's *Works*, printed in 1645 and 1647. 7. O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*. 8. Keating's *History* of Ireland, vol. i., published by William Halliday of Dublin, in 1811, and second vol. MS. 9. Lanigan's *Ecclesiastical History* of Ireland. 10. A Glossary of the Irish Language, compiled by Michael O'Cleary, the chief of the Annalists of Donegal; and many others too numerous to be here particularized.” To the foregoing list of authorities are appended the words, “by John O'Donovan.”

COMMON-PLACE BOOK D.—“Index to the *Annals* of the Four Masters; Extracts from same, relative to places in the County Londonderry; Extracts from Peter O'Connell's Dictionary, in British Museum.” In pencil-marks I find, “Rough Index of Places to Extracts, not arranged.” This is a MS. of 818 numbered pages, well filled, and, for the most part, in Dr. O'Donovan's handwriting. It is alphabetically and chronologically arranged, and in the English and Irish characters. Some of Eugene O'Curry's handwriting is to be found in this MS., and on the last page, in pencil-marks, I find the words, “See the Extracts (unbound) from Peter O'Connell's Dictionary.” The latter remarks refer to two original parcels, yet unbound, sent by Mr. O'Keefe, who transcribed them in the British Museum. The first parcel contains twenty-nine quarto pages; the

ments relating to the counties in question. III. The Antiquarian Letters are contained in one volume, 4to, which, as yet, is neither paged or indexed. There are 323 closely written pages in this MS., as I find on counting them. There are 25 letters in this volume, of which number

latter comprises the same number. These extracts are taken from Bibl. Egerton. 84, 85. The Rough Index to Common-place Book D is contained on two pages of foolscap folio paper. It contains twenty-eight proper names, in the English and Irish character, with references to the page. These pages are loosely placed in the wrapping-paper.

COMMON-PLACE BOOK E.—“Round Towers, by Mr. Petrie.” This MS. contains only a few beautifully written pages of Mr. Petrie’s celebrated Essay on this subject. These pages were copied by an accomplished scribe, named Hayes. The Essay is left incomplete, and the greater portion of the unnumbered pages of the MS., in which it is found, are blank.

COMMON-PLACE BOOK F.—“Irish Calendar of Saints.” This MS. contains 229 numbered pages, with many others written, but unnumbered. It is all in Mr. O’Keefe’s handwriting, with the exception of a few annotations in Dr. O’Donovan’s. It contains St. Aengus’s, Litany, O’Clery’s Irish Calendar, and the Genealogies of the Irish saints, all in the Irish character, yet frequently annotated in English: the old names of places and saints being thus explained and identified. It is followed by an admirable and complete Index, in which the Irish letters are rendered into the English character, with suitable references to the days of the month, in regular alphabetical order. Invaluable as a guide to the Irish hagiologist.

COMMON-PLACE BOOK G.—“Will of Donall O’Gallagher, concerning all the old Customs of O’Donnell in the Territory of Tirconnell, 1626; Pedigree of O’Dogherty; Poem from the Book of Lecan, describing Aileach, &c.; Translation of same; Extract from MS. in Trinity College Dublin, relative to ancient names of Hills, Rivers, and Places of Ireland; Translation of Extract from the Dinseanchus, relative to Tara; Tributes to the King of Aileach, from the Book of Lecan; Translation of same; Extract from an Irish MS.; Tain bo Cuailinge; Derivation of the name Tara, from Book of Glendalough’s; Translation of Extracts from Books of Lecan and Ballymote.” In pencil-marks I find, “Rough Index of Places to Irish Extracts in this book, not arranged.” This MS. contains 289 numbered pages, in the Irish and English characters, all written

by Mr. O’Keefe and Dr. O’Donovan. The detail already given will best explain its valuable historic character. There are thirty-six foolscap folio leaves of an index, unbound and tied up in blue wrapping-paper. It contains proper names in the English and Irish character, with references to the pages of the bound quarto volume. In the second volume, No. 14, new series, n. 1, p. 46, I incorrectly described the Common-Place Book G as having been exclusively written by Dr. O’Donovan.

COMMON-PLACE BOOK H.—“Irish Deed between the O’Briens and O’Loughlans; Transcripts from O’Gara’s Collection of Irish Poems.” In pencil-marks I find, “Rough Index of Places mentioned in this book, not arranged.” This MS. contains 819 numbered pages; all of which, however, are not filled. It is written in the Irish character, and is supposed by Mr. O’Lalor to be in the handwriting of Mr. Russell. The index is contained in sixty-six folio foolscap pages, tied in blue wrapping-paper, and unbound. It is in the English and Irish character, with referential numbers to pages in the quarto MS.

COMMON-PLACE BOOK I.—“Thoughts on the Trade of Ireland; Irish Herbal; Extracts from Book of Leacan, relative to the Dannonian Conquest of Ireland.” In pencil-marks I find, “Rough Index of Places in the Irish Extracts, not arranged.” This MS. contains 217 numbered pages, the remainder being blank. It is written in the English and Irish character. The first tract is transcribed in English by Mr. O’Keefe, and the remainder in Irish, English, and Latin, by Eugene O’Curry. The “Alphabetical List of the names of Irish herbs, trees, shrubs, &c., taken from Keogh, Threlkeld, Crabb, Casey, and O’Beilly,” translated by Eugene O’Curry, is particularly curious and valuable to the Irish naturalist. The Index to this MS. is contained in twenty-one foolscap folio pages, unbound, and tied in blue wrapping-paper, being of uniform arrangement with the other indices, already described.

COMMON-PLACE BOOK K.—“Index Familiarum to the Leabhar Leacan.” The pages of this MS., which is well filled, are unnumbered. This MS. is all in the handwriting of Mr. O’Keefe, I believe, and alphabetically arranged, in the English, with occasional names in the Irish character.

21 are written over the joint signatures of P. O'Keefe and T. O'Connor, and 4 are written by John O'Donovan. The letters of the former gentlemen contain many curious, but rude, drawings of antiquities, and were written from the following places, and at the following dates, viz., Drogh-

COMMON-PLACE BOOK L.—"Dockwra's Narrative; Extracts from O'Sullivan's Hist. Cathol.; Account of the building of Castles in Clare, from an Irish MS.; Inquisitions from Office of Chief Rem., relative to Derry and Donegal; Miscellaneous Extracts relative to Ireland, from Collectanea Historica, MS. in Trin. Col. Dub.; Inquisitions, Letters Patent, and various short Documents relative to Derry; Extracts from Patent Rolls (Ex Officio Rotulor. Canc.) relative to same; Confession of O'Dogherty's Treason, by his Mother, to Bishop of Derry." This MS. contains 828 numbered and closely written pages of matter, in the English, Irish, and Latin character, and transcribed by various hands. Attached to this MS. I find, a rough Index to Derry and Donegal Inquisitions, on pasted slips, contained on eleven leaves of foolscap folio paper. The proper names are in the English character, with references to the pages of the MS. in question. These leaves are loose, and enclosed within brown wrapping-paper.

COMMON-PLACE BOOK M.—"Papers relating to County Meath; Extracts from the O'Reilly MS., R. I. A., relative to Wicklow; Notes relative to the O'Malone family; Agreement of Mac Geoghagan and Fox; An Inquisition for Sligo." This MS. contains 818 numbered pages, and, for the most part, blank. It is all written in the English character. There are two loose leaves (folded into the MS.), containing six proper names, with references, to the Inquisition taken at Sligo. See a former notice of this MS. in the "Transactions of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society" for the month of March, 1858, vol. ii., new series, p. 46, n. 2.

COMMON-PLACE BOOK N.—I find in pencil-marks, "See Inquisitions." Then comes the list of contents, as follows:—"Copy of Deed of Partition of the Sligo Estate; Copy of grant from King Charles II. to William Earl of Strafford, and Thomas Radcliffe, Esq., of the Manor Castletown and Lands of Sligo, &c., County Sligo; an Inquisition for Queen's County." This MS. contains 186 numbered pages, all closely written; the remaining pages are blank.

COMMON-PLACE BOOK O.—"Liber Regalis Visitationis; Vita Sancti Kierani de Cluain McNois; Généalogie de la maison des O'Cahanas." This MS. contains 271 numbered pages of matter, extracted from

the "Liber Regalis Visitationis," with index thereto, referring to the Dioceses of Dublin, Kildare, Leighlin, Ferns, Ossory, Waterford, Lismore, Cashel, Emly, Cork, Cloyne, Ross, Limerick, Kilfenora, Killaloe, Ardfer, Tuam, Clonfert, Kilmaedugh, Elphin, Killala, Achoury, Ardagh, and Meath. Then follows the Life of St. Kieran, in contracted Latin; afterwards the Genealogy of the O'Cahanas, in French; and a Genealogy of the De Lacy family, in Spanish. The latter is not named amongst the subjects of this MS. as found in the list of matters it purports to contain.

COMMON-PLACE BOOK P.—"Charters of Kells; Transcripts of Political and Historical Poems, from various Irish MSS." In pencil-marks I find, "Rough Index of Places, not arranged." This MS. contains 812 numbered pages, one-half of which are not written on; the contents are in the English and Irish character; the transcriber of the greater part, if not the whole, was Eugene O'Curry. I was incorrect in formerly stating that most of this MS. had been transcribed by Dr. O'Donovan (see vol. ii., new series, p. 46, n. 3). The MS. is of great historic value. In it I also find the copy of a letter from the Rev. Mr. Todd to Mr. John O'Donovan, dated London, March 29, 1837, and giving the results of the former gentleman's researches in the British Museum, when he discovered many valuable MSS. relating to Ireland. The "Rough Index," tied in blue wrapping-paper, contains 85 pages of foolscap folio paper, in the English and Irish characters.

COMMON-PLACE BOOKS Q AND R.—"Strafford's Survey of the County Mayo." These MSS. were copied from the original, in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy. They are preceded by an alphabetical index of proper names, with paginal references. Then follow 166 folio numbered pages; double that number of pages being closely written on, in Common-place Book Q. The folio pagination is carried out and continued, with the same subject, to 821, in Common-place R. The leaves in the latter MS. are also closely written. Accompanying both those MSS. is an index, bound in wrappers or boards. It is alphabetically arranged, and refers to "Strafford's Survey," contained in the volumes in question. It is not numbered, but contains 175 closely written pages.

eds, 1835, December 19, 21, 24, 29. 1836, January 4, 7. Dunleer, January 15. Castlebellingham, January 18, 19, 21, 22. Ardee, 27, 30. February 2, 3, 4. Louth, February 7, 12. Dundalk, February 15, 20, 24. Dr. O'Donovan's four letters were written at Duudalk, and are respec-

COMMON-PLACE BOOK S.—"Repertorium Viride." After this title I find in pencil-marks, "A Registry of Churches, &c., in Diocese of Dublin, Glendalough, and Deanery of Kildare." This is a transcript of the compilation of John Alan, Archbishop of Dublin. The greater number of the pages of this MS. are blank. It has been already referred to in previous communications; and, of course, it must be considered a valuable record of ecclesiastical matters referring to the dioceses in question.

COMMON-PLACE BOOK T.—"Extracts from the Leabhar Leacan." In pencil-marks I find, "Rough Index of Places, not arranged." This MS. contains 127 numbered pages, one-half of which number is blank. It is all in the Irish character, and transcribed by Eóghan O Córnaíde (Eugene O'Curry). Having found the name of this learned Irish scholar thus correctly written, I should remark, *en passant*, that in the county of Clare, of which he is a native, this gentleman could not be otherwise called in the Irish language. I have been informed by Professor O'Curry himself, that an elder brother of his, yet living, is the chief of the clan or tribe name, and therefore that the latter should, according to recognised national usage, be denominated The O'Curry. Let us hope, therefore, that the learned Professor of Irish History and Archæology in the Irish Catholic University shall no longer be *mimomered* by his countrymen; but, that his family name shall henceforth be pronounced, as it should be written, with the national prefix. There is an index of 51 loose folio foolscap pages to the Common-place Book T, contained within a blue cover of wrapping-paper. It is in the Irish and English character.

COMMON-PLACE BOOK U.—"Extracts from the Book of Survey and Distribution (Londonderry)." This MS. contains only 13 closely written pages, copied from "Stratford's Survey, a short time prior to Down Survey, 1653, burnt," as I find noted on a blank page preceding.

COMMON-PLACE BOOK V.—"Extracts from Irish MSS. in Trin. Coll. Dubl." This MS. contains 64 numbered and written pages, all in the Irish character, and in the handwriting of Eugene O'Curry, who, towards the close of his transcript, has the following

note over his sign manual:—"Discontinued this collection for want of time."

COMMON-PLACE BOOK W.—"Irish Life of St. Maodhg, MSS. in R. I. Academy." In pencil-marks I find, "Rough Index of Places, not arranged." This MS. contains 89 numbered and closely written pages, all in the Irish character, and in the handwriting of Eugene O'Curry. The "Rough Index" is contained in blue wrapping-paper, in 6 unbound foolscap folio pages, in the Irish and English character. On the back of the wrapper is written, "the part that refers to Connaught only."

COMMON-PLACE BOOK X.—"Index to Felleire Aongusa." In pencil-marks I find, "An Irish Calendar of Saints." This is a most valuable MS., for the use of the future Irish hagiologist, and most beautifully written by an accomplished scribe. On the title-page I find—"Compiled for the use of the Ordnance Survey of Ireland, T. A. Larcom, R. E., Superintendent, 1841. J. O'Sullivan." And on the reverse of the same page I find—"This Index, compiled by Eugene O'Curry, and transcribed by J. O'Sullivan, 1841." The title that precedes the Index is as follows:—"Index to the Festillogy of Aengus Ceile De, Leabhar Breac." It contains 182 pages, more or less filled with proper names and subjects contained in the original, with reference to the different days of the month. The arrangement is truly admirable, and reflects the greatest possible credit on the industry and capability of Professor O'Curry, as a learned Irish MS. compiler and arranger for the press. Would that his manifold literary labours could be better known to the reading public through the medium of print. His zeal and readiness, on all occasions, to furnish information and aid to others engaged in preparing works for the press, have been frequently and gratefully acknowledged by those indebted to him; but, we have just reason to expect that the fund of valuable matter he has obtained from the most recondite sources, on the subject of Irish history, archæology, and literature, will, to some extent, gratify the growing spirit of inquiry amongst the learned, on those interesting national topics.

Next follow twenty-nine MSS., classed amongst the Common-place Books, in quarto shape, and uniform with the preceding se-

tively dated February 23, 23, 24, 25, A. D. 1836. There is a map of the county of Louth, drawn on squares, bound up with these letters. IV. The Name Books are 43 in number, and uniform with others already described. V. The Parish and Barony Names of this county are contained

ries, besides a number of detached Indices. These I shall endeavour to notice separately, but in connexion with the Common-place Books, to which they refer. According to their last classification on the catalogue, I note the Common-place Books, not in the order in which they are entered, but in the serial succession of volumes as at present numbered.

VOL. I., CORK INQUISITIONS.—This MS. contains 881 written and numbered quarto pages of Inquisitions, taken in the reign of Elizabeth and James I., at Cork, Kinsale, Mallow, &c., and referring to the holdings and families of Roche, Fitzgerald, M'Sweeney, O'Callaghan, Mac Carthy, Mac Awliffe, &c. This, as also every succeeding MS. of the series, was copied from the yet unpublished MS. Inquisitions, preserved in the Record Office of Bermingham Tower, Dublin Castle.

VOL. II., CORK INQUISITIONS.—Contains 819 written and numbered pages, taken at Cork, Bandon Bridge, Duballow, Rosscarberry, Buttevant, Carrigtohill, referring to families of Mac Carthy, Barry, Lord Courcy, O'Driscoll, O'Keefe, Power, O'Levyne, &c.

VOL. III., CORK INQUISITIONS.—Contains 829 numbered and written pages, taken at Cork city, &c. Refers to families of Mac Carthy, O'Hea, Barry, Mac Sweeney, O'Callaghan, O'Garvan, O'Daly, Travers, O'Skally, O'Connell, Power, Goggan, O'Cromine, Comyn, Creagh, Supple O'Cuirc, Magner, O'Sullivan, Casey, Bonayne, Condon, Meade, Hurly, Roache, O'Moroghae, O'Mahony, &c.

VOL. IV., CORK INQUISITIONS.—Contains 824 numbered and written pages, taken at Bandon Bridge, &c. In addition to the families already named, the names of O'Crowly, Aldworth, Lombard, Browne, Daunte, O'Spellane, M'Grath, O'Mulligan, O'Fyne, Mac Quinneally, Walsh, O'Feaghe, O'Mulcrien, &c.

VOL. V., CORK INQUISITIONS.—Contains 201 numbered and written pages, taken at Mallow, &c. Besides the names already or in part mentioned, we find those of O'Brien, O'Keyrane, O'Murphy, Sarsfield, Quinlan, O'Daly, O'Leaghe, Greatrax, &c. This volume also contains Mac Carthy Reagh's Rental, a very curious document.

VOL. VI., CORK INQUISITIONS.—Contains

350 numbered and written pages, taken at Mallow, &c. Besides the names already or in part mentioned, we find those of Sheara, O'Cullane, Clayton, O'Norsey, Fitzgeralds, O'Donoghane, O'Regan, &c.

VOL. VII., CORK INQUISITIONS.—Contains 279 numbered and written pages, taken at Bandon Bridge, &c., in the time of James I., Charles I., Cromwell. Besides the names already or in part mentioned, we find those of Beecher, Cane, Nugent, Mac Egan, Townsend, Broderick, Clancarthy, O'Beardon, O'Coinigane, &c. This MS. contains O'Driscoll's Rental.

Detached from the foregoing seven volumes is a quarto index, stitched in a pasteboard cover, in double columns of 200 unnumbered pages, which are filled with proper names and references to the several foregoing volumes and separate pages.

VOL. VIII., TIPPERARY INQUISITIONS.—Contains 822 numbered and written pages, taken in the time of Queen Mary, &c. Refers to the various families in the county, as the O'Kenedy's, O'Briens, Mac Shanes, Cantwells, Fitzgibbons, O'Carrols, &c.

VOL. IX., TIPPERARY INQUISITIONS.—Contains 823 numbered and written pages, taken in the time of Charles I. and Cromwell. Refers to the O'Hogans, O'Hiffernans, Butlers, O'Meaghers, Walshes, &c.

VOL. X., TIPPERARY INQUISITIONS.—Contains 821 numbered and written pages, taken in the time of Charles I. and II., at Cashel, &c. Refers to the Mac Geogha, O'Mearas, Hickeys, &c.

VOL. XI., TIPPERARY INQUISITIONS.—Contains 55 numbered and written pages, taken in the time of Charles I., Cromwell, Charles II., and William III. Refers to the Mac Egans, Dougans, Ryans, &c.

Detached from the foregoing four volumes is a quarto index, bound, in single columns, in 280 pages, with references to the several volumes and pages of the Tipperary Inquisitions.

VOL. XII., LIMERICK INQUISITIONS.—Contains 838 numbered and written pages, taken in the time of Henry VIII., &c. Refers to the Croaghers, O'Kahels, Roths, O'Briens, Fitz Gerald, &c.

VOL. XIII., LIMERICK INQUISITIONS.—Contains 281 numbered and written pages, taken in the time of James I. Refers to the O'Reidons, Creaghs, Archbolds, Standish, &c.

on one sheet (vol. A), folded into a book, bound in quarto size. On this sheet the names are given in parallel columns, and in alphabetical order. Under each heading the different spellings are given, and the authorities for the varied orthography are found in the last column, on the corre-

Detached from the foregoing two volumes is a quarto index, stitched in a pasteboard cover, in double columns, 65 unnumbered pages, filled with proper names, and references to the foregoing separate volumes and pages of Limerick Inquisitions.

VOL. XIV., WATERFORD INQUISITIONS—Contains 288 numbered and written pages, taken in the time of Elizabeth, James I., Charles I., James II., and William III. Refers to the Powers, Fitzgeralds, O'Mulcaighs, Waddings, &c.

VOL. XV., WATERFORD INQUISITIONS—Contains 316 numbered and written pages, taken in the time of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Philip and Mary, Elizabeth, James I., Charles II., William and Mary. Refers to the Wisea, Brownes, Fitz-Barrons, &c. Prefixed to these Inquisitions I find an Irish poem, in the Irish character, on fifteen pages. It is taken from a MS. of T. C. D., classed H. 1. 17.

Detached from the foregoing two volumes, I find an Index to Waterford Inquisitions, in single columns, on 168 pages, stitched in a pasteboard cover, with the proper names and references to separate volumes and pages. In addition, and likewise detached, I find six pages of foolscap folio paper, tied in blue wrapping-paper. It is a rough index to the Irish poem already mentioned, containing proper names, in the English and Irish character, with suitable references to the proper pages.

VOL. XVI., CLARE, KERRY, AND WATERFORD INQUISITIONS—Contains 146 numbered and written pages, taken in the time of Charles I., &c.

VOL. XVII., KERRY AND WATERFORD INQUISITIONS—Contains 338 numbered and written pages, taken in the time of Charles I., &c.

VOL. XVIII., KERRY INQUISITIONS—Contains 331 numbered and written pages, taken from the time of James I. to Charles II.

Detached from the foregoing three volumes is an index to Kerry Inquisitions, bound, quarto. It contains 117 pages, in single columns, referring to the several pages of vols. xvi., xvii., xviii.

VOL. XIX., CLARE INQUISITIONS—Contains 320 numbered and written pages, taken in the time of Elizabeth, &c.

VOL. XX., CLARE INQUISITIONS—Con-

tains 325 numbered and written pages, taken in the time of James I., &c.

Detached from the foregoing is a rough Index of 244 folio pages, unbound, but tied within brown wrapping-paper. On an average each page contains 15 proper names, which are severally found within vols. xvi., xix., xx. There are references to these several volumes and their pages. All the names are attached to slips of paper, pasted on the leaves.

VOL. XXI., GALWAY INQUISITIONS—Contains 320 numbered and written pages, taken in the time of Henry VIII., &c.

VOL. XXII., GALWAY INQUISITIONS—Contains 294 numbered and written pages.

VOL. XXIII., GALWAY INQUISITIONS—Contains 318 numbered and written pages.

VOL. XXIV., GALWAY AND LETTRIM INQUISITIONS—Contains 192 numbered and written pages.

Detached are 392 pages of a rough Index to the foregoing four volumes. They are unbound, and tied in brown wrapping-paper. They are like the former rough index in form, matter, and arrangement.

VOL. XXV., LETTRIM AND ROSCOMMON INQUISITIONS—Contains 322 numbered pages, alternate ones only written. Taken in the time of Elizabeth, &c.

VOL. XXVI., ROSCOMMON INQUISITIONS—Contains 127 numbered pages, alternate ones only written.

VOL. XXVII., ROSCOMMON INQUISITIONS—Contains 305 numbered pages, alternate ones only written.

VOL. XXVIII., ROSCOMMON AND MAYO INQUISITIONS.—Contains 241 numbered pages, alternate ones only written.

VOL. XXIX., MAYO INQUISITIONS—Contains 329 numbered pages, alternate ones only written.

There is a rough Index to Roscommon Inquisitions, vols. xxv., xxvi., xxvii., xxviii., in loose leaves, but tied within a brown paper cover, containing 384 pages. They are like the former rough Index in form, matter, and arrangement. There is, moreover, another rough Index to Mayo Inquisitions, vols. xxviii., xxix., in 252 pages, loose, but tied in brown wrapping-paper. These pages are like the former rough Index in form, matter, and arrangement.

I have thus presented a necessarily brief

sponding line. This, it would appear, was the arrangement adopted at the commencement of the Ordnance Survey for the names in question; but one more convenient, for purposes of reference, was afterwards substituted. In this volume are to be found similar sheets, giving the list of authorities for the orthography of baronies and parishes, for the counties of Fermanagh, Monaghan, Armagh, and Donegal. Two of these folded sheets are appropriated to the county of Donegal, and only one sheet to each of the other counties. VI. The 'Memorandums' are contained in one quarto volume, consisting of 169 numbered pages, all of which, however, do not contain writing. An Index of proper names to these several pages precedes them, in three columns. The nature of these 'Memoranda' will be understood, from the accounts already given of similar volumes in former communications. VII. The 'Index to Names on Maps' is contained on 52 pages, in a folio volume. Each of these pages consists of pasted slips. On each slip is first written the name of the townland or locality, then the barony, and afterwards that of the parish, in the county of Louth, in which the first-named divisions or places are situated. The slips also contain the areas of townlands, marked off in number of acres, roods, and perches. This volume is intended for the use of the engravers, clerks, &c., of the Ordnance Survey office. VIII. The 'Sketches of Antiquities,' three in number, are:—1. A pencil sketch of the Friary of St. John, Carlingford. 2. A pencil sketch of the East Gate, Carlingford, and on the reverse, a pencil sketch of Skerry Church, county of Antrim. 3. A pencil sketch of King John's Castle, Carlingford. All of these drawings are evidently by amateur artists, and they are at present loosely laid within the pages of the Antiquarian Letters of the county of Louth. They are of different sizes, but all of them are within quarto size. There are no *Memoir* papers for the illustration of this county. The matters which appertain to its illustration are proportioned to its size, and not to its relative importance, on the score of historic associations and remains of interest, as contrasted with the other counties of Ireland. It was also amongst the earliest of the Irish counties undertaken by the Ordnance Survey staff, and before the latter had been thoroughly organized. It should be remarked that, with the exception of the mapping departments, those persons employed on the antiquarian, scientific, and all other important branches of investigation, were hurried through their labours in such a manner, as to leave their researches necessarily incomplete. This is to be regretted; for with a larger staff, and a more judicious and liberal outlay, a much more satisfactory result could have been achieved, even for the purposes of the map engraving. The defects of this illiberal policy could yet be supplied by local *Memoir* papers, but only to a partial extent.

abstract of the matter to be found in the different Common-place Books; and it would far exceed the limits of a single paper to offer extended commentaries on their importance in serving for the illustration, not only of local but of national history. Had I given the foregoing list of these MSS. in an earlier communication, I would have saved myself the necessity of former detailed references to

the separate subjects they contain, as bearing on the different counties of Ireland; but, when the first of the present series of papers had been commenced, no intention had been formed of enumerating all the valuable materials for parish and county histories and topographical descriptions as yet unpublished, and which are preserved in the archives of the Irish Ordnance Survey Office.

Time has brought changes, even since the period of the commencement of the Irish Ordnance Survey operations; local features and monuments have been injured or entirely obliterated; and traditions, that lingered in the recollections of the peasantry of a former, have passed away from the memory of a latter generation."

The following, accompanied by a number of rubbings, was sent by Sir Erasmus D. Borrowes, Bart. :—

"In the churchyard of Ballycutland, or Cotlandstown, as it is now called, the heart of the great Eustace country, stands an interesting old column, commemorative of that ancient race. It is about 3 feet long, and 10 inches by 8 inches, having 2 feet above ground. The cap of this stone projects about an inch, on three sides of which is an inscription in raised letters; on the upper surface is a socket, which may have held a small cross. Immediately under the inscription are four shields, one on each side; of these I have the pleasure of enclosing *rough* rubbings. On No. 1 is inscribed 'Eustace Lord Portlester, 1462,' so created by Edw. IV., 4th March, 1462. This appears to be in the character of the early part of the last century, sculptured, no doubt, by some conservative hand, lest time might destroy the identification of the ancient monument. Of the older shields of the fifteenth century, No. 2 represents the arms of Lord Portlester, 'or a saltire gule,' surmounted by a Baron's coronet. No. 3, two fleurs de lis; No. 4, a snake knowed. These two latter coats were probably the arms of his two wives, Elizabeth Brune and Margery Jenico, daughter of Jenico Dartois. No. 5, the remains of the original inscription round the top, having reference, perhaps, to his office, to which Ware thus alludes:—'Deputatus fuit aliquendiu Georgii Ducis Clarentiæ, Locum tenentis Hiberniæ, deinde Cancellarius Hiberniæ, et per annos plusquam 38 sumus Quæstor sive Thesaurarius, eaque dum obiret munia, magnas sibi comparavit opes. Ecce vero rerum humanarum vicissitudinem. Paucis ante obitum annis, Thesaurarii munere exactus, alias, eaque non leves, prout antea retulimus, passus est molestias.'

"Lord Portlester was the son of Sir Edward Fitz Eustace of Harristown, whom Henry VI. appointed Deputy to Richard, Duke of York, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland 1454. The Eustace family were living at Ballycutland in 1378; of this branch was Christopher Eustace, who was executed for high treason at the Castle of Dublin in 1534. Rubbing, No. 6, shows the upper termination of the grooving of the column."

The following communication from Mr. Daniel O'Byrne, of Aghoany, near Timahoe, in the Queen's County, is given not only as recording a curious discovery, but as a *bonâ fide* specimen of the folk-lore prevalent amongst the peasantry of the midland counties of Ireland, communicated by one of themselves, an intelligent, though, it must be allowed, rather pedantic farmer :—

"After a long silence on my part, I have the honour to present perhaps, an interesting account of two cists lately discovered: one near Timogue, and the other near Timahoe; with adjoined entertaining subjects.

"As the ploughman of Mr. Budda, of Timogue, was employed ploughing, the ploughshare struck on a very large flag, which emitted a hollow sound; this emitment caused the man to consider that something strange lay below the flag; consequently, he dug the earth from off the flag, raised it up, and found a human skeleton lying in a cist which contained nothing of metallic substance. The members of this skeleton were very large, and evinced that the once living being was a man of powerful strength. On removing the remains the man struck a flag lying beneath the remains; the flag gave a deep and hollow sound; he repeatedly struck it with his spade, and by so doing ascertained that another apartment, more deep, rested beneath. He became timorous, and left an interesting curiosity in the wilds of scruple, and in the form of an expiation returned the remains to their primitive resting-place, replacing the flag, and also the earth over it.

"The other cist under notice has been discovered near Timahoe, about 240 yards from the rath of Ballinnaclough, north-east. The cist rested about three feet under the surface in a yellow rabbit-sand,—in fact the place is an outskirt of an esker, principally occupied by cairns. As Mr. Peter Scully, owner of the land, was carting sand from this esker, he discovered the cist; but not being in any manner of an antiquarian turn of mind, and being altogether ignorant of such matters, he destroyed the cist, and scattered its contents amongst the sand; so that, when I visited the place on the 20th of this month, I had nothing to behold but the remains of the cist, and little or nothing of the calcined bones.

"I measured the flags that formed the cist; they are of that denomination commonly called greenstones, and appear to have been taken from a mountain quarry. It may be admissibly conjectured that they have been taken from Fany Mountain, a distance of nearly a quarter of a mile. As I have observed, I measured the stones; the bottom flag was 16 inches by 12, and about 2 inches in thickness. The four sides and end flags, which made a box-like form, are 14 inches long. Two of these flags measure 7 inches in breadth, the third flag 9 inches, and the fourth 5 inches; each flag is 2 inches in thickness; thus the inside of the cist was 14 inches by 14. The top flag, or covering flag, is 2 feet by 1½, and from 3 to 5 inches in thickness, nearly an even surface on one, but rough and quarrylike on the other.

"Mr. Scully, when he discovered this cist, imagined he had a money treasure; the disappointment he met probably caused him to scatter its contents through the sand, and regardlessly draw the same away for use.

"About thirty-four years ago a young man, by name Foran, with whom I was acquainted, dreamed that three pans of gold lay buried in the floor of the Castle of Timahoe: on the day following the night on which he dreamed he came and digged for the three pans of treasure, and in digging actually found beneath the surface three pans of small bones.

"This really appears strange, as the pans rested not more than a foot under the surface. If the pans were deposited there in any one age of the ages of Paganism, when human remains were consumed by fire and the burnt bones buried in urns, certainly it is natural to suppose that in the building of the castle and the making of its ground floor, the pans would have been discovered. Nothing approximates more to a certainty than this hypothesis; for the pans must have been but a few inches under the plane of the floor, as the castle was erected in or about the year 1170, by De

Lacy, for Myler Fitzhenry, 788 years ago; and it is about 343 years since the O'Mores had the castle in possession; and about 307 years intervened from the time the O'Mores possessed the castle and the finding of the pans by Foran; consequently, the surface of what is accounted the floor must have increased in height very much during the years of the castle's ruin, and accumulation of rubbish. Such, after a mature consideration, would half induce a reasonable person to believe that the pans contained gold coins, but that by incantation the coins were commuted into small bones. And what gives some features of credit to such cogitation is, about sixty years ago a man, by name Michael Conor, in the act of digging in his garden in Garryglan, disclosed a pan of large gold coins. The man, overjoyed, left the pan in the position he found it, and went in for his wife, in order to relate his happiness; but on his return with her the pan contained a number of small bones. Astonished, he took up the pan and turned it upside down, on which the bones fell out, and in the bones was an oval gold watch. For this watch he refused in Maryborough fifty pounds. After being some time in his possession it fell into pieces, went to nothing, and never brought to him even one shilling.

"This tradition, so recent, has been handed down as a narrative, collectively speaking, of an absolute fact. I have received it from a dear friend of mine, who really saw the pan, bones, and watch.

"Some very wise and learned men will not only discredit, but even impugn, such traditions. In fact, we wish to have some solid proofs in order to annihilate them, if we get not proofs from these learned men,—proofs evincing a direct demonstration. It still appears, in some measure, severe to accuse a people with the weakness of superstition,—a word very often misapplied. To be candid, the peasantry are not inclined to sacrifice, in its collective variety, their thinking power on the words, 'Such cannot be so,—such is superstition.' The twelve syllables contained in these words will not virtually act as the twelve stones that composed the Jewish altar. No, they want proof, and it appears very rash to assert that such people cling to errors, and cherish superstition, having received convincing proofs against such.

"We must admit that to tradition we owe all our histories. If from the histories of nations traditions are repudiated or cast out, I know not the nation that can produce a history. We may have fragments to read over, but not even one history containing a concatenation of events; therefore, we should not disrespect traditions in profane, or even in sacred, history.

"About eighty years now past, a man opening a ditch near Grath-danney found a log of wood containing a vast number of silver coins, all as bright as if but on yesterday deposited in the log. The poor man filled his pockets with the shiny treasure, and when he had done so, a woman, a stranger to him, came on the ditch over him and asked for this log; he did not hesitate, he handed up the log to her; she took it, went off: from that moment the silver coins became of no use or value; they lost their colour, and became as dark as tin pieces.

"This matter seems strange, and borders on enchantment; it appears, when the woman possessed the log, she had power over the money. How will this be accounted for? Will philosophy squash it? It rests on traditional record, and presents many enigmatical points to philosophy.

"Some very many years past a woman living in Ballintisken, a townland south of Stradbally, when in the act of spinning flax, was told that her cow was damaging her corn, on which she ran out, taking the rockstick in her hand in order to drive out the cow. On crossing over a rabbit burrow she saw gold coins scattered on the sand at a rabbit-hole, which sand and gold were actually being cast out by a rabbit. This woman, anxious to preserve the corn, stuck the rockstick at the hole, and proceeded towards the cow; when she had driven the cow from the corn, she returned to pick up the gold, but, much to her astonishment and confusion, she saw a rockstick stuck at each and every hole, and could not recognise her own rockstick, or discover the gold.

"Something mysterious attends this tradition. It evinces that a supernatural power was in actual operation; and, as simple as the tradition is, it shows something marvellous regarding incantation appertinent to hidden money.

"Near to Killy, in the King's County, is a derry or sandy hillock in a boggy plain. On this derry stand some very ancient hawthorns. About forty years ago a person dreamed that a large pan of gold was buried in this derry. His dream was an exact one, as by it he recognised the spot beneath which this treasure lay; accordingly, he went with some other person, by night, to dig for the pan and its valuable contents. The party laboured hard, and when they believed that they were nigh a discovery, a fire issued from the bottom of the pit they had made; its flames swept over the sand; the gold-seekers fled in utter consternation; and so powerful was the effect of the flames sweeping over the surface, that they glazed the sand as if with burning liquid sulphur, and so concreted it, that flag-like parts of the sand could be carried away.

"Regarding this very strange account there is no mistake. The vestiges of the flames were visible to all who visited the place; and several persons now living can, so far, bear testimony.

"Can philosophic argument finally annul what, perhaps, is an evident evincing of sorcery in an after-life's supernatural power. A subtle disputant may discompose relative ideas to this subject; nevertheless, something remains with an impressive nature, that carries the mind back to other days, and places it on a summit, erected by ancient theory, where it scrutinizes, even in its confusion, the testimonies of history, and a multiplicity of striking traditions. While such exist amid the range of reason and imagination, it ill becomes a person to disregard such, not only interesting, but marvellous consequences.

"About thirty-nine years ago a coloured man, a negro by birth, lived as servant with the Rev. William Fitzgerald, parish priest of Carlow town. This black man dreamed that a copper pan of gold was buried in the ruins of a monastery in Oakpark, the demesne of the late Colonel Bruen; he told the reverend Father, who endeavoured to dissuade him from his purpose of seeking the treasure; his arguments were in vain, so deep were the impressive hopes of success on the man's mind imprinted. He prepared; took some trusty friends by night, and dug for the treasure: after some hours' labour they came to the flag that covered the pan, on which a furious whirling wind came and extinguished their lights: they relighted them, on which a company of horse soldiers came galloping up and presented their

arms; the gold-seekers stood horror-stricken; but the dreamer, as brave as man could be, continued to labour on while flames issued from the pit. The party fled, leaving the blackamoor man, more daring than a lion, to withstand the horrors of the whole contexture of thrilling objects in the silence and darkness of the midnight hour. He reflected, and, while reflecting, a whirlwind raged around him, and he heard a sepulchral-like voice—‘A life is to be lost—is that life yours?’ He paused for a moment, and mentally said—‘What will the treasure avail me if I am dead?’ On which he left the place. The next day he visited the scene of terror, and, much to his surprise, he could not find the exact spot; no marks of the night’s labour remained.

“A philosopher or logician may deny that such or similar things ever existed; nevertheless, an explicit proof is required. I may conjecture that a proof of this nature would cause inquiries to be made in the histories of nations, in historic accounts, and even in sacred history. And if such be made, the thinking powers will meet with obstructions, and, perhaps, weary of mental travelling, will seek some resting-place, and leave the matter to future ages.

“Nearly forty years now past, a young man, by name Fitzpatrick, from Tipperary, residing with friends of his in Moyadd, dreamed that a pan containing much treasure lay hidden near the Castle of Nockcardnagut. In fact, he was a bold Tipperary man, and was resolved, at all hazards, to possess the wealth so bewitching in his dream. Accordingly, he, with a few dauntless fellows, went by night to dig for it: after some time labouring, they heard a whistling in the air over them, and so sonorous that they thought it could be heard for many miles around. When the whistling ceased, a rumbling noise, as the far distant sound of many carriages, surrounded them, and, as if out of the noise, issued a whirl-blast that extinguished their lights, and even the turf fire they had to relight them; consequently, they had to return home. On the night following they went to the place much better prepared, and when they had commenced digging, by the same effects they were driven from it. They relighted their candles in a neighbouring house, but on their return the whistling became dreadful, the rumbling sound horrific, and a whirl-blast cast them down in the pit, and completely extinguished their lights. They never after made any attempt to seek the treasures.

“I have received this account from a very honest man, by name Brophy, who actually was one of the party, and is still living.

“I shall make no remarks on this narrative, as I have made so many on matters of this nature. I have no doubt that it will be said I am fond of the marvellous. Notwithstanding this, a person must be found to give the traditions of the country; and by giving them, so far as I know, and by making my remarks, I may be the cause of inducing some learned individual to reason on the nature of such things, and to produce proofs that such have not existence, if I may use the word.

“If proofs do not appear, it is very wrong to assert that the peasantry are superstitious in either believing in such matters, or entertaining ideas respecting them.”

The following Papers were then submitted to the Meeting.

WHAT WE LEARN FROM WILDE'S "CATALOGUE OF THE ANTIQUITIES IN THE MUSEUM OF THE ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY."

BY THE REV. JAMES GRAVES, A. B.

"CATALOGUE" is a word that always calls up a vision of dry lists, extended in dictionary form *ad infinitum*; a thing over which one pores with aching back and muddying brain, to pick the marrow out of some old library, or understand the language of some dust-coated museum. I am sorry Dr. Wilde's book is called "A Catalogue," for although it *is* a catalogue, and an admirable one too, it is much more; and the very name will prevent many a one from purchasing it. "What do I want of this catalogue?" your friend says; "it will be time enough to purchase it when I go see the Museum of the Academy." Now if Dr. Wilde's book were merely a *catalogue*, this reasoning would be unanswerable, and, therefore, my present object is to tell the Members of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society, that they can take up this book and read it with pleasure and profit, even should they never have the good fortune, which Heaven forefend! to set foot within the noble rooms which the Board of Works has built to preserve and display the noblest collection of natural antiquities which Great Britain can boast of.

I do not intend to speak of the plan and arrangement of the work, further than to say that it will be found to be all that can be wished, comprehensive in its *classes*, clear in its *orders*, and requiring the introduction of but few *excepted classes*. The chief novelty of its classification is that, abandoning the generally adopted plan of *chronological eras*, it adopts *material*¹ as the basis of arrangements. "Wilde's system" consists of five classes, each with their orders or subdivisions, as follows:—

"PRIMARY DIVISION, ACCORDING TO MATERIAL

CLASS.	ORDER, OR SUBDIVISION.
I. STONE MATERIALS,	1. Flint. 2. Stone. 3. Crystal.
II. EARTHEN MATERIALS, . . .	1. Clay and Pottery. 2. Glass and Enamel.
III. VEGETABLE MATERIALS, . .	1. Wood. 2. Amber. 3. Jet.

¹ It will not fail to recommend this mode of classification to all students of archæology to be informed, that it met the approval of

the late John Mitchell Kemble, a man who had a most extensive experience of such matters, both here and on the Continent.

- IV. ANIMAL MATERIALS, . . . 1. Bone, Horn, Ivory, Skin, Leather, and Shell,—used in the Arts. 2. Textile Fabrics.
3. Animal Remains.
- V. METALLIC MATERIALS, . . . 1. Bronze, Copper, or Brass. 2. Lead.
3. Iron. 4. Silver. 5. Gold.

Excepted Classes.

- VI. FINDS.
VII. COINS AND MEDALS.
VIII. HUMAN REMAINS.
IX. ECCLESIASTICAL ANTIQUITIES (*not stone*).

There is also a—

“SECONDARY DIVISION, ACCORDING TO USE.

“SPECIES.

1. **WEAPONS**,—offensive and defensive, used in War, the Chase, Fishing, &c. :—Arrow, spear, and javelin heads; sling stones; war-clubs; battle-axes, axe-hammers; skeins, daggers, swords, pikes; shields, armour, helmets, fire-arms, shot, &c.
 2. **TOOLS AND WEAPON-TOOLS**:—Flint-flakes, knives, scrapers, picks, chisels, wedges, adzes, cutters, celts (stone and metal), hatchets, gouges, palstaves, saws, hammers, punches, whetstones and sharpening-stones, crucibles, touchstones and burnishers, moulds and designs.
 3. **FOOD IMPLEMENTS**,—or articles employed in Raising, Procuring, Preparing, and Using Food:—Boats, paddles, ropes; fishing-spears and tridents, hooks, gaffs, sink-stones, and net-weights; spades, forks, ploughs, sickles, and scythes; all agricultural implements; grain-rubbers, querns, millstones, mortars; kneading troughs, lossets, pots, bowls, barrels, buckets, butter-prints, pans, dishes, griddles; knives and forks and spoons; pitchers, bottles, jars; drinking-horns, cups, methers, noggins, salt-cellars, stills, &c. Under this head may be placed Food itself, such as bog-butter, cheese, &c.
 4. **HOUSEHOLD ECONOMY**:—Furniture, articles of domestic use, and the toilet; piercers, needles, bodkins, shears, thimbles, and distaff discs; smoking pipes, snuffers, candlesticks; combs, razors, tweezers; tiles, weights, boxes, fire-irons, nails, nuts and bolts, chains and manacles, wheels, locks and keys, grissets, inkstands. Also models of forts and habitations, &c.
 5. **DRESS AND PERSONAL DECORATION**:—Beads, necklaces, bracelets and armlets, torques, gorgets, anklets, head ornaments, tiaras, frontlets, pins, brooches, fibulæ, clasps, buckles, buttons, finger-rings, boots and sandals, wig-pins; leather and woven garments.
- Horse-trappings**:—Shoes, bits, straddles, and two-horse yokes, stirrups, spurs, harness studs, goads, &c., come into this section as belonging to Dress and Decoration.

6. **AMUSEMENTS:**—Objects used in games, as chess, draughts, &c.
7. **MUSIC:**—Horns, trumpets, harps; all musical instruments.
8. **MONEY:**—Coins and other means of barter. In this section are included seals and commemorative medals, &c.
9. **MEDICINE:**—Crystals, amulets, bullæ, medicine stamps, surgical instruments.
10. **RELIGION:**—Chalices, patens, bells, crosses and crucifixes, croziers, shrines, reliquaries, stoups, censers, candlesticks, and church furniture; ecclesiastical rings; bronze, ivory, and stone figures and carvings, altar stones.
11. **SEPULTURE:**—Urns, vases, and the objects found therein; incinerated and other bones of men or the lower animals; Ogham stones, crosses, effigies, tombstones.
12. **MISCELLANEOUS:**—All objects, arranged according to their material, but the precise uses of which have not yet been determined with sufficient certainty to warrant their being grouped with any of the previous species.

“VARIETY.

“The varieties are such as occur in each set of articles of the species, serving the same purpose, but differing in shape, design, ornamentation, or mode of application:—for instance, the various forms of arrows, spears, and swords; the different kinds of celts, of hammers, or of querns, and the different shapes of pins, brooches, and armillæ.”

There has yet been published but that portion of the Catalogue comprising the three first orders. I understand that its completion in a great degree depends on the sale of this First Part, and surely a cheaper six shillings' worth was never placed on the shelf of the rich man's library, or the poor man's book-case. I shall now take scissors in hand, and allow the Members of the Society to see what Wilde's Catalogue can tell them, and that pleasantly, of the olden times in Ireland, as they sit by their firesides, far away from Dublin and its museums:—

“All primitive nations throughout the world, so far as we know—especially those located without the tropics and towards the northern regions,—whose maintenance chiefly depended on their courage, energy, and ingenuity, must, in the absence of a knowledge of the harder metals, such as copper, bronze, or iron, have employed weapons and tools of flint and stone for procuring food and clothing, constructing habitations, forming boats and rafts, and in defending themselves from their enemies. They also used stone ornaments, such as necklaces, rings, and pendants. As they acquired a knowledge of cereal food, and became acquainted with agriculture, they employed stone implements to till the ground, to bruise and triturate corn, and to bake bread. Finally, they interred their dead in stone chambers, or collected their ashes in stone urns, and erected over them tumuli of the same material. Upon some of the stones composing these sepulchral monuments we find traces of a peculiar ornamentation, characteristic of the time, and quite unknown during later periods.

"Where the fruits of the earth do not spring spontaneously from the ground, with the natural luxuriance of tropical climates, and thus present, without culture, a sufficient supply of food all the year round, man must of necessity remain a nomad,—depending mainly for his subsistence on fishing or the chase,—until he has learned to domesticate his prey, and reduce the wild animals around him to his rule. Then he becomes a shepherd; or, as he renders the earth fertile by his labour, an agriculturist. In either case he ceases to be a wandering hunter, and remains more or less stationary, allowing time for the cultivation of those arts which, prompted by necessity and improved by taste, gradually elevate him in the scale of civilization.

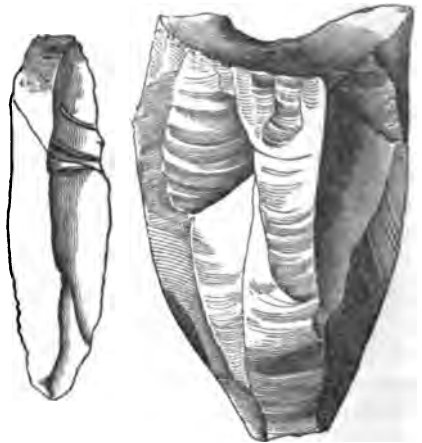
"In this primitive state the timber of the forest supplied him with materials for his rude dwelling, and with fuel for warmth and cookery. The skins of animals, which he killed for food, furnished him with clothing; these he fashioned with a sharp flint-flake, or hard stone edged-tool, and bound together with thongs,—using as a piercer, point, or needle, the bone of some fish, bird, or small mammal. At the same time the sinews of animals or thongs of skin, with perhaps some glutinous material resembling cement,—possibly pitch or resin,—enabled him to fix in wooden shafts or handles the knives, spears, and arrow-heads with which he slew and skinned the beasts on which he preyed.

"To project the latter weapon, either in battle or the chase, the flexible branch, shaped by the sharp flint edged-tool, formed a bow, which was bent by a leather thong, or the twisted intestine of an animal. The wooden material—of oak, ash, and yew, fir, hazel, and birch, found in our bogs, and still existing as indigenous trees,—which formed the bow, the shaft of the arrow, and the handle of the lance or javelin, has perished centuries ago; but the durable materials of flint and stone remain, and of such implements the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy boasts the most extensive collection which has yet been made of the primitive weapons and tools of the early inhabitants of the British Isles. The elegantly shaped and highly finished spear or arrow-head would not be of any service to the warrior or the hunter if he did not possess the means of adapting to it a proper shaft, and attaching it thereto with the necessary ligaments. We may, therefore, fairly commence the description of the flint articles with that of the knife, cutter, or scraper.

"Flint proper, or chalk flint, as distinguished from oolitic chert, is only found in a very few localities in Ireland, chiefly in the counties of Antrim, Down, and Derry; hence we learn without surprise that the great bulk of the specimens of that material have been procured from the province of Ulster. The rarity of flint must have rendered these weapons very valuable in other districts.

"If an ordinary oblong flint nodule be broken across in the middle, the fracture is conchoidal or shell-shaped, and if one of the portions of that flint were set on end, the artist could chip off with a hammer, or with a chisel and mallet, a number of fine flakes, running the length of the sides of the mass; more or less thin and long, or broad and thick, according to the natural purity of the flint, and perhaps the dexterity of the worker. Each scale or flake, no matter what its outer shape or outline, will always present the conchoidal fracture. The outside flakes, bearing the usual rough cortical

silicate of lime investiture, were generally valueless, and consequently cast aside. In striking off these flakes the tool used must have been a stone or flint; but of what precise nature we have as yet no definite information. In chipping or scaling a mass of flint, the artist appears to have struck it on the end, and as he passed round the block, striking in the centre of the angle made by the junction of any two chips, the scale must always have presented more or less of an obtusely triangular figure in its section; and, owing to the tapering nature of the flint mass, a leaf-like outline; while, from the peculiar fracture or cleavage of all flint, it was curved in the longitudinal direction, and also slightly convex from side to side upon the under surface. This under surface is invariably smooth, and to a certain degree polished; but, from the deficiency of lines upon it, and its invariable curvature, it can easily be distinguished from the smoothing and polishing produced by art. The edges of nearly all these flakes are sharp, and generally meet at a point at the extremity, while the butt, or portion to which the tool was applied, is usually chipped and broken, as if it required repeated blows to get it off. Each surface on the convex aspect is smooth, though occasionally presenting the wave-like appearance of broken glass. This was the first attempt at a weapon or tool of stone. The artist, it would appear, chipped off as many scales or flakes as the mass would afford, and then threw aside the core or spud when it ceased to be any longer useful. There are a few such cores in the Museum;—one of these, represented by the accompanying illustration, which is of the natural size, will be found on Tray A, No. 2; while such a scale or flake as that described above, and which partakes of the knife-form, is shown by the figure, No. 1 on the same Tray. These flint-flakes generally vary in size from $\frac{1}{2}$ an inch to $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, and from $\frac{3}{8}$ ths of an inch to 3 inches across at the broadest part.



"In the year 1816, and again in 1848, his Majesty the King of Denmark, at the instance of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries of Copenhagen, presented to the Academy a collection of Scandinavian antiquities, principally composed of flint and stone weapons and tools, or models thereof. As these far surpass in size, although some of them do not equal in design or perfection of workmanship, many of the small flint articles belonging to the Academy, we would direct attention to the case containing them upon the ground-floor of the Museum. Therein will be found two models of those flint-cores much larger than any in the Academy's Collection. (See Proceedings, vol. iv. p. 250.)¹

¹ In the Rail-case A, facing the second compartments of this Gallery, may be seen a collection of obsidian cores and flakes, spears

and arrows, from the coast of Mexico, showing the process of scaling in modern times, well worthy of attention.

"We now approach a more advanced stage in handicraft and design. Three forms of manufacture are apparent in the foregoing and in the following flint articles. First, *Splitting*, which was done by a simple stroke, not always effective, perhaps, and occasionally producing irregular, ill-shapen portions, but sometimes forming very perfect tools and weapons, of which abundant examples have been afforded in the three foregoing Trays. These implements were formed at once, either by a stone used as a hammer, or were cut off by a stone chisel or celt, and given their definite shape and required sharp edge by a single blow,—the latter necessarily accidental, but much more requisite than the former. The examples on the foregoing Trays show this form. Second, *Chipping*, which was performed as a secondary operation upon some of these flint-flakes, and apparently by a succession of slight taps, or gentle but well-directed blows with some sharp-pointed tool, probably a flint-spike. At first but one side (the ordinary convex one) was chipped, and then, in the more perfect implement, both sides were thus manufactured. None but the best semi-transparent, horn-coloured flint appears to have been susceptible of this amount of work, and therefore such only displays the perfection of the chipping process, in which, by repeated blows, bit after bit was flaked off, until the piece assumed the defined shape of the knife, spear, or arrow-head. The third stage was that of *Polishing*, by rubbing the flint, previously chipped into form, on a smooth flat surface of hard stone.

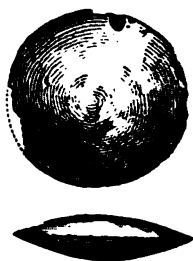
"Such was the perfection attained, and the amount of artistic skill arrived at, that one is induced to believe that flint-chipping was a special trade. The gun-flint maker's art, while it gives some clue to the ancient manufacture, yet falls far short of what could, in ancient times, be achieved in this trade; and our wonder in examining some of these highly manufactured flints, particularly among the arrow-heads, is still more increased when we consider that they were nearly all formed by another stone; although some may, in later times, have been trimmed by a metal tool. The only implements in the Collection which could, so far as we now know, have scaled off, by delicate touches, these fine chips, are the long-pointed flint picks and punches shown on Tray M.

"Flint knives, owing to their natural curvatures, could not have been effectually employed as projectiles, and must, therefore, have been principally used as tools; although fitted into handles of wood, bone, or horn, they may have served as daggers. Among primitive nations the transition from the tool to the weapon is but slight; in fact, the same article must have served the common purpose, the hammer being used as a war-mace, the hatchet as a battle-axe, and the long knife, or skein, as a dagger; as in the present day the tomahawk of the Indian is used for the triple purpose of tool, weapon, and pipe. Flint and stone tools and weapons, although indicative of the most primitive art, and originally belonging to the earliest state of society through which man has passed, have, in some instances, been found in connexion with metal articles, and under such circumstances as leave no doubt of their having descended to much later times than those to which it is usual to assign to them. The transition between the Stone and the Metal period must have been so gradual that it would be impossible to fix the definite limits of either, and therefore unsafe to attempt a chronological classification based thereon. In several of the earliest sepulchres we find small flint knives and stone chips among

the incinerated bones deposited in sun-baked clay urns. An example of this kind may be seen in the collection of articles found in the cromlech discovered in the Phoenix Park.

"SLING-STONES.—That sling-stones were generally employed by early nations long after they had become acquainted with the use of metal, and had attained to great perfection both in arts and literature, we have the evidence afforded by the history of the combat between David and Goliath; and that such weapons were used by the early Irish, we learn from some incidental references to them in our ancient histories. Thus, Kethlenn, the wife of the Dagda, killed Balor of the one eye with a stone thrown from a sling, at the battle of Moy Tuiredh, fought before the Christian era; and Keating, quoting from the Bardic Records, relates the story of an Ulster prince named Furbuidhe, who was so expert that he could, at a great distance, strike an apple off a stake with a stone cast from a sling: and eventually slew Meave, Queen of Connaught, by a stone slung at her across the Shannon, when she was bathing near Innis-Cloth-ran. The Dinnseanchus records the fact of the poetess Dubh having been slain by a stone cast from a sling, when she fell into the Linn, or dark pool of the Liffey, and hence the place was said to have been called from her Dubhlinn (see also Gilbert's 'History of Dublin'). The ancient Irish warrior carried a stone in his girdle—the *Lia Miledh*—to cast at his adversary: but how this was done, whether it was a sling-stone or a celt, we as yet know not. Finally, we read that when the celebrated chief, Cuchulann, went in his chariot from Tara to the Boyne to fish, he brought with him a number of stones to fling at birds.—(Harleian MS. 5280, British Museum.)

"While the smooth water-worn oval pebble, picked from the brook or the beach, was always ready to the hand (although it would scarcely be preserved, or be subsequently recognised), yet stones may have been specially formed and shaped for the purpose of slinging, in order to insure a more certain and deadly aim,—like the ball of the Minie rifle. Antiquarians have assigned the name of sling-stones to a great variety of stone articles, but, as is proved in many instances, without sufficient foundation. It is evident that much time was spent in shaping those flint discs upon Tray E, two of which, Nos. 466 and 467, have natural or accidental holes. Similar circular or oval stones are to be found in most Celtic collections. Whatever was their use, it must have reached perfection in that here figured one-third the natural size, No. 490. It was originally highly polished all over, and evidently formed with the greatest care both as respects its shape and finish, but several bits have been chipped off it, apparently from accident or use. It measures three inches in diameter, and is three-quarters of an inch thick in the centre. Other stones of a peculiar oval shape (see those in the Miscellaneous Collection, Rail-case B) are also believed to have been used as sling-stones; and among the brass objects will be found a mould for casting pellets, apparently for the same purpose.



"ARROWS.—Whether the perfect spear, dart, or javelin of flint fastened into a long handle, and thrust or thrown by the hand, or the true

arrow-head of any shape projected by the bow, was the primitive weapon, is matter of conjecture. The latter is the more complicated weapon, and in its formation manifests an equal degree of art, and greater delicacy of handicraft; while the former shows, in addition to the chipping into figure, that polishing of its sides which has been already referred to as the third or final process in the perfection of flint manufacture. Such objects have, therefore, been assigned a more advanced position in this collection. There can, however, be little doubt that the arrow and the javelin existed contemporaneously. (See the flints in Rail-case A of this Gallery.) Again, some of the largest of the arrow-shaped flints far exceed in size the javelin-points, and were probably used as hand-weapons. In those parts of the country where arrow-heads are usually found, they are almost invariably denominated 'elf-darts.'

"Arrow-heads of flint may be classed under five varieties, as shown on Trays F, G, H, and I. They have been chipped with great care; but none of them are polished. The arrow, it may be remarked, shows the perfection of chipping; the spear, of polishing. In arranging each variety

the rudest form has been placed first. These varieties, as shown by the accompanying illustrations, all figured the natural size, consist of:—First, the Triangular, arranged on Tray F, figures of two of which are here given, the natural size. After passing through a series of developments, this arrow first becomes slightly curved at the sides for holding the string which attached it to the shaft,



Fig. 11, a variety common in the present day among the American Indians. It was then hollowed out at the base, to such an extent that in process of time it assumed the indented or Second variety of this series (Figs. 12, 13, and 14, all of dark honey-coloured flints), the perfection of chipping in some of the small specimens of which is truly marvellous. Upon reviewing the flint-flakes and rudely formed weapons and tools, we see that many arrow-shaped portions have been thrown off by the natural fracture;

but all these have the usual curved cleavage on the under side; while those we now deal with are not only chipped at the edge into a more definite shape than the former, but most of them have been wrought upon both faces by repeated and well-directed blows of some sharp-pointed tool.



"The Third is the Stemmed Arrow, having a tang or projection for sinking into the shaft, and the wings on either side of which gradually bend into the 'broad arrow' shape. Spe-

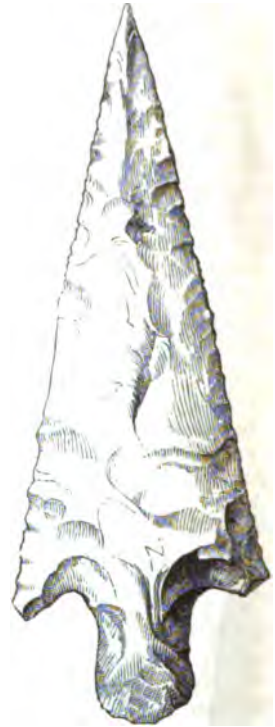
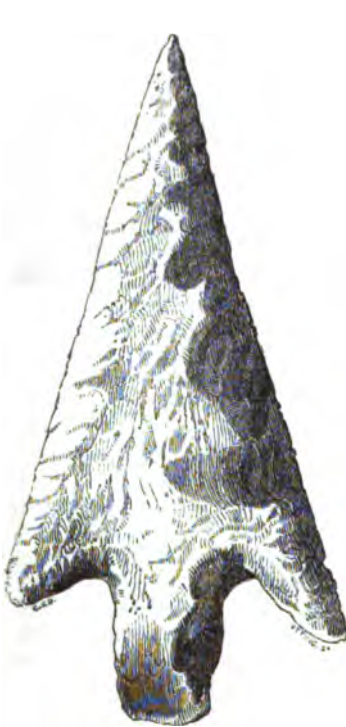
¹ To these arrow-heads, called, particularly by the Northern peasantry, "elf-darts," or "elf-stones," are attributed certain super-

stitious powers. Thus, when cattle are sick, and that the cattle doctor or fairy doctor is sent for, he says the beast has been "elf-

cimens of this class are arranged for the most part, on Tray G, of which the accompanying representation serves as the type. Of this class, we possess in the Collection a remarkable example serrated upon the sides and edge, and here figured the natural size. Flint implements of the jagged or saw character, although common in collections of Scandinavian Antiquities, are very rare in Ireland.



"As we glance over the series of arrow-heads of this variety, we perceive specimens, Nos. 657 and 658, which approach the size usually attributed to the spear or javelin, and which, from their weight and magnitude, would, when affixed to a properly ba-



lanced shaft, appear too large and too heavy to have been projected by a bow, even when strung by the lusty arm of a hardy Celt. The accompanying illustrations, drawn of the natural size, afford a good idea of these wea-

shot," or stricken by fairy or elfin darts (just as in Connaught and Munster they say it has been "overlooked"); and forthwith he proceeds to feel the animal all over, and by some legordemain contrives to find in its

skin one or more poisonous weapons, which, with some coins, are then placed in the water which it is given to drink, and a cure is said to be effected. This is a very old and widespread piece of folk-lore.

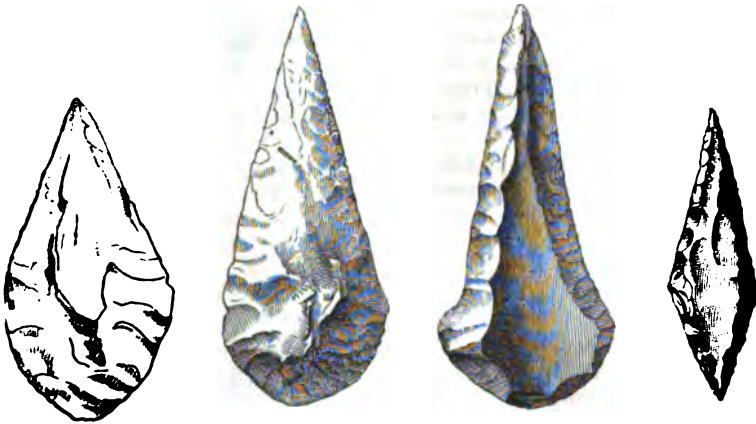
pons. The broad one is a flint, and bears some slight traces of polishing; the narrow is of very dark Lydian stone, but showing a sufficiency of conchoidal fracture on its surface to establish its flinty character.¹

"By prolonging the wings until they extended as low as the central stem, the Fourth variety was attained, or what may be denominated the true Barbed Arrow, many beautiful specimens of which are presented on



Tray H. The wings or barbs of this variety became, it would appear, in time, so much prolonged and indented, as to present the shapes of these elegant specimens shown in the three accompanying figures, drawn the full size, the last of which, with a prolonged point, is the only example of the kind in the Collection.

"The fifth variety is the Leaf-shaped, generally very thin, and chipped all over with great care (see Tray I). It is much more simple in shape than any of the foregoing; but we have thus placed it at the end of the



series, because it leads to the final and most perfect flint manufacture of the weapon class—that of the Spear. The difference between the leaf-

¹ The first three engravings at p. 118 are from stereotypes of the woodcuts attached to Mr. Du Noyer's paper in the "Archæo-

logical Journal," vol. vii. p. 282; they are, therefore, not so fine in the printing as the other illustrations of this class.

shaped arrow and the spear consists, not merely in the size, but in the outlines of the latter being almost straight. As, however, we pass down the series, we find some specimens of this variety of arrow-heads, especially Nos. 837, 848, and 851, which, although small, approach the spear-shape, as may be seen in the illustrations, figured the natural size, p. 119.

"SPEAR-HEADS.—As already stated, it is difficult to draw the line of distinction between the large arrow-shaped flint weapon and the medium-sized javelin, or spear-head. Such weapons may have served the common purposes of both; but the spear, so far, at least, as we have the means of judging, was always flat, generally smooth and polished upon both faces, and in shape representing two unequal isosceles triangles placed on opposite sides of the same base. Upon Tray L we have a few fine specimens of this weapon, either perfect or in a mutilated state; they differ from the arrow-heads in their flatness, thinness, polished sides, greater length, and straightness of outline. The accompanying illustration, here figured two-thirds of the natural size, represents one of the finest specimens of this class of weapon yet discovered,—it is $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, and nearly 2 broad at the widest portion. It was apparently first chipped into the proper form, and then smoothed down on the flat by rubbing upon a level surface. This description of weapon, with the exception of the disc, No. 490, on Tray E, exhibits the first attempt at smoothing and polishing flint articles.

"The Nos. from 960 to 964 are also of the same type, although not so perfect, and some of them not so large. See likewise No. 1269, in the specimens from the county of Donegal tumulus in Rail-case A.



"SPECIES II.—FLINT TOOLS.

"PICKS.—Having thus disposed of the various flint weapons and weapon-tools, from the simplest to the most complex and elaborately wrought implements; and having endeavoured, by arrangement, description, and illustration, to explain the process and art employed in their formation,—we now come to the consideration of those specimens that assume a more decided tool-shape, in the form of picks, punches, points, chisels, or celts. Flint alone could, from its hardness, have been formed into a sharp-pointed tool, such as that here represented one-third the natural size; and all the specimens of which are arranged on Tray M. It is, together with the other articles of a like variety, of a dark-gray, close-grained material, carefully

chipped into its present state; and as no specimen has been discovered in a more finished condition, it is perhaps, the perfect instrument of its kind—the accuracy of the sharp terminal point being the object endeavoured to be attained. Held in the hand, it was probably used like the modern steel millstone pick, and employed in the execution of those finer kinds of workmanship displayed on the spears and arrow-heads. Although tapering at both ends, we invariably find one extremity with a finer point than the other. These may have been alternately pointed as they became blunted by use. A few tools of this class have narrow chisel-points.



“Next comes the FLINT CHISEL, approaching in form, but not altogether taking the shape of the stone celt, and being invariably polished for a short distance round the cutting edge, which is usually the segment of a circle,—the remainder of the tool being left in the rough state, as it would cost much time, and great labour, to smooth so hard a material all over. These implements are invariably of the hardest flint, mostly yellow or orange-colour. No. 27, of the chisel variety, is a unique specimen (so far, at least, as regards this Collection) of semi-transparent horn-coloured flint, mottled with dark dendritic spots, caused by oxide of manganese, and resembling the so-called moss marks in agate.

The accompanying illustration represents one of these celt-shaped tools which may have been used as cutters and carvers of wood, bone, or leather. This instrument, which is $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, by $2\frac{1}{2}$ broad, could only have been employed effectively when fitted into a handle; but several others, upon Tray N, might have been used by the unassisted hand. Similarly shaped cutters will be found among the stone celts. See Nos. 130, 131, and 133, Tray Y.



“This concludes the enumeration and description of the flint objects in the Collection, which now amount to 1275. As no allusion, of even the most remote and traditional character, to flint weapons, tools, or stone implements, of any description, has yet been discovered in the searched Irish records, we must refer these objects to the very earliest period of the inhabitation of this island; but we are unable to connect them with any historic era or any particular people. They all belong to the pre-metallic period.

“Among the uses to which flint and other sharp stone knives have always been attributed by writers, is that of Sacrifice; but so far as any documentary or traditional evidence relating to this country is concerned, we are not warranted in supposing that propitiatory sacrifices were offered during Pagan times, or, if they were, that flint or stone implements were employed in such usages. Funereal sacrifices appear to have been performed. That stones knives were used for sacrificial purposes in very early times, and in all countries, history leaves no doubt; but I am inclined to believe that as the forms of sacrifice, next to the rites of sepulture, were the latest retained by any people, and amongst those traditional usages in which all the details were longest preserved, the stone knives originally used, when there was no knowledge of metal,

continued to be employed in later times, even when metal had become general; not so much on account of any supposed virtue in the stone, but because the usage was *old*, and the odour of sanctity attached to it; even as in the present day the operation of circumcision is performed by the Jews in many countries with a stone instrument;—and a reverence for the authority of the past influences the ceremonial, if not the spirit, of all religions.

“Reviewing the flint weapons and tools already described, together with those of stone, of a somewhat similar character, now about to be enumerated, it is impossible to resist the conclusion that they all belonged to a people with industrial pursuits, arts, and habits of life identical with those tribes who, at one time, occupied the whole of north-western Europe and the other British Isles, as well as Erin. If they possessed a literature, the archaeologist has failed to discover it; and so far as dim tradition lends its feeble light to aid us in the investigation, they appear to have been civilized from without. These propositions, if true, do not militate against the popular idea, first gleaned from the Bardic records and traditions, that Ireland was colonized by an oriental people; they only tend to prove the inhabitation of the island before the arrival of any such civilized colony.

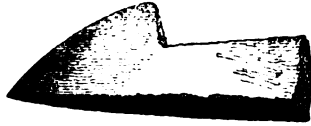
“These flints and stone relics, together with the sepulchral remains of the early races of this island, are to the antiquary what the footprints and fossil marks in geological strata prior to the present are to the palæontologist, out of which he peoples, with plants and animals, a locality, long antecedent to its primeval inhabitation by man. They are the traces of the first wave of population—the pre-historic data which aid and confirm Bardic traditions. Certain it is, that oriental adventurers from some of the countries surrounding the upper border of the Mediterranean—the original seats of art and learning—passing in ships through the Pillars of Hercules, and coasting along the Atlantic-washed shores of Europe, never could have been a people trusting alone for support in time of peace, or for defence in war, to those rude flint and stone weapons and tools which accident has brought to light, and the labours of the antiquary have grouped together in this portion of the Collection. The men who trusted to the flake-knife, chisel, or arrow of flint, and the stone celt, although they might have crossed in their tree-stem canoes, or skin-covered corraghs, from the Continent of Europe to the nearest part of Britain, and from the nearest point of England or Scotland to Ireland, never could have constructed the craft, nor shaped the course of the vessel that launched upon that voyage of discovery referred to by the Irish Bardic historians.”

Having thus seen how much Wilde's “Catalogue” can tell us as to flint implements, I pass over many other equally interesting pages to place the following before the Members:—

“SPECIES III.—FOOD IMPLEMENTS.

“AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS of stone could never have been very numerous in Ireland, yet other countries, even in the present day, supply examples of portions of both the plough and harrow composed of stone. A large, long-handled, stone celt would form a sufficiently useful mattock

to disturb the surface of the ground, and prepare it for the reception of a corn crop. The two accompanying illustrations bear so great a resemblance to rude primitive ploughshares, that one is constrained to look upon them in that light; while the great slate celt, No. 323, may be likened more to a plough-coulter than a hatchet.



The first of these implements, composed of yellow sandstone, is $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ across the widest part; it is very smooth, and has an even, sharp edge. The second, composed of crystalline greenstone, is $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, and 4 broad; it has a hole, which is decorated round the margin on both sides, cut obliquely through one extremity. A thong passed through this aperture would help to secure it in a wooden socket. But whatever might have been the means employed in cultivation, it has been well established that grain food, particularly wheat, both white and red, and probably oats and rye also, were grown in Ireland long before the Christian era; and corn crops, according to our annals, suffered in like manner as in modern times from atmospheric vicissitudes or pestilential epiphytica. Thus we read that during the ten years' reign of Eochy, last King of the Firbolgs, from A. M. 3294 to 3303, a great drought occurred, 'notwithstanding there was abundance of grain and fruit' (Annals of Clonmacnoise); and again, in 3972, according to the chronology adopted by the Four Masters, the earth was so fruitful in the reign of Fiacha-Finnailchea, 'that it was difficult for the stalk to sustain its corn.' Traces of tillage and land bearing the track of the plough have been discovered on hill-tops and other localities that have long since fallen out of cultivation.¹



"Grain-rubbers for tritulating corn are, perhaps, the most primitive implements used in the manufacture of cereal food. Each consisted of a flag or flat stone, slightly hollowed upon the upper surface, so as to hold the parched grain, and a convex rubber or mullet, which was passed backwards and forwards with the hand, and thus bruised the corn into meal. The accompanying illustration, drawn from No. 2, in the lowest shelf of the first Compartment of the Northern Gallery, affords a good example of the grain-rubber; and when we consider the immense length of time that all nations acquainted with the use of corn have known how to work the rotary quern, this must be indeed an im-



¹ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Essay on the Antiquity of Corn in Ireland," in the "Dublin Penny Journal," vol. i. p. 108. See also the

Author's "Report on Table of Deaths," in the "Irish Census" of 1851, vol. i. part 5, for all the references concerning corn.

plement of extreme antiquity. It is 1 foot $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, 11 inches broad, and averages 4 inches in thickness; it is formed out of a piece of sandstone, and is remarkable for having a hole worked into the side, through which a string might have been passed, either for hanging it up or carrying it. Its rubber, also shown in the foregoing illustration, is 11 inches long, and formed out of the same material.

"We possess four concave and five convex stones of this variety in the Collection; the latter being more likely to be preserved, and less liable to injury than the former. Of these convex stones, No. 5 is nearly a hemisphere, and must have worked in a small oval indentation. Early as these implements were employed, those who used them evidently sought for the material most likely to make an efficient millstone. These rubbers give us the first idea of a mortar, of which examples may be seen in the Second Cross-case, especially Nos. 27 to 31.

"QUERNS are evidently the next step in food-making machinery, and the Academy possesses a fine collection of them, thirty-five in number, some perfect, others wanting the upper or the lower stone. Although there are several varieties, as may be seen by an examination of these articles in detail, the most simple and natural division of them is twofold. The first is that in which the upper and lower stone are simply circular discs from 12 to 20 inches across; the upper rotating upon the lower by means of a wooden handle, or sometimes two, inserted into the top,—and 'fed' or supplied with corn by an aperture in the centre, analogous to the hopper, and which may be termed the 'grain-hole' or eye. The meal, in this case, passed out between the margins of the stones to a cloth spread on the floor to receive it. The upper stones are usually concave, and the lower convex, so as to prevent their sliding off, and also to give a fall to the meal.

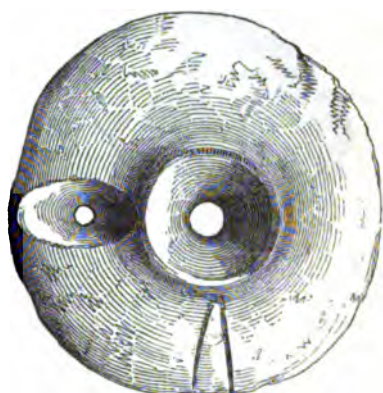
"The second variety is usually called a Pot-quern, and has a lip or margin in the lower stone, which encircles or overlaps the upper, the meal passing down through a hole in the side of the former. Most of this variety are of a smaller size than the foregoing, which is evidently the more ancient and the simpler form, as well as that which presents us with the greatest diversity.

"The upper stone was turned either by a wooden handle—sometimes by two—or; in some of the larger specimens, by a lever placed nearly horizontal, and of which an example may be seen in No. 23; or it was occasionally worked by means of a wooden lid or cover, with projecting arms, to which ropes were attached, or a small animal might be harnessed, and of which a very curious specimen will be found among the wooden materials, No. 12. Generally speaking, however, 'two women sat grinding at the mill,' which was placed upon the ground between them; with one hand they turned the top stone by means of the handle, either held by both together, or passed from one to the other; and with the other hand they poured the grain into the eye or hopper.

"The lower stone is generally perforated for a pivot, or spud, usually of wood, but sometimes of iron, which passed into the aperture of the upper stone, where it was supported upon a cross stick or piece of iron; and by the application of leathern washers between the pivot and the socket in which it worked, the distance between the stones could be increased, and so the meal ground coarse or fine as required.

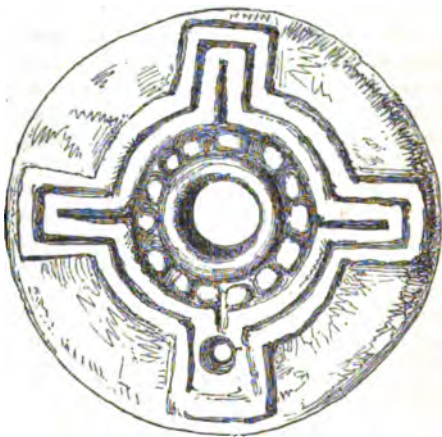
"The old English name for the upper stone was the 'rider' or 'runner,' and for the lower the 'lier' or 'ass.' In Irish the quern was called *Bro*, from the verb *bro*, frangere, to break, to grind. The lower was called the *Bro iochtair*, and the upper the *Bro uachcair*. In material, querns do not offer great variety, being chiefly composed of different descriptions of sandstone, sometimes of quartz rocks, occasionally of gneiss, and in some instances of granite; but in all the perfect specimens in the Academy the upper and lower stones are of the same material.

"The accompanying illustrations show the various forms of querns in the Collection. The convex top-stone, No. 17, represented by the first of the two following figures, exhibits the first attempt at decoration, having a deep hollow, with a raised edge round the central aperture, so as to constitute a very perfect hopper; and an oval indentation surrounding the handle-hole. It is 16 inches in diameter. Another form of decoration is that shown in the



second figure, No. 19, the top-stone of a quern, 18 inches in diameter, and decorated with the ancient Irish cross, carved in relief, the arms of which are enclosed within a circle. It was probably a church quern.

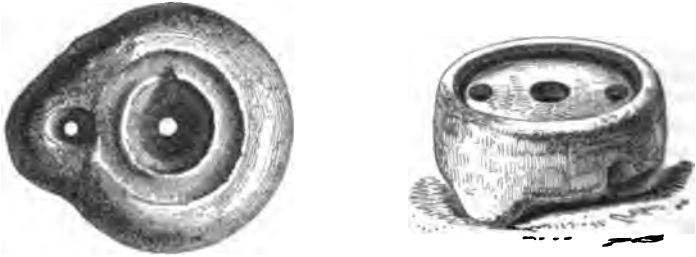
The handle-hole, as in the first illustration, passes through, and is placed in one of the arms of the cross. There were occasionally two handle-holes, and in some specimens are to be found the remains of a third, an examination of which will show that the original hole had been worked out. This form of decoration, although rare, finds three representatives in this Collection, Nos. 19, 20, and 21, and an examination of these quern-tops will show that it was part of the original design. Dr. Petrie has described and



figured the top-stone of a decorated quern, which had been used as a tombstone in the cemetery of Clonmacnoise; it also may have been decorated originally, although afterwards used as a tombstone; and the name (which is its chief characteristic) subsequently carved upon it.¹

¹ See Petrie's "Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland," p. 349.

"Another variety of the simple quern is that in which the top-stone, in particular, is very massive and heavy, so as, in some specimens, to be only capable of being turned by a lever inserted into it, at nearly a right angle, and which was evidently rotated by one or more persons walking round the mill. No. 25, which stands in the tripod of the Second Com-



partment, is a good example of this description of quern; and No. 22, here figured, is the heavy top of a quern of this description, but of small size, and the hole in which is placed in a projection from the side.

"Of the second kind of hand-mill, denominated a pot-quern, the accompanying illustration affords us a good idea. It is 9 inches in diameter, and 4 high; it stands on three feet, and had evidently been long in use. The top-stone, with two handle-holes, is represented in this figure, as also the meal-hole, which is cut obliquely through the lower margin. This form of mill need not, of necessity, have been provided with a pivot, as the lip of the lower stone retained the upper *in situ*.

"The antiquity of Querns or hand-mills, *lamh-bro*, in Ireland is very great, yet they continue in use to the present day.¹ One of the causes assigned for their discontinuance is that of certain prohibitions against them in some localities in Ireland, as well as in Scotland, in which latter country laws to the same effect have been long in force; the object being to make the peasantry grind the corn at the proprietor's water-mill.

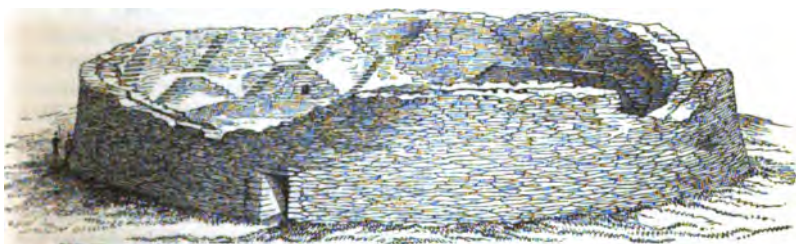
"The principle of the stone quern remains the same to the present day, the propelling force or power being alone altered. One of our oldest legends relates a romantic story respecting the origin of the first water-mill in Ireland, which is said to have been erected by King Cormac, at Tara, in the third century, and the site of which can still be recognised, as also that of many other very ancient mills, such as the mill of St. Fechin at Fore, and that of St. Maelruan at Tallaght, at which Ængus the Culdee worked. The Brehon Laws frequently allude to ancient mills of both hand and water-power."

Taking another skip over many equally interesting pages, we light on the following:—

¹ During the famine period, many of the hand-mills, which had long been given up, were again employed, particularly in hilly districts, or where the ordinary water-mills

were not accessible. So late as the summer of 1853, I purchased a quern at work in the neighbourhood of Clifden, Connemara.—W. R. W.

"MILITARY ARCHITECTURE appears to have received a great deal of attention from the Pagan inhabitants of this country, and exhibits an amount of skill, both in structure and engineering, which is only to be equalled by the earliest Pelasgian monuments in Greece, which those in Ireland resemble in so many particulars, that one is led, from similarity in structure, to suppose an identity of people. They consist of enclosures, generally circular, formed of massive dry walls from 6 to 16 feet thick, of cyclopean architecture, and entered through a narrow gateway with sloping sides. Some have several surrounding ramparts or outworks, and a few have the inner surface of the wall formed into flights of stairs, leading to terraces at top. The most remarkable, as well as the most extensive, collection of monuments of this description in Europe is to be found in the Isles of Aran, on the west coast of Galway, in particular Dun-Engus—without exception the greatest barbaric monument of its kind extant—Dun-Oghill, Duv-Caher, and Dun-Connor; also the Grianan of Aileach, in the county of Donegal; Culcashel, in Mayo, on the borders of Roscommon; Faban, and likewise Staigue Fort, in the county of Kerry, of which latter, a very beautiful and accurate model, made of the actual stone of which the fort is composed, stands in the centre of the first Compartment of this Gallery; and of which the accompanying illustration is a faithful representation. It was presented to the Academy by James F. Bland, Esq., of Derryquin, whose father published a description of this ancient stronghold in the Academy's Transactions, vol. xiv. This model



is 2 feet 5 inches from out to out, and $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches high. The original is an enclosure, nearly circular, 114 feet in diameter from out to out, and in the clear 88 feet from east to west, and 87 from north to south. The stones are put together without any description of mortar or cement; the wall is 13 feet thick at the bottom, and 5 feet 2 inches broad at top at the highest part, where some of the old coping stones still remain, and which is there 17 feet 6 inches high upon the inside. It has one square doorway in the S. S. W. side, 5 feet 9 inches high, with sloping sides, 4 feet 2 inches wide at top, and 5 feet at bottom. In the substance of this massive wall, and opening inwards, are two small chambers; the one on the west side is 12 feet long, 4 feet 7 inches wide, and 6 feet 6 inches high; the northern chamber is 7 feet 4 inches long, 4 feet 9 inches wide, and 7 feet high. They formed a part of the original plan, and were not, like other apertures in some similar structures, filled-up gateways. Around the interior of the wall are arranged ten sets of stairs, as shown in the

cut, the highest reaching very nearly to the full height of the wall, and the secondary flights being about half that much; each step is 2 feet wide; and the lower flights project within the circle of the higher. They lead to narrow platforms, from 8 to 43 feet in length, on which its wardens or defenders stood.

"Although larger forts of this kind are known in Ireland, nothing so perfect in the construction of the staircases encircling the interior is to be found—with the exception of Dunmohr, in the middle island of Aran. A date of 2000 years cannot be considered too old for this monument, which is still in a state of great preservation, and only to be equalled by those in Aran, already alluded to, but which, although they exceed Staigue in magnitude, do not evince so much care in their design and construction. What may have been the original Irish name of 'Staigue Fort'—which is quite a modern appellation—has not yet been determined. It is not unreasonable to suppose that in and around a fortress such as this resided some tribe or people, who only knew the use of flint weapons and tools identical with those described in the foregoing section.

"The remains of stone structures, generally on elevated positions, and bearing unmistakable evidences of the action of fire, are common in Scotland, and not altogether unknown in Ireland."

The next cutting gives us further information about the military defences and residences of the ancient Irish:—

"CRANNOGES.—The ancient stone habitation called a *clochaun*, in which an individual or a family resided,—the circular and dome-roofed buildings in which, apparently, a small community lived,—the entrenched earthen rath, possibly stockaded, which included several habitations,—the remains of the Celtic city of Fahan,¹ and the great stone forts, cathairs, and duns, such as Staigue Fort or Dun Ængus,—have been already either alluded to, or specially described in the section devoted to the consideration of the Stone Materials. Under the head of Wooden Material may be considered those stockaded islands denominated in the Irish Annals *Crannoges*, or little wooden islands, of which several have come to light during the recent general drainage of the country. Whether the name was derived from the timber employed in enlarging, securing, and fortifying the island, or from the wooden houses erected on it, or whether also applied to log-houses on the land, is uncertain. But although alluded to so early as the middle of the ninth century, it is remarkable that no examination of a single crannoge occurred until the end of the year 1839.

"In most districts in which these islands were found, several small lakes are clustered together, as in the neighbourhood of Strokestown, Keshcarrigan, and Castleblaney, in the counties of Roscommon, Leitrim, and Monaghan. They were not, strictly speaking, artificial islands, but

¹ In the Townland of Fahan, west of Ventry Harbour. I am indebted to Mr. Du Noyer for calling my attention to this interesting locality, where *clochauns* and *cathairs* of various types abound in a remarkable degree. These Mr. Du Noyer has recently

examined and drawn, and has prepared a paper upon them for the forthcoming Meeting of the British Association, which he has shown to me.

See the Ordnance Map of the county of Kerry, Sheet 52.

cluans, small islets or shallows of clay or marl, in these lakes, which were probably dry in summer-time, but submerged in winter; these were enlarged and fortified by piles of oaken timber, and in some cases by stonework. A few were approached by moles or causeways, but, generally speaking, they were completely insulated, and only accessible by boat; and it is notable that in almost every instance an ancient canoe was discovered in connexion with the crannoge. Being thus insulated, they afforded secure places of retreat from the attacks of enemies, or were the fastnesses of predatory chiefs or robbers, to which might be conveyed the booty of a marauding excursion, or the product of a cattle raid.

"It may naturally be concluded from the amount of oaken timber invariably discovered in these stockades, that the neighbouring country was well wooded; it is also manifest, from the quantity, age, and variety of the antiquities discovered in these crannoges, that they had been long occupied. We likewise learn from their recent submerged condition how much water had accumulated on the face of the country since their construction, probably owing to the great decrease of forest timber and the increased growth of bog. From the additions made to the height of the stockades, and also from the traces of fire discovered at different elevations in the sections made of these islands, it may be inferred that the rise of the waters commenced during the period of their occupation. The first examined and described was that at Lagore,¹ near Dunshaughlin, county of Meath, an account of which was communicated to the Academy by the writer of this Catalogue, and described at length in the Proceedings for April, 1840 (see vol. i. p. 420). The Dunshaughlin crannoge differed, however, from all others since discovered, in not being then either submerged or surrounded by water; it consisted of a circular mound of about 520 feet in circumference, slightly raised above the surrounding bog or marshy ground, which forms a basin of about a mile and a half in circuit, and is bounded by elevated tillage and pasture lands. The lake in which this crannoge was situated has been drained within the memory of man. To the labours of the chemist making known the value of bones for manuring purposes, we are indebted for this ancient habitation being brought to light. Some labourers, when clearing the stream-way which surrounds a portion of it, having found several large bones, the fact became known to the usual collectors of such articles, who resorted there in numbers, and above 150 cart-loads were thus obtained. The circumference of the circle was formed by upright posts of black oak, measuring from 6 to 8 feet in height; these were mortised into beams of a similar material, laid flat upon the marl and sand beneath the bog, and nearly 16 feet below the present surface. The upright posts were held together by connecting cross-beams, and [said to be] fastened by large iron nails; parts of a second upper tier of posts were likewise found resting on the lower ones. The space thus enclosed was divided into separate compartments by septa or divisions that intersected one another in different directions; these were also formed of oaken beams in a state of great preservation, joined together with greater accuracy than

¹ Loch Gobhair, the chief residence of a small territory in Meath, was very famous in the Irish Annals. See Four Masters, A. M.

3581 to A. D. 967. This island is referred to by the Annalists at the years A. D. 848 and 938.

the former, and in some cases having their sides grooved or rabbited to admit large panels, driven down between them. The interiors of the chambers so formed were filled with bones and black moory earth, and the heap of bones was raised up, in some places, within a foot of the surface.¹

"The animal remains found therein consisted of those of several varieties of oxen, also swine, deer, goats, sheep, dogs, foxes, horses, and asses,—specimens of which may be seen in Section IV. With these were found a vast collection of antiquities: warlike, culinary, personal and ornamental, of stone, bone, wood, bronze, and iron, &c., several of which are preserved in the Academy's Museum, and consist of swords, knives, spears, javelins, and dagger-blades, sharpening stones, querns, beads, pins, brooches, combs, horse-trappings, shears, chains, axes, pots, and bowls, &c. (see *Proceedings*, vol. i. p. 425; see also the '*Archæological Journal*,' vol. vi. p. 101). Some human remains were likewise discovered there, a specimen of which may also be seen in the Museum.

"A few months after the discovery of the Lagore crannoge, an island, 'artificially formed of timber and peat,' was brought to light upon lowering the water in Roughan Lake, near Dungannon, 'and numerous fragments of ancient pottery and bones, and a few bronze spear-heads, were discovered,' together with the quern, No. 19, described at p. 111 (see *Proceedings*, vol. i. p. 457). It is said to have been the last retreat of Sir Phelim O'Neill in 1641, who held out there until boats were procured from Charlemont for his capture.

"The next discovery of a similar structure was that at Lough Gur, county of Limerick, from which a vast collection of bones and a great number of antiquities have been from time to time obtained.²

"Afterwards, Mr. Shirley, in his '*Account of the Territory of Farney*,' described a stockaded island of this description found in Lough Fea, in the county of Monaghan, in 1843; and in 1844, two others at Monalta and Lough na Glac, in the same district.³ The remains of crannoges were also discovered at Ballinderry Lake, near Moate, county of Westmeath, and vast quantities of bones and antiquities, and two canoes, were disinterred therefrom.⁴ A crannoge was discovered in Lough Faughan, in the barony of Lecale, county of Down, and from it was procured the pitcher, No. 9, in Class II.⁴ In 1845, the lake of Corcreevey, county of Tyrone,

¹ The author is indebted to a clergyman in the neighbourhood of Bruff for much information respecting the island exposed on lowering the waters of Lough Gur. There does not appear to have been any surrounding enclosure or staking upon it.

² "*Archæological Journal*," vol. iii. p. 46.

³ The author is indebted to Mr. Hayes of Moate for a description of these crannoges, and a plan and map of the locality.

⁴ The Rev. Charles Archbold has afforded a notice of the Lough-falcon, or Lough-faughan crannoge. He says:—"I found that the island was in a great measure, if not altogether, artificial. There were large stakes,

driven into the ground, and completely enclosing the space within, but not rising above the surface, so as to form a palisade, but evidently for the purpose of keeping in the soil from the encroachment of the water. The tradition respecting it is, that there had been a castle on the shore opposite, the chieftain of which caused this island to be made as a place of refuge from the sudden onslaughts of the O'Neills; and to render this retreat more secure, he would never allow more than one boat or canoe on the lake. During the drainage of the lake some years ago, a canoe, formed out of a solid piece of oak, was found near the island."

was drained, and its crannoge examined by Mr. Burnside.¹ Subsequently, several crannoges were discovered in the counties of Roscommon, Leitrim, Cavan, and Monaghan, during the workings of the Commission for the Arterial Drainage and Inland Navigation of Ireland, amounting altogether to about forty-six; viz. twenty in Leitrim, twelve in Roscommon, two in Cavan, six in Monaghan, and one in each of the counties of Limerick, Meath, Westmeath, Down, King's County, and Tyrone, including those not discovered by the officers of the Board of Works. No doubt others have been noticed in their several localities, although not yet described; and as the general drainage of the country proceeds, other crannoges will be exposed to view.

"The following are the results of the examination of crannoges made by the engineers of the Board of Works:—

"They are surrounded by stockades driven in a circle from 60 to 80 feet in diameter; but in some cases the enclosure is larger, and oval in shape. The stakes of these are generally of oak, mostly young trees, from 4 to 9 inches broad, usually in a single row, but sometimes in double, and in a few instances in treble. The portions of these stakes remaining in the ground generally bear the marks of the hatchet by which they were felled. Several feet of these piles must have originally projected above the water, and were probably interlaced with horizontal branches, so as to form a screen or breastwork.

"The surface within the staked enclosure is sometimes covered over with a layer of round logs cut into lengths of from 4 to 6 feet, over which was placed more or less stones, clay, or gravel. In some instances this platform is confined to a portion of the island. Besides these, pieces of oak framing, with mortises and cheeks cut in them, have been found within the circle of the outer work.

"In almost every case a collection of flat stones was discovered near the centre of the enclosure, apparently serving as a hearth; in some instances two or three such hearths were discovered at different parts of the crannoge. Generally one or more pair of querns were found. Considerable quantities of the bones of black cattle, deer, and swine, were also discovered upon or around the island. (See 'Report upon the Presentation of Antiquities by the Board of Works,' by William T. Mulvany, Esq., in the Proceedings, vol. v., App. p. xlv.)²

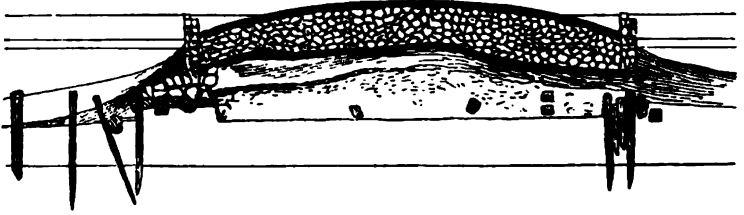
"The following illustrations, reduced from plans and sections made by the drainage district engineers, afford us good ideas of two descriptions of crannoges. The first is of that in Ardakillin Lough, near Strokestown, county of Roscommon, constructed with both stones and oak piling; and the second is one of those in Drumaleague Lake, county of Leitrim, the centre formed chiefly of alder timber, with the exception of the hearth-stones for fire-places; the former is an irregular oval, and the latter a perfect circle. The third presents a section of the island in Ardakillin Lough; the top line shows the former highest water-level; the second that of the ordinary winter flood; and the third the ordinary summer water. The

¹ See the Earl of Enniskillen's communication in Proceedings, vol. v. p. 214.

² See maps and plans of the Drainage and

Navigation of the Ballinamore and Ballyconnell districts, under Mr. T. J. Mulvany.—*Presented by the Board of Works.*

upper layer was formed of loose stones surrounded by an enclosing wall, supported in part by piling; the lower portion shows, as far as it is pos-

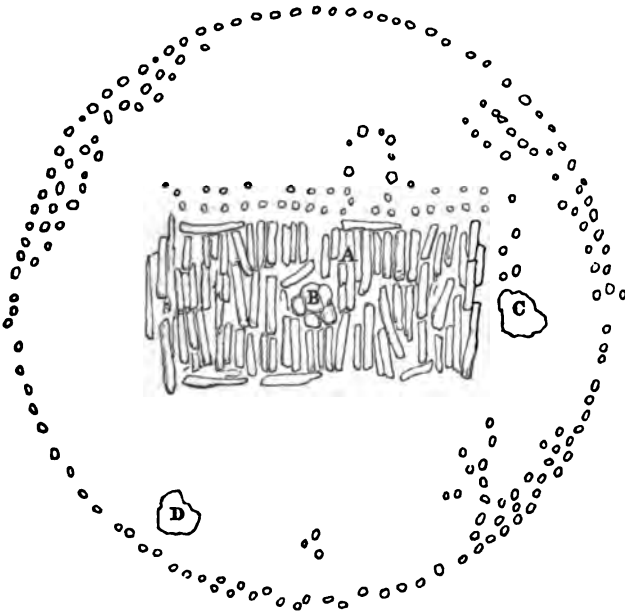


sible on so small a scale, the original clay, peat, and stones of the island, on which were found, in various places, strata of ashes, bones, and logs of timber. The oak piling of different descriptions is shown in section, that driven obliquely being sheet piling, which was continuous all round the island.

"In the same locality, celebrated as Cloon-Free, one of the royal residences of Connaught, and in the vicinity of Carn Free, the crowning place of its kings, and of Rathcroghan, the Tara of the west, several other islands were discovered in the cluster of lakes which occur in that locality; in one of these, Cloonfinlough, 'the island of the white lake,' was brought to light another crannoge, of which Denis H. Kelly, Esq., gave a description in 1850 (see Proceedings, vol. v. p. 208). He says:—'The dimensions of the island are about 130 feet in diameter; it is constructed on oak piles (many of them showing the action of fire), driven into the soft marl, at regular distances, and tied together by horizontal oak stretchers so as to form a triple stockade round it, with an interval of about 5 feet between each stockade. Outside of this, to the north-westward, are a number of irregularly placed piles, stretching a short distance from the islet, and it was adjoining to them the great deposit of bones was found. The centre of these stockades was laid with trunks of smallish oak trees, placed flat on the marl, and all pointing to a common centre, thus forming a platform whereon the island itself was constructed. When it was first observed, there was jutting out from the island to the lake, towards the west, a kind of jetty or pier, formed of a double row of piles and stretchers running parallel, about 8 feet asunder, and on which logs of timber were closely laid, horizontally.' Between the island and a ruined church on the mainland were found two canoes, hollowed out of single oak trees, and each not more than 2 feet wide. In making a section of the island it was found to consist of a close-laid pavement of irregular-sized boulder stones, strata of bones and burned earth, layers of flat-surfaced stones; and again, strata of black earth with bones, particularly those of oxen and other domestic animals. The antiquities found there were of a similar character to those procured from the Dunshaughlin crannoge, and will be described in their proper places in subsequent portions of this Catalogue.

"Drumaleague Lough, in the vicinity of Lough Scur, county of Leitrim, was about a mile in length, and, when lowered thirteen feet, disclosed two crannoges, also a canoe of a single piece of oak, 18 feet long, 22 inches broad, square at stem and stern, and remarkable for having apertures for row-locks cut into the sides, like that described at p. 204.

"The first of the annexed figures is the plan of one of the islands discovered in Drumaleague Lough, and affords a good idea of the general arrangement of these timber structures. The outer paling of stakes includes a circle 60 feet in diameter, in some parts double or treble; 'there are clusters of stakes in other portions of the island, some of which appear to have been placed with regard to a particular arrangement. A, the central oblong portion, consists of a platform of round logs, cut in lengths of from 4 to 6 feet, chiefly of alder timber. B, a collection of stones with marks of fire on



them. C, a heap of stiff clay. D, the root of a large tree, nearly buried in the peat, the surface of the wood bevilled off with a hatchet, so as to form a sort of table, under which a considerable quantity of bones was found, apparently those of deer and swine."



"This figure shows a section of the second crannoge in Drumaleague Lake, which was 72 feet in diameter within the circle of oak stakes represented in the cut. Between these may be seen in the section—B—horizontal pieces

¹ The foregoing quotations are taken from the description attached to the map furnished

by the Board of Works; the scale in the illustration is 20 feet to an inch.

of alder timber, laid upon the natural surface of the island, each log being 'from 3 to 8 inches in diameter, all water-soaked and rotten. This stratum was 3 feet 6 inches deep. A, a heap of stones, with marks of fire on them; other hearths were found in different parts of the island. C, the lower stratum, of black, rotted sticks and branches of all sorts, lying in all directions. This stratum was examined for four feet in depth, and appeared to continue deeper. DD, two heaps of stones, found in the lower stratum. E, a large quantity of the bones of deer, swine, &c., found together about four feet below the surface. The circle of this island, which was tolerably regular, was formed by a single row of oak stakes.'

"The discoveries connected with Crannoges have been the greatest additions to the subject of Irish antiquities made during the present century. Besides the valuable donations to the Museum, and the reports of the engineers employed under the Board of Works, the Academy has been likewise furnished with several plans, maps, and sections of crannoges, worthy of the most careful preservation. From three of these drawings the woodcuts on pages 226 and 228 have been reduced.

"The foregoing particulars will explain the nature of crannoges; and the following historic notices, together with the authorities from whence derived, may serve to give an additional interest to the subject, and also to fix the dates of their occupation:—

"As the earliest discovered and examined crannoge in modern times has been that of Lagore, near Dunshaughlin, county of Meath, so, upon looking into the authorities, we find it the first alluded to. Loch Gabhair is said to have been one of the nine lakes which burst forth in Ireland A. M. 3581.—'Annals of the Four Masters.' See also Colgan's 'Acta Sanctorum,' p. 422, n. 14. In A. D. 848, we read that Cinaedh, son of Conaing, lord of Cianachta-Breagh, in Meath, went with a strong force of foreigners, and plundered the Ui-Neill from the Sionsinn (the Shannon) to the sea; 'and he plundered the island of Loch Gabhor, and afterwards burned it, so that it was level with the ground.' And in the old translation of the 'Annals of Ulster,' Codex Clarendensis, the passage is thus rendered:—'And brake down the island of Loch Gavar to the very bottom.' Again, in A. D. 933, the same authority informs us that—'The island of Loch-Gavar [was] pulled down by Aulair O'Hivair,' and the cave of Knowth, on the Boyne, plundered during one of the Scandinavian marauding expeditions with which the kingdom was then troubled. Thus we have evidence that Lagore crannoge was occupied upwards of one thousand years ago.

"A. D. 991:—'The wind sunk the island of Lough Cimbe (now Lough Hackett, near Headford, county of Galway) suddenly, with its dreach and rampart, that is, thirty feet.'—'Annals of the Four Masters.' This circumstance is likewise recorded in the 'Annals of Clonmacnoise' under the year 984.

"A. D. 1246. 'Turlough, the son of Hugh O'Connor, made his escape from the crannoge (wooden house) of Lough Leisi, in autumn, having drowned his keepers.'—'Annals of the Four Masters.' This lake, although no longer known by that name, has been recognised by Dr. O'Donovan as Muickeanagh Lough, in O'Hanly's country, near the old church of Kilglass, county of Roscommon, and not far from the site of

the Strokestown crannogea. It is also alluded to under the year 1452, as the scene of the murder of Loughlin Oge O'Hanly.

"A. D. 1368. 'Teige, the son of Manus, son of Cathal, the son of Donnell O'Connor, was treacherously taken prisoner by Rory, the son of Turlough, at his own fortress at Ard-an-choillin,'—the height of the little wood,—now Ardakillin, in the parish of Killukin, county of Roscommon; in the neighbourhood of which is the lake bearing the same name, but formerly called Lough Cairgin, and referred to in 1388, thus:—'Donnell O'Connor made an incursion into Machaire-Connacht, and burned Ard-an-choillin and the island Loch-Cairgin.'—'Annals of the Four Masters.' The level of this lake was lowered by the Board of Works in 1850, when four artificial islands were discovered in it, on the principal of which upwards of fifty tons of bones were found.

"A. D. 1436. 'The crannoge of Loch-Laoghaire (near Clogher, in Tyrone) was taken by the sons of Brian O'Neill.'—'Annals of the Four Masters.' The O'Neills, it is said, on arriving at the lake commenced the construction of cots or small boats, for the purpose of taking the crannoge. This island is also referred to in A. D. 1150.

"A. D. 1455. 'Turlough, the son of Philip Maguire, went to Loch Melge (now Lough Melvin, on the borders of Leitrim and Fermanagh), and took and plundered Mac Clancy's crannoge on it.'—'Annals of the Four Masters.'

"A. D. 1495. 'Magauran, Chief of Tullyhaw, was drowned in Loch Crannoige,' or the lake of the crannoge, now Ballywillin Lough, county of Cavan.—'Annals of the Four Masters.'

"A. D. 1512. Philip Maguire made an incursion into Tullyhaw, county of Cavan, and 'from thence they proceeded to the crannoge of Magauran, which they took.'—'Annals of the Four Masters.'

"A. D. 1540. The O'Donnells 'went into the crannoge of Loch Beia-thaigh,' now Lough Veagh, in the parish of Gartan, county of Donegal; and 'O'Donnell broke down and demolished the crannoge.'—'Annals of the Four Masters.'

"A. D. 1560. Teighe O'Rourke 'was drowned in the autumn of this year, as he was going across a lake to sleep in a low retired crannoge, in Muintir-Eolais,'—Mac Rannall's country, in the county of Leitrim, possibly one of those on Drumaleague Lough recently examined.

"A. D. 1591. The map of the escheated territories made for the Government by Francis Jobson, or the 'Platt of the county of Monaghan,' preserved in the State Paper Office, contains rough sketches of the dwellings of the petty chiefs of Monaghan, which 'are in all cases surrounded by water. One is to be found in every barony distinguished as "*The Island*," that in Farney was at *Lisanisk*, then called "*Lysonake*," and is marked in the map as "The Iland Ever M'Cooley's house." The crannoge at Lisanisk, alluded to above, was excavated in 1843 by C. C. Gibson, Esq., who found, 'seven feet below the present surface of the earth, in the little island at Lisanisk, and two feet below the present water-level of the lake, a double row of piles, formed of young trees from 6 to 12 inches in diameter, with the bark on; the area enclosed by these piles was 60 feet in length, by 42 in breadth. Vast quantities of bones were also found there; and also, in a small island in the lake of Monalty, not far from Lisanisk, a

canoe or boat formed out of a single piece of oak, and measuring 24 feet in length, besides stone and bronze celts, and hunting spears, and various other instruments, were found. The largest house of this description in Ireland is said to have been on an island in Lough Allen, county of Leitrim; it was the residence of Mac Anaw (now Ford), one of O'Rourke's sub-chieftains.'—Shirley's 'Account of the Territory or Dominion of Farney.' 'The crannoge,' adds Mr. Shirley, 'was the universal system of defence' in the north of Ireland. Thus, one Thomas Phettiplace, in his answer to an inquiry from the Government, as to what castles or forts O'Neil hath, and of what strength they be, states (May 15, 1567), "For castles I think it be not unknown unto your honours, he trusteth no point thereunto for his safety, as appeareth by the raising of the strongest castles of all his countreys, and that fortification that he only dependeth upon is in *sartin freshwater loghes* in his country, which from the sea there come neither ship nor boat to approach them; it is thought that there in the said fortified islands lyeth all his plate, which is much, and money, prisoners, and gages; which islands, hath in wars tofore been attempted, and now of late again by the Lord Deputy there, Sir Harry Sydney, which for want of means for safe conduct upon the water it hath not prevailed."

"In Marshal Bagenal's Description of Ulster, A. D. 1586, published in the 'Ulster Journal of Archæology,' vol. ii., p. 142, the following reference to O'Neill's condition appears to contain an allusion to a crannoge:—"You shall do verie well to see his lodgings in the fen, where he built his lodging, and kept his cattell and all his men." And, adds the editor, Mr. H. F. Hore, 'this stronghold was undoubtedly a crannoge or wooden house, and was probably constructed either on the "little island called Loch Coe," mentioned by Bagenal, or on the artificial one called Inish-nagardy, or Guard Island in Loughinsholin,' county of Derry. It was said to be 'a place of considerable strength, and successfully defended by O'Hagan in the wars subsequent to 1641' (see also Dr. Reeves' Notes to 'Primate Colton's Visitation,' p. 76).

"A. D. 1603. Hugh Boy O'Donnell having been wounded, 'was sent to Crannog-na-n-Duini in Ross Guill, in the Tuathas, to be healed.' This wooden house of Duini was situated in the parish of Mevagh, county of Donegal, between Redhaven and Sheephaven.—'Annals of the Four Masters.'

"Even so late as 1610 we read of Crannagh Mac Knavin, in the parish of Tynagh, barony of Leitrim, and county of Galway (see 'The tribes and Customs of Hy-Many,' edited by John O'Donovan, LL. D.)

"No doubt many other notices of crannoges will appear in the subsequent investigations of materials for Irish history.

"Shortly after the discovery of the Irish crannoges, structures very similar in character were observed in some of the lakes in Switzerland, and have been described by Professor Ferdinand Keller in the 'Transactions of the Antiquarian Society of Zurich,' vol. ix. The winter of 1853-54

¹ Inis na Conaire, now called "O'Reilly's Island" opposite Drumahambo, on the county of Leitrim side of Lough Allen, might have been fortified, but it never could have been

a crannoge in the strict sense of that term, at least, as I understand it, and have endeavoured to explain it in the foregoing description.—W. R. W.

having proved unusually dry and cold, the lakes of Switzerland, deprived of their usual supply from the mountains, fell far below the level previously known to the oldest historians of these localities. In consequence thereof, as well as the result of some previously dry seasons, several Celtic stockades, *Keltische Pfahlbauten*, or crannoges, were discovered in the Lakes of Zurich, Biel, Sempach, Neufchatel, Geneva, and Wallenstad, of which those only in the two former were examined. In the crannoge of Meilen, in the Lake of Zurich, the enclosure extended along the shore, and the stakes, or piles of oak, beech, birch, and fir, which formed it, were pointed at the lower ends, some of them by burning, others with the stone axe. This timber piling was in such a decayed condition that it was not possible to examine it accurately. The piles were placed from 1 foot to 18 inches apart. Within this enclosure were found quantities of animal remains, especially those of stags and wild swine, the former bearing traces of having been acted upon by stone implements; no bones of domestic animals were brought to light, but much of the bone heap had been destroyed before the place was investigated. One perfect human skull, and fragments of several skeletons, were found. Upwards of one hundred stone implements,—celts, hatchets, hammers, and whetstones, &c., were found, some of them of foreign origin; also knives and scrapers of flint, pins and other pieces of bone, and bowls and vases of earthenware. Some of the tools of flint and stone were inserted into hafts of bone or deer-horn, which were again perforated transversely for the passage of a handle. Several large flags, apparently hearthstones, were also discovered. Although many flint implements were found, it is remarkable that this material is very rare in Switzerland. An amber bead, and a quantity of hazel-nuts, were found, but the only metal object discovered was a single piece of bronze.

"Traces of a similar crannoge were discovered near Mänedorf, in the Lake of Zurich, in 1844, but had not been investigated in 1854.

"In the Lake of Biel, near Nidau, a crannoge island, two or three acres in extent, and consisting of an accumulation of round stones, which appeared to have been transported there, has been discovered, but it is still submerged. It is surrounded by piles, and connected with the neighbouring land by a causeway. The antiquities at this island of Sternberg were chiefly of bronze, a few iron points, some earthenware, and a canoe formed out of a single piece of oak. In this lake another submerged crannoge was discovered, distant about 150 feet from the beach—bronze implements were found in it. Also at Lattringen, upon the same lake, two other places have been noticed, showing evidence of crannoge stakes. At Möringen, in the same locality, were found the remains of a submerged crannoge, with three single-piece canoes, some bronze antiquities, an iron sword, and several clay rings. Three other crannoges were found in the Lake of Biel, at Hagenech, Kleine Insel, and Peters-Insel, but which have not yet been fully explored. An immense canoe, 50 feet long, by from 3½ to 4 broad, and half filled with stones, has been observed embedded in the mud in the neighbourhood of the latter."¹

¹ "Die Keltischen Pfahlbauten in den Schweizerseen beschrieben von Dr. Ferdinand Keller." Zürich, 1854. My attention was

called to the subject of the Swiss crannoges by Dr. Siegfried, Professor of Sanscrit in Trinity College, Dublin.

I think I have now redeemed my promise: I have shown, however, but a small part of "what one may learn from Wilde's Catalogue of the Antiquities in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy;" but yet I have done enough to prove that Mr. Wilde's work adds largely to his already high reputation as a writer on Irish antiquities; and that all who have read what has been already published must be anxious to see its completion.

The Society is indebted to the Council of the Royal Irish Academy for the use of the woodcuts which illustrate this paper. The drawing and engraving of them are admirable; and reflect great credit on the artists and engravers (all Irish)¹ by whom they have been executed.

It now only remains for me to say a few words about the peculiar circumstances under which Mr. Wilde has produced a work which is a credit alike to himself and the Museum which it illustrates.

When the Royal Irish Academy was incorporated in the year 1792, we learn from its charter that the formation of a Museum illustrative of national antiquities was one of the objects proposed. Accordingly, as appears by the records of the Academy, many presentations were made; but no systematic arrangement having been attempted, and a growing neglect of the antiquarian portion of the collection having ensued, many of those presentations were lost, and the formation of a Museum of national antiquities seemed lost sight of. Better times, however, were at hand, and nearly the first impetus in the right direction was given about the year 1838, by the noble donation of the Cross of Cong, which was purchased by the late Professor M'Cullagh, and by him presented to the Academy. Subsequently the Tara torques and the Dawson collection were acquired by purchase, and then came the great presentations from the Board of Works and the Shannon Navigation Commissioners. Soon a vast chaotic collection was formed—rich in every department of Irish antiquities; but in the absence of arrangement, classification, or catalogue, almost totally useless for the purposes of study or comparison. There was much talk about a catalogue, indeed, and constant apologies for its non-appearance are on record in the Proceedings of the Academy, but without any practical result. Time, too, was fast running on, and as much of the knowledge concerning the treasures of the Museum was *traditional*, it must, if unrecorded, be in a few short years lost for ever.

At last came a crisis which might have brought lasting disgrace on the Academy, but that the right man was found in the right place. After an interval of twenty-two years, the British Association was about to hold its congress in Dublin in the summer of 1857,

¹ The artists are Messrs. Du Noyer and Wakeman; the engravers, Oldham and Hanlon.

and it was seen that some effort should be made to arrange the collection and supply a catalogue. A few months only intervened, and who was to undertake the herculean task of reducing this chaos to order, and preparing a catalogue of its contents? All honour to Mr. Wilde! who came to the rescue in this time of need, and in an incredibly short space of time, in the midst, too, of laborious professional toil, arranged the Museum, catalogued the articles, and printed, in the style we have seen, a large portion of the classified results. Yet, whilst the work was thus rapidly executed, it must not be thought that the plan and arrangement were hastily conceived or slovenly executed. Naturally energetic, and accustomed to rapid action in all the ways of life, Mr. Wilde threw his whole force upon a moment into a work which, however, had occupied his thoughts for years, as shown by the records of the Academy. During his student life and early professional career, the Curator of a museum, and much devoted to Natural History, as well as gifted with special powers of arrangement—he brought, in addition to his antiquarian knowledge, unusual capabilities for the task.

I doubt if the thing could have been better done had he longer time and better means at his command; but, as the matter stands, we find at present in the Royal Irish Academy the greatest collection of Celtic art in the world, and the only arranged, classified, and scientifically catalogued Museum of Antiquities in the British isles.

THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF FLORENCE MAC CARTHY.

BY DANIEL MAC CARTHY (GLAS), ESQ.

"THE Venerable Charles O'Connor, in a letter to Bryan O'Connor, Kerry, in 1755, describes this great Irish sept (the Mac Carthys) as the most eminent by far of all the noble families of the South, and sovereigns of all that part of Ireland, including the greatest part of the county of Cork, &c. I am really anxious for a good account of the celebrated Florence Mac Carthy, who assumed the title of More, by the unanimous suffrages of Tyrone, the clergy, and the people, and was kept prisoner eleven years in the Tower of London, after which he escaped and joined in the Tyrone war. Mr. O'Connor wished for a history of the ancient families of the south of Ireland; but in that he was disappointed."—Hardiman, "Irish Minstrelsy," vol. ii., p. 418.

MORE than a century has elapsed since the learned Mr. O'Connor thus declared his *real anxiety for a good account* of Finin, or Florence Mac

Carthy; and yet no steps have been taken hitherto to collect the materials for such a biography. To accept the challenge from which our Irish students have abstained until now, will seem presumptuous, yet the writer of these pages ventures to accept it. The truth is, that at the time Mr. O'Connor lamented this vacancy in our national literature, "a good account of Florence Mac Carthy" was already written. It was written in alternate chapters by himself, by Cecil, by Carew, by successive Deputies and Presidents of Munster, and by the countless correspondents of the Privy Council. It is the "Life" thus written that is now offered to the public, and with it a large portion of "the History of the Families of the South of Ireland."

It may safely be affirmed that nothing is generally known of Florence Mac Carthy but what is written in the "*Pacata Hibernia*;" even Mr. O'Connor, in the few lines above quoted, has fallen into two inaccuracies,—Florence did not escape from the Tower of London; nor did he join in the Tyrone war!

The Archives of H. M. State Paper Office contain the life, public and private, of this remarkable "mere" Irishman, from the age of *twelve to seventy-two*. The same documents that were laid before Burghley, Cecil, Walsingham, and Queen Elizabeth, are now for the first time here printed, and offered to the favourable notice of the Kilkenny and South of Ireland Archæological Society.¹ The collector of these copious and most interesting papers is well aware of the value of the limited space that can be allowed him, and it will be his endeavour, after a preliminary chapter, to introduce no more matter of his own than the connexion of the documents may necessitate.

At the close of the year 1575 a memorable viceregal progress was made through the accessible parts of Ireland by Sir Henry Sidney: the diary of that political excursion has been transmitted to us in a series of spirited and extremely curious letters, written by the Lord Deputy himself to the Lords of the Privy Council in England. As he passed along from city to city he collected and car-

¹ The collector of these documents takes this opportunity of expressing his great admiration of the copious and accurate Calendar of the Irish State Papers, by Hans Claude Hamilton, Esq.

The writer has spent nearly twelve months in the State Paper Office, and but for the assistance he derived from Mr. Hamilton's great work, his labour would have been immense, and the fruits of it insignificant. Upon this work of his affections Mr. Hamilton has spent the greater portion of twenty years; he has perused from end to end every single letter and despatch which he has

calendared; and they only who have struggled with the villanous writing of the hundreds of correspondents of the ministers of Elizabeth can form an idea of the toil which such reading must have required; they only who have followed his track, and under his guidance, can duly appreciate the ability and truthfulness of the analysis of the many thousand documents which have passed through his hands. To this patient, learned, and accurate writer, the student of Anglo-Irish history is under lasting obligations, to be fully appreciated when the result of his labours is published.

ried with him in his train the great nobles of the land—as well “the commendable and orderly lords of the Pale,” as the native chieftains of countries into which neither the Queen’s writ nor the Queen’s Deputy might find access. The object of Sir Henry Sidney in traversing Ireland with such display was to overawe, to conciliate, and to make personal acquaintance with the provincial magnates, on whose behaviour must depend the success of his government. The character and loyalty, as well as the condition of the vast estates of the men whom he visited, were keenly observed, and graphically pictured, for the information of the Queen and her ministers. Two days before Christmas the stately train of the Deputy made its entry into the city of Cork; by this time it had collected every man of note from the counties through which it had passed, and never since the days of Henry II. had the land witnessed so large an assembly of English and Irish nobles on terms of amity. Sir Henry and his company “were received by the citizens of Cork with all joyfulness, tokens, and shows, the best they could express, of their dutiful thanksgiving to her Majesty. He was, for the time of his continuance there, very honourably attended, and accompanied by the Earls of Desmond, Thomond, and Clancar, &c. Besides the above mentioned were divers of the Irishry not yet nobilitated: the Lord of Carbury, called Sir Donell (Donogh) Mac Carthy, and the Lord of Muskerry, called Sir Cormac Mac Teig; neither of these but in respect of his territories were able to be a Viscount: and truly I wish them both to be made barons; for they be both good subjects, and in especial the latter, who, for his obedience to her Majesty and her laws, and disposition to civility, is the rarest man that ever was born of the Irish; but of him I intend to write especially before it be long, for truly he is a special man. . . . And the better to furnish out the beauty and filling of the city, all these principal lords had with them their wives during all the Christmas, who truly kept very honourable, at least very plentiful houses; and to be brief, many widow ladies were there also, who erst had been wives to Earls, and others of good note and account.”

It thus chanced that, in addition to the rival houses of Ormond and Desmond, with the choicest gentlemen of their blood, this visit of the Deputy assembled within the city of Cork the three great chiefs of the sept of the Mac Carthys, with their wives and families. The Earl of Clancar, by the Irish styled Mac Carthy More, was accompanied by his Countess, the sister of the Earl of Desmond, and his infant children, the Baron of Valentia and the Lady Ellen. No less than fourteen lords of countries, most of them of his own race, attended him. The Lord of Muskerry, the wealthiest chieftain of the sept, with a less attendance, and the lord of the fertile lands of Carbury, Sir Donogh Mac Carthy Reagh, both in especial

favour with the Lord Deputy, were also there; the latter accompanied by his two sons, Florence (our hero), and Donell Moyle, and escorted by O'Mahonè Finn, of Evaghe, O'Driscoll More, O'Donovan, O'Daly, O'Crowly, and others of less note.

During six weeks all was festivity in Cork; and at the end of that time, the Lord Deputy, and those nobles whose political feelings and interests were especially English, swept onward in imposing state to renew in Limerick the shows and tokens which had welcomed them to Waterford and Cork. Gradually the great lords and chieftains whose countries were in the neighbourhood took their departure also: the Earl of Desmond to Dungarvan; the Earl of Clancar to the Palace; Sir Cormac Mac Teige to Blarney; and Sir Donogh Mac Carthy Reagh to Kilbrittain Castle.

A brief period of tranquillity succeeded the viceregal visit to Munster; a great danger was supposed to have been averted by the policy of Sir Henry Sidney; the citizens of Cork resumed their commercial occupations with renewed confidence, and the native chieftains returned to rule their own territories with laws of their own, and as unquestioned a supremacy as if Deputy or Queen had never been heard of in Ireland.

Florence, the eldest son of Sir Donogh Mac Carthy, was at this time about twelve years of age. How he is likely to have spent the years of his boyhood, at what time, and from what sources he derived the education that made him the accomplished man, the astute politician, the fair scholar that he afterwards became, is matter for interesting inquiry. That his early years were spent in the seclusion of Carbry, chiefly in companionship with the sons of his uncle, Sir Owen, and the sons of the various minor chieftains subordinate to his father,—all of whom in after life became stubborn and daring rebels—there can be no doubt. The pursuits of these young wild lads it is not difficult to imagine: their days would be spent upon the waves that beat against the walls of Kilbrittain Castle; in the woods, or on the mountains, with hound and hawk, for which their country was celebrated. Pursuits of a more exciting nature, however, occasionally gave variety to these recreations, and brought them into some slight collision with laws which they neither recognised or respected. Amongst the many devices of the English authorities by which they strove to place some limits to the power of the native lords over their followers, and, if possible, to win from them to themselves some portion of the attachment which constituted their strength, was an attempt to extend to the tenant protection against the payment of duties which English law looked upon as extortions, but which, in fact, were the conditions by which, in lieu of rent, the follower held his lands. Scores of duties and rights, of which few English knew even the names, were exacted by the Irish chiefs, and had been paid by their dependents

time out of mind without a murmur. Against some of these customs, such, for example, as Coyne and Livery, the English loudly protested; they made it punishable in the lords to exact them, and promised protection and redress to the tenant who would have the courage to refuse. From that moment these rights were claimed with tenfold rigour, usually paid as a grievance, and sometimes resisted. Woe to the man who replied to his lord or his lord's officer with an allusion to English law! Yet occasionally such men were found; and the two presentments following, made by Cork juries, in the time of Sir William Drury, will show how the Irish chiefs dealt, and taught their children to deal, with men thus ill-advised, and give us, moreover, some insight into the training which led the youth of Ireland to look to themselves for redress, and to consider English law as an English enemy:—

“We present that Owen Mac Carthy and Donell Mac Carthy, brethren to Mac Carthy Reagh, and Finin (Florence) Mac Carthy, son to the said Mac Carthy Reagh, daily at their pleasure take meat and drink, with force and extortion, for themselves and their train of horsemen, galloglass and kerne, of the Freeholders and inhabitants of Carbry: and besides, they take of the same freeholders and inhabitants a sum of money called *Cowe* [cuob,¹ flesh-meat], to the number of five marks of half-face-money yearly, in every people [sept] within Carbry, against the will of the freeholders and inhabitants, and also of the cessor of the county.”

“We present that Donel-na-bipie and Mac Carthy Reagh's young son Finin, the 15th of May last, in the year of the reign of our Sovereign Lady Queen Elizabeth that now is the 18th, wrongfully came with force of arms, &c., to Erdyrie Lemerarie in Carbry, in the county of Cork, and then and there have forcibly taken and rered the sum of £8 17s. 9d. stg., of the proper goods and chattels of Finin Mac Dermodie of le Clynyne-Crymmyne,² and their poor tenants, in the name of the said extortion called *Cowe*.”

At the time of these raids upon his father's freeholders, Florence was but twelve years of age; they were his first exploits on his return to his home, after taking leave of Sir Henry Sidney, in Cork. What came of these presentments of the Cork juries it is easy to guess; simply nothing! for a quarrel with the Lord of Carbry, one of the few native chieftains who supported the English Government, was too serious a matter to be encountered for the sake of Finin Mac Dermodie, the chief of a small sept of the Mac Carthys, called Mac-Ineen-Cromeen. What was the natural effect of these deeds of violence, and, probably, of a thousand like them, upon the minds of boys thus trained, the rebellion which shortly followed amply reveals to us; that they left no trace upon the character of

¹ A tax raised by the lord's son to buy meat for his feasts.

² See “Carbrius Notitia,” for notice of the

strong castle possessed by the branch of the clan called Mac-Neen-Cromine, which they forfeited in 1644.

Florence is to be attributed to his subsequent, and a far different, discipline. Let it not be supposed that an Irish chieftain possessed no means of providing for his children better employment than the pursuits complained of. He might, and many of them did, send their sons to the English Universities, or to schools of good repute in Dublin or the provincial towns, or he might, if it so pleased him, maintain, as did the commendable lords of the Pale, a domestic tutor; but the Irish chieftain well knew that, in sending his son from him, he gave a hostage to his rulers, and that, in domesticating a tutor within his family, he maintained a spy. There were other resources, viz., the bards or rhymers, and the priests; and to them it is evident that Sir Donogh trusted for the tuition of his son.

Florence has sufficiently proved by his letters, and by a very remarkable document, the only one of a literary kind that he ever wrote, as far as we know, that he possessed a rare and intimate acquaintance with the ancient language, written history, traditions, poems, and pedigrees of his country—precisely the kind of lore which O'Daly, the hereditary bard of Mac Carthy Reagh, perhaps as well as any man living, could have taught him; but shrewder and abler teachers than the Munster bard were to be found constantly flitting between Ireland and every Catholic court in Europe; from such masters as Father Archer, Edmund Campion, and M'Grath, Cecil himself might have learned something. From these men, or men like them, Florence may have derived the intimate knowledge which, beyond all men of his day, he possessed of the state of his own country, its strength and weakness, the alliances and power of its chiefs, the personal character of every man of note sent out from England, the jealousies, the contentions, the dishonesty that prevailed amongst the Lords Justices—many of them men whose fingers crept as instinctively towards the unlawful half-face coin current beyond the Pale, as towards the fresh minted money imported by the undertaker. Much of this his own sagacity might in time have arrived at, but it needed able tuition, and the keenest wit that ever issued from Rome or Rheims, to indoctrinate him in the mysteries of a sublime dissimulation that should bear him harmless through all perils, safe from all adversaries save the mere ruffian of politics, the man who could pledge the honour and word of his sovereign, and break them! Such a man had not yet been met with in Spain or Rome; no such man appeared even in Ireland till Florence had foiled the last resources of Carew; and fourteen days more of his freedom, it was thought, would imperil English rule in Munster.

The sketch of the education of Florence is not yet complete: he appeared before the world a linguist, a scholar, a subtle politician; fortunately for himself, he was also a lawyer! From his father's Brehon he might have learned—he probably did—Irish law, sufficient to rule Carbery, or Ireland itself, in the days of Donell Reagh,

his ancestor ; but it was to be his lot, for thirty long years, to fight for his patrimony in English courts of law ; and, but for one of the curious presentments made by the Cork juries, it must have remained a mystery to us how his familiarity with English law had been acquired. Amongst many grievances of these worthy men appeared the following :—

“ We present that all the lords of this county, to colour and maintain their own extortions, have wrought such a policy to entertain all the lawyers of the province, whereby no freeholder nor poor man can have a lawyer to speak in his cause, be it never so just.”

The most striking circumstance attending the career of Florence Mac Carthy is the personal influence which he acquired over every one to whom he could gain access. Not a single great personage whose good-will was of importance to him, from her Majesty downward, including Burghley and Cecil, Ormond, Raleigh, Stanhope, Fitzwilliams, St. Leger, Norreys, nay, Carew himself, but felt in their turns the power of this influence. They each and all knew him to be ambitious ; they believed him to be false ; they had a thousand proofs that he was insubordinate ; they could judge harshly of him in his absence ; they could confiscate his property ; seize his person ; write upon paper excellent reasons for prosecuting him to the uttermost ; but when all was done, when in a paroxysm of wrath the Queen had desired Sir Thomas Norreys, then Vice-President of Munster, to apprehend him, we see first his captor, after a few weeks' intercourse with him, writing letters to the minister in his favour ; then Burghley throwing open the doors of the Tower for his exit, and presenting him to the Queen ; next, Elizabeth showering upon him “ great gifts and graces ;” and finally the Lords of the Privy Council more zealous in the restitution than they had been in the confiscation of his property. Superadded to all that he had learned from priest, and bard, and lawyer, Florence derived from early association with the young eaglets of England—those majestic birds of prey which, early jostled by elder brothers out of the maternal nest, winged with unerring instinct their flight from every province of their native land to seek their fortunes at court, and find them in Ireland—the knowledge which they alone could teach him. From them he learned to keep the impulses of his Irish blood in subjection, to mask with a serene brow and polished ease of manner whatever passions might be in commotion within. He was quick to perceive the peculiarities of the English character, to appreciate and appropriate to himself the calm courtesy of demeanour which distinguished the cadets of the noble families who flocked to Ireland as to an El Dorado. In them he was enabled to study thoroughly the peculiarities of the rival race, and by com-

parison to estimate the strength and weakness of his own. Little that was good was he likely to learn from those young courtiers and adventurers: personal bravery he had no cause to seek exclusively from them, for the meanest of his father's followers would have been as able a teacher; but cruelty and rapacity, haughtiness and contempt for the people whose lands they coveted, hollow loyalty, speculation, and craft scarcely covered by an exterior of seeming frankness and good fellowship—all this he might have learned; and if the taint of any one of these vices had blotted his character, it would have been fair to remember who, at the early age of fifteen, had been his associates.

Scarcely had the Cork festivities terminated, and the Lord Deputy returned to Dublin, when ominous sounds betokened the awakening of the volcano in Munster; the pleasant light paled, and presently passed away altogether from Sir Henry Sidney's letters; and he was compelled to write in the style of his predecessors:—"The Earl of Desmond was again becoming troublesome; he was committing many murders, making grievous spoils, taking the Queen's castles, and had burned a church." The validity of the professions so recently made to the Deputy was at once put to the proof; and few indeed of the men whose loyal intentions he had extolled stood by the Government in the struggle that followed—a struggle that was to endure for eight years; for so long it took the whole power of Elizabeth to conquer this single rebel. Amongst the few, however, were two men, respecting whom Sir Henry Sidney had not erred when he called them "especial and rare men;" they were not nobilitated when he mentioned them, nor were they when they brought the whole force of their countries to assist the Government in its hour of need. One of these was Sir Cormac Mac Carthy, Lord of Muskerry, the other, Sir Donogh Mac Carthy Reagh. In the long and gloomy struggle that ensued, these two men were found faithful. Sir Donogh well knew that the sympathies of his people were not with the Queen's cause, and as the strongest pledge he could offer of his own earnestness and loyalty, he came himself and brought his eldest son Florence, then scarcely more than twelve years of age, to do service with the English army. In after life, when borne down by a multitude of evil wishers, and when his own loyalty was a subject of much ambiguity, Florence found it important to appeal to his father's services and his own; and to the words of that appeal, which will appear in their time, we are indebted for our knowledge of the part acted by Sir Donogh in this long and sanguinary struggle. How important it was to the English Government to secure the services of the great sept of the Mac Carthys and their dependants may be judged from the following list of their forces left us by Sir George Carew:—

LIST OF THE IRISH FORCES IN DESMOND.

	Horse.	Galloglae.	Kerne.
Mac Carthy More, Prince of that portion,	40 . .	160 . .	2000
Mac Carthy Reagh, Lord of Carbury, . . .	60 . .	80 . .	2000
Donogh Mac Carthy of Dowallie,	24 . .	80 . .	200
Teig Mac Cormac of Muskry,	40 . .	80 . .	200
O'Keefe,	12 . .	0 . .	100
M'Awliffe,	80 . .	0 . .	60
O'Donovan,	6 . .	0 . .	60
O'Driscols of Collimore and Baltimore, .	6 . .	0 . .	200
O'Mahon of Ivaghe,	26 . .	0 . .	120
O'Sullivan Beare and Bantry,	10 . .	0 . .	200
O'Donogh More of Lough Lene,	12 . .	0 . .	200
O'Mahoni of Brin,	46 . .	0 . .	100
O'Dwyre of Kil-na-managhe,	12 . .	0 . .	100
M'Teig M'Philip of Kilnalloghengarty, .	6 . .	0 . .	40

The last two were not followers of Mac Carthy.

In the third year of the great Desmond rebellion Sir Donogh Mac Carthy died. In what terms Sir Henry Sidney had spoken of him the reader has seen, and that he had recommended him to be nobilitated. Had this recommendation been effected; it is doubtful whether, beyond a change of designation when in contact with the English, any effect would have been produced in the circumstances of the heir of Sir Donogh. A few years earlier the Earl of Clancar had been nobilitated; O'Neill himself had been nobilitated, with no perceptible advantage to any one save the heralds who registered their patents. The titles imposed upon these Irish chiefs had not added a man to their followers, and the Government that bestowed them might have estimated the efficacy of their gift by the fact that the acceptance of them had not made their recipients the less trusted by their own people: indeed, amongst the mere Irish these titles were simply ignored; for the Earl of Clancar remained still Mac Carthy More, the Earl of Tyrone was still O'Neill, and Sir Donogh would have remained Mac Carthy Reagh to the end of his days. Any English title must have descended lineally, whereas the captaincies of the Irish septs passed by tanistry collaterally to the eldest cousin of the blood. Florence did not succeed to his father's country; and had the Queen created him Baron or Earl of Carbury, his uncle, Sir Owen, would have been his lord none the less; and, but for the prudent management of his private possessions by his father, he might have been left dependent for subsistence on the caprice of his chief. The value which the Earl of Tyrone set upon his English title we learn from a passage in a letter from Carew to Cecil, in which he writes:—

"Which humour hath long smothered in his breast, having evermore had a thirsty desire to be called *O'Neill*, a name more in price with him than to be entituled *Cæsar*."

The Irish chroniclers have not allowed Sir Donogh Mac Carthy to pass away without the eulogy that was his due. Under the date of 1576 his demise is thus noticed in the "*Annals of the Four Masters*:"—

"Mac Carthy Reagh (Donogh, son of Donell, son of Finin) died. A cause of lamentation to the chiefs, of sadness to the husbandmen, and of sorrow to the farmers of his own territory: a man who outshone his seniors, and who was not excelled by his juniors. He was interred in the burial-place of his father and grandfather at Timoleague, and his brother Owen Mac Carthy was inaugurated as his successor."

(To be continued.)

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

GENERAL MEETING, held in the Assembly Rooms, Kilkenny, on
Wednesday, September 1, 1858.

THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF OSSORY, President of the Society,
in the Chair.

The following new Members were elected :—

The Marchioness of Ely, Ely Lodge, Enniskillen ; and John Gethin, Esq., J. P., Ballindoon House, Riverstown, Co. Sligo : proposed by the Rev. G. H. Reade.

Edward Blackburn, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, 34, Merrion-square, South, Dublin ; Charles H. Foote, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, 14, Upper Fitzwilliam-street, Dublin ; Henry Devitt, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, 14, Hardwicke-street, Dublin ; and Charles H. Tandy, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, 20, Upper Pembroke-street, Dublin : proposed by Matthew O'Donnell, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.

Pierse Fitzgerald, Esq., Solicitor, South Mall, Cork : proposed by John Windele, Esq.

W. D. Hemphill, Esq., M. D., Clonmel : proposed by the Rev. James Graves.

Rev. Steven O'Halloran, Marino Cottage, Bantry, Co. Cork : proposed by the Rev. Edward Bell.

Edward Grant, Esq., Trever Hill, Newry : proposed by Richard Linn, Esq.

John Greaves, Esq., 5, Morrison's-quay, Cork ; John Hill, Esq., C. E., County Surveyor, Tullamore ; and Richard A. Gray, Esq., C. E., County Surveyor, Skerries, Co. Dublin : proposed by W. Burgess, Esq.

Professor Simpson, M. D., F. S. A., Scot., Queen's-street, Edinburgh ; and George Atkinson, Esq., 31, Upper Ebury-street, Pimlico, London : proposed by Richard R. Brash, Esq.

Joseph N. Higgins, Esq., M. R. I. A., Barrister-at-Law, Clonmel, and Lincoln's Inn, London : proposed by N. Kearney, Esq.

The Rev. James Graves said that he need not remind the Members present that since their last Meeting they had to deplore the death of a distinguished Member and office-bearer of the Society,—Dr. Cane,—one of those who were instrumental in the original formation of the Kilkenny Archæological Society, and had filled the office of Treasurer since the year 1849, having been elected at the first General Meeting of the Members. Dr. Cane had adopted the pursuit of archæology with that enlarged and liberal view of the subject which every educated mind must appreciate. His was not the petty *dilettanteism* that collected curiosities simply because they were old or scarce—he cared not for them if they were not eloquent of the past—and he ever sought to advance the science as one calculated to give us insight into the olden time, and fill up the faint outlines of history. They all knew and regretted him as a fellow-citizen, and some of them, amongst whom he was fain to name himself, as a friend; and he (Mr. Graves) thought they should express their sorrow for his untimely decease by a formal Resolution.

The Meeting expressed an unanimous approval of the suggestion of Mr. Graves, and all concurred in regret for the occasion which required it. The following Resolution was then moved by the Rev. Dr. Browne, seconded by Mr. P. Aylward, and adopted:—

“That this Meeting wishes unanimously to express its sense of the great loss which the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society has sustained by the untimely and lamented decease of Robert Cane, Esq., M. D., F. R. C. S. I., who, as one of its Original Members, and, as its Treasurer, ably aided in the formation, and zealously co-operated in the working of the Association since its formation in the year 1849.”

The Honorary Secretary said that he regretted to be obliged to lay before the Meeting a matter in some degree personal to himself, although it arose from his having merely carried out the views of a former Meeting. It was in the recollection of the Members that he had been intrusted to take whatever steps might be deemed proper to effect in the way of reparation for Dunbrody Abbey, in the county of Wexford, what had been already done for Jerpoint, in this county; and having been met apparently in a friendly spirit by the Agent of the noble proprietor of Dunbrody, he had visited the Abbey in company with Mr. Knox, and drawn up a specification of those repairs which were considered most necessary and judicious. As the first correspondence which took place between Mr. Knox and himself had already been published,¹ Mr. Graves would not take up the time of the Meeting further than to say that Mr. Knox had offered to place in his hands £100 to be laid out on the Abbey, provided an antique, in possession of Captain Alcock, of Wilton, and which had been found in the Abbey, was handed over to Lord Tem-

¹ See p. 4, *supra*.

plemore. Mr. Alcock had consented at once to comply with the condition, and had placed the antique in Mr. Graves's hands for that purpose; but Mr. Knox refused to fulfil his promise. It was then intimated to him that the antique would remain in the hands of the Honorary Secretary for some time, and that if the necessary repairs were effected by Lord Templemore within a given time, the antique would be handed over to his Lordship. So matters remained from Christmas, 1856, until some time previous to the last July Meeting, when, finding that Mr. Knox had not complied with the conditions, Mr. Graves had returned the antique to Captain Alcock, and at the last Meeting he made a statement to that effect. This statement had been copied into the "Wexford Independent" newspaper, and it produced the following very insulting letter from Lord Templemore's Agent:—

" TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEPENDENT.

" *Glendine, Arthurstown, July 16, 1858.*

" DEAR SIR,—Having seen in your paper of the 14th that the Rev. James Graves has again taken the liberty of bringing my name before the public, and *falsely* representing to the Archæological Society the circumstances connected with the *spurious* seal Mr. Alcock has of Dunbrody Abbey, may I request that you will state, for the information of those *really* anxious about the Abbey, that I have, by the direction of Lord Templemore, employed an architect (not Mr. Graves's man), who made part last year, and is finishing this, the necessary repairs, to keep the ruin from further decay. I only hope that all the statements made to the Society by his Reverence are not as unfounded as the one of Dunbrody Abbey. A place for this in your widely circulated paper will oblige

" Yours truly,

" M. W. KNOX."

To this letter, Mr. Graves, though unwilling to enter into a personal contest with any one, had felt constrained to reply in such terms as he considered the circumstances required; and he now regretted to report, that although Mr. Knox was certainly engaged in carrying on works at Dunbrody Abbey, several of his operations were calculated highly to deface the beauty of what remained of the structure, whilst doing but little for the judicious preservation of the building.

Several of the Members present having expressed a wish to be informed of the nature of Mr. Graves's reply to the very insulting and uncalled-for letter of Lord Templemore's Agent, the reply of the Rev. gentleman was read, as follows:—

" TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEPENDENT.

" *Kilkenny, July 30, 1858.*

" SIR,—My attention has been directed to a letter signed 'M. W. Knox,' in the 'Independent' of the 21st inst. Were I to consult my own feelings, I should not notice it; but as Honorary Secretary of the

Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society—a Society which reckons amongst its Members so much of the rank and worth of Wexford, who are thus attacked through me,—I think it desirable to ask room in your columns for a few words in reply.

"I plead guilty to the fact of having made every exertion in my power (and be it remembered, in the first instance, at Mr. Knox's request) to preserve from impending ruin one of the greatest architectural ornaments of the county of Wexford; but I am totally unconscious of having done anything to deserve the gross imputations cast upon me (not now for the first time) by Mr. Knox. A charge of falsehood may be a very convenient mode of reply to a statement that cannot be refuted, but it is a mode not often used, as, irrespective of those gentlemanly feelings which forbid its undeserved application, it is apt to provoke a retort of the nature known to logicians as the *argumentum ad baculum*. However, when Mr. Knox was guilty of the cowardly act of taxing a *clergyman* with '*falsely*' [the emphasis is his] representing to the Archæological Society the circumstances connected with the *spurious* seal Mr. Alcock has of Dunbrody Abbey, he knew he was perfectly safe from the unpleasant consequences I have alluded to. As to the good taste evinced by this mode of procedure, I leave your readers to form their own judgment, and consider myself perfectly safe in the hands of the *gentlemen* of Wexford.

"The statement I made to the July Meeting of the Society was as follows:—

"The Honorary Secretary said that, having communicated to Captain Alcock, of Wilton, the failure of Lord Templemore's Agent, Mr. Knox, to carry out his engagement relative to the repair of Dunbrody Abbey, he had been directed by Captain Alcock to send back to him the ancient seal connected with Dunbrody, which Mr. Knox had asked for as an equivalent for Lord Templemore's proposed expenditure, and which Captain Alcock had at once, in the most liberal manner, consented to give. Mr. Alcock said, "I am sorry that Lord Templemore delays the required repairs to those beautiful ruins."

"Now, Mr. Knox knows well that nothing was done to *preserve* the Abbey up to the day when the foregoing paragraph appeared in your columns. Deep trenches, as if for the foundation of walls, had, indeed, been dug, last year, between the piers of the only remaining row of nave arches, thus rendering them, if anything, more insecure; but can Mr. Knox affirm that a single mason was employed, this season, at the so-called repairs until my statement was made public? I have little doubt, however, that the noble owner of the Abbey was under the impression that his wishes for its preservation had been carried out; and I feel confident that Mr. Knox is *now* but acting under *reiterated orders*, when, at the eleventh hour, he has commenced the repairs. That the latter are *not* carried out 'by Mr. Graves's man' is pretty evident from the injudicious nature of the works in course of execution; and I am sure Lord Templemore will be grieved to hear that the only row of the arches—the strongest and more secure portion of the ruins—have been *built up*!! thus reducing to the appearance of a *dead wall* the most beautiful and striking feature of the Abbey, and at the same time causing a large and needless outlay of money.

"Having at no very distant period had the misfortune to be involved in a correspondence with Mr. Knox, I then laid before the Wexford public

the circumstances relative to the highly curious and authentic antique, which Mr. Knox now terms Mr. Alcock's 'spurious seal.' I shall not, therefore, now occupy your space further than to say, that if Mr. Knox understands the English language—and, perhaps, ignorance of it is the most charitable explanation that can be given to his words—he is well aware that this antique is *not* 'spurious;' and, furthermore, it may refresh his memory to be reminded, that when he first proposed that I should ask it from Captain Alcock, I made him perfectly aware of its nature, in the presence of a magistrate of the county of Wexford, who is ready to vouch the fact. But perhaps Mr. Knox may not be aware that I have since learned from Captain Alcock that he had previously, but in vain, endeavoured to procure this 'spurious seal' from its owner.¹ I should be averse, were not Mr. Knox the person, to conclude that, when he offered to place in my hands £100, to be laid out on the Abbey, on the condition of my being able to procure the antique for Lord Templemore, he felt sure that I should never be in a position to claim the fulfilment of his promise.

"I have now done with Mr. Knox; he may parade his want of good taste before the public, if he lists, but I shall not again notice his statements. I cannot, however, avoid expressing a wish, I believe a very prevalent one, that Lord Templemore were represented on his Wexford estates by some one who could feel an interest in the preservation of such a noble architectural remain as that of Dunbrody Abbey, and who, instead of insulting, would co-operate with those who are anxious for its preservation.

"I am, &c.,

"JAMES GRAVES, A. B.,

"Hon. Sec. of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society."

The following Resolution was then proposed, and unanimously adopted:—

"Resolved,—That this Meeting feels called on to express its regret that the promised repairs at Dunbrody Abbey have not been carried out in the manner which was expected; and that we fully approve of the course pursued by the Honorary Secretary of this Society, the Rev. James Graves."

The following presentations were received, and thanks voted to the donors:—

By J. Y. Akerman, Esq.: "A Memorial by *William Hamill*, Gent., Agent and Trustee for the Officers and Soldiers of the two late Garrisons of *London-Derry* and *Enniskilling* in *Ireland*, their Relicts and Representatives, Dedicated to his Principals." London: 1714.

By Mr. M. Holohan: Addison's "Dialogues upon the Usefulness of Ancient Medals."

¹ The words of Captain Alcock's letter, extracted from the original now before me, are as follows:—"Mr. Knox asked me some time ago for the seal I had in my possession, found in the ruins of Dunbrody Abbey. I

told him at the time he asked for it (for Lord Templemore) that I positively refused to give up the seal; and you are at perfect liberty to tell him of these facts, if he has forgotten them."

By the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland: their "Journal," No. 57.

By the Publisher: "The Gentleman's Magazine" for August, 1858.

By the Cambrian Institute: their "Journal," Second Series, No. 2.

By Robert Mac Adam, Esq.: "The Ulster Journal of Archæology," No. 23.

By the Author: "Collectanea Antiqua," in the possession of Hodder M. Westropp, Esq., Rookhurst, Cork.

By the Architectural and Archæological Society for the county of Buckingham: "Records of Buckinghamshire," No. 8.

By Edward Fitzgerald, Esq., Architect: "Vestiges and Relics of Remarkable Irishmen in the Vicinity of Youghal, of the Primeval or Pagan Period."

By the Publisher: "The Builder," Nos. 805-808, both inclusive.

Mr. Samuel Cooke reported the discovery, some time since, by a poor man, in a field near Thurles, of the end of a gold torque, weighing 93 grains apothecaries' weight.

Mr. J. Richardson Smith sent an account of the discovery, in Argyleshire, at a farm called Carn Baan, near the Crinan Canal, of twenty-eight pieces of flint, about three inches in diameter, and the thickness of a penny, with the rough edge of the flint outside, and no mark of a blow apparent. They were found four peats deep in a bog or moss, beneath the root of a fossil oak-tree, and near them two stone celts.

Mr. Smith also described an examination made by him of a tumulus surrounded at its base by a circle of rough stones, which he discovered in the same locality. It proved to be a pit regularly built round, and diminishing from 15 feet diameter to 2 feet at a depth of five feet; the bottom was flagged with oblong stones going across its entire breadth, and the cavity was filled with calcined earth and charcoal, in which he discovered one or two fragments of pottery. Mr. Smith said the entire remain was similar to many similar pits discovered by him on Ballon Hill, in the county of Carlow, when, in 1853-54, he explored the extensive Pagan cemetery there.¹

Mr. W. T. Jones, Cork, sent for exhibition the upper half of a figure, apparently dressed in the loose surcoat of the thirteenth century, and carrying a shield on the left arm, showing indistinct traces of armorial bearings. The eyes and portions of the drapery were in blue enamel, and there were traces of gilding,—the material of the figure being copper. The fragment was diminutive, being 2½ inches long, and was pierced with two holes, as if for the purpose of fastening it to a shrine. The antique was found in the ruins of Moran Abbey, four miles from Mallow, on the road to Cork.

¹ See "Transactions," vol. ii. p. 295.

Mr. J. G. Robertson exhibited a beautiful specimen of a flint arrow-head, which was thought to be unique as to shape.

The Secretary then read a copy of an inscription from the old church of Coolcraheen, near Foulksrath, contributed by Mr. W. B. Wright. It was in Latin elegiac verse, and had formed a portion of a monument to the Purcell family, the ancient proprietors of Foulkarath Castle. The slab on which it was carved had been broken into three pieces, the portions of the inscription on two of which had been previously placed on record¹ in the Society's Journal by Mr. Wright, but he had since found the centre piece, then wanting, which completed the lines and supplied the date.

The perfect inscription was as follows :—

"O Homines Homines Vid mvlto quæritis agros
 Loca quibus septem svefecit vrna pedes
 Maior nostra solo quovis mēt scādit Olympvm
 Plla tamen corpvs continet vrna meū
 Dante deo fines mea mēs svperemiet vrā
 Altior est hvjs sors mea sorte loci
 Porci si generis cvr svnt insignia nostri
 Scire viator aves gallica scripta lege.
 1629."

Mr. W. T. Jones communicated the fact that several of the beads of which he had forwarded specimens to the May Meeting had since been taken from the remains of an ancient wreck of a vessel in Dunworley Bay, embedded along with coins of William and Mary, in sand and clay ; thus marking their date to a certain extent.

Mr. Daniel O'Byrne sent the following notice of a discovery near Timahoe :—

"About fourteen days now past, Mr. Samuel Rathwell, now residing in Timahoe, being employed as steward by Mr. Doyne, over workmen labouring on Derryforn Bog, about two miles south-east from Abbeyleix, discovered two cows' horns, each measuring about six inches long. Mr. Rathwell is a very intelligent man, and has assured me that from the unusual marks on the horns, the age of the animal that once bore them could not have been less than on the verge of twenty years. They rested about eleven feet under the surface of the bog.

"In the place where Mr. Rathwell found the horns he discovered a crib made of small stakes and small switches, and in the crib rested an egg equally as black as the bog-stuff or turf. He even perceived the remains of straw under the egg, and as black as the egg.

"In another part of the bog, not more than eight feet from surface to bottom, Mr. Rathwell discovered, three feet below the surface, the remains of a wooden enclosure. The paling, if I may call it by that name, was thus ~~XXXXXX~~ formed, and fully showed that a saw was not made use

¹ See "Transactions," vol. iii. p. 214.

of when the paling was erected. It gives evident marks that an axe was used in forming the rails, and that the instrument was very sharp, as the cuts are very long and smooth. The enclosing bars or stakes are about five feet high, and each about one foot sunk in the stratum lying under the bog. For what purpose this enclosure was made, is a matter of conjecture, and may well occupy, for some moments, the inquiries of the learned and the curious.

"These remains of an enclosure were not situated near the spot where the horns and egg have been found. A few years ago a firkin of bog-butter, and also a lump of the same, were found in this bog."

The following Papers were then submitted to the Meeting.

THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF FLORENCE MAC CARTHY.

BY DANIEL MAC CARTHY (GLAS), ESQ.

(Continued from p. 148.)

ON the 1st of the following June an inquisition was held at Cork, in the presence of Sir William Drury and others, from which we learn the extent of his private possessions, and the fact that Florence was at the time but fifteen years of age.

(Lambeth MS., vol. 613, page 61.)

1576. June 1st. *An Inquisition taken upon the Death of SIR DONOGH MAC CARTY in Anno 19 Eliz.*

"Inquisitio capta apud civitatem Cork in le Guildhall ejusdem civitatis in com' Corke, die Veneris pxime post festu Penticostes viz. primo die mensis Junii anno Regni Regine nre invict' Elizabethhe decimo nono, corā Willmo Drury milit' Dño presidente totius provincie Momoniæ, et uno de Privato concilio dict' Dñæ Reginæ in regno suo Hiberniæ, et sociis suis commissionariis prædict' Dñæ Regine p totam provinciam prædictam, tam infra libertates quā extra, ad inquirend de omnibus et singulis ter' tene-ment' reddit' proficuis comoditatibus emolumentis wardiis marritagiis releviis escaetiis juribus forisfactoris et aliis hereditamentis quibuscumque eidem Dñæ Reginæ, vel aliquibus progenitorum suorum ratione concessionis donationis attinctur' forisfactor', actis parlamenti, escaeti mortis alicujus personæ vel aliter qualitercunque spectantibus, vel pertinent', et ad alia faciend' et inquirend' prout in lteris patentibus dictæ Dñæ Reginæ inde eis confecte gerentes dat' apud Wexford nono die Aprilis año Regni prædictæ Dñæ Reginæ decimo nono magis liquett per sacramentum juratorum subscriptorum viz.

"David Martell de Martellston Gen. Joh' Barry de Donboige Gen. Willme Mallefunte de Courteston Gen. David M'Shane de Midestowne Gen. Jacobi Hoare de Money Gen. Florentii OMahowny de OMahownescastle Gen. Joh^{as} Skiddie de Frissellscastle Gen. Donaldi M'Owen de Drissbane

Gen. Daniell O'Herlihie de Ballyworny Gen. Jacobi Oge Rooch de Knyvre
Gen. Petri Cogande Ballenecourtey Gen. Fynen M'Cormac de Ballem'lasy
Gen.

"Qui jurat' dicunt p sacrum suum quod Donatus al' Donogh Mac Carty, nup de Kilbirtane in com Corke Miles Seisitus fuit in Dominico suo ut de Feodo, de una carucata terræ in Knock-ne-gaple in com Corke, de duabus carucat' terræ et demid' carucat' in Rathharowe in com p'dict', de una carucat' vocat' Ballenveny in com præd', de una carucat' terræ vocat' Currymvir in com præd', de una carucat' terræ vocat' Langes-towne in com præd', de duabus carucat' terræ vocat' Kildare in com præd', de una carucat' terræ in Barraliegh in com præd', de medietate unius carucat' terræ vocat' Rathdroughtie in com præd', de una carucat' terræ vocat' Kil-lintie in com præd', de medietate unius carucat' terræ in Ballerviellen in com præd', de duabus carucat' terræ in Killinvarra in com præd', de medietate unius carucat' terr' in Knockbrowne in com præd', de una carucat' terræ in Barraliegh in com præd', de medietate unius carucat' terræ in Martlesknocke in com præd', de tertia parte unius carucat' terr' in Gortinenige in com præd', de duabus partibus unius carucat' terræ in Garan Rieugh in com præd', de una carucat' terræ in Ardgehan in com præd', de medietate unius carucat' terræ in Ballenagornagh in com præd', de medietate unius carucat' terræ in Castle Iwer in com præd', et de una carucat' terræ vocat' Curry-I-Cruwolley in eodem com Corke, et quod omnia et singla præd' terras et tenementa tenuit de præd' Dñæ Regina p que servitia penitus ignorant. Ac etiam dictus Donatus sit seisitus de omnibus et singulis pmissis 24 die Januarii anno Regni dictæ Dñæ Reginæ, decimo nono obiit sic inde seisitus, Et qd omnia et singula præmissa valent per annum quinq' Libr' Et quod Florentius al' Fynen Mac Carty est Filius et Heres dicti Donati, et infra etatem viz' de etate quinq' decem annorum.

"In cujus rei testimonium tam prd' commissarii quam juratores predicti huic Inquisitioni sigilla sua apposuerunt, die et anno prius supra script'.

"Ex' p W^m MARWOOD,

"Dept'. R. R."

The character of Sir Owen Mac Carthy has been sketched for us in few words by a shrewd observer of men, the veteran St. Leger, whose business it was to watch and report upon his conduct. He informed his Government that, "though specious in shew, he was a very hypocrite, being badly bent, and a notorious Papist, and who would be in rebellion if he dared." We shall find, when death transferred the white rod of his chieftainship to other, feeblers, and far worse hands, that the chroniclers of Carbry spoke of him in very different language. Such as he was, however, Sir Owen succeeded his brother; and his very first act, viz., that of his inauguration, brought upon him a scowl of ill-humour from the authorities of Munster. Succession by tanistry was a custom in especial disfavour with the English Government; and the ceremonies attending the election of the chiefs, like many of the rights inherent in their office, were pronounced illegal, as an usurpation of the Queen's authority, to whom alone it belonged to appoint to any dignity or

office within the realm. But by the septs themselves these ceremonies were considered of as much importance as the election; indeed, without them the election was ineffective. In a note to the pedigree of the O'Mahonys at Lambeth, Carew writes:—

“ O'Mahon's country doeth follow the ancient Tanist law of Ireland, and unto whom MacCarthy Reagh shall give a white rod, he is O'Mahon, or Lord of the Country; but the giving of the rod avails nothing except he be chosen by the followers, nor yet the election without the rod.”

The MacCarthy Reagh was inaugurated with the same ceremonial with which he inaugurated the O'Mahon and other dependent chiefs. There was a grievance attached to this, and it did not escape the keen eyes of the Cork juries, who presented—

“ That when any Lord or Gentleman of the Irishry within this county is made Lord or Captain of his name or kindredtie, he taketh of every inhabitant, freeholder, and tenant under him, a cow to be paid for erecting a rod in that name.”

Could Sir Owen have followed his own inclinations, there is little doubt but that he would have at once transferred every soldier he maintained, every follower he possessed, from the Queen to the rebel Earl of Desmond; but his castles were garrisoned, his country filled with English soldiers, so that he had little choice left him of the part he must take, or at least countenance, till the troubles should be ended; hence, he contented himself with taking careful note of the charges for cess and maintenance of the Queen's troops, to which his country was subjected, to be presented for payment or compensation when opportunity should be fitting; and allowed his young nephew, a boy of fifteen, to take the command of the followers that had been his father's.

As a minor, Florence legally fell under the guardianship of Sir William Drury. In ordinary circumstances, a ward of his condition would either have been domesticated in the family of his guardian, or sent to Dublin, or England, or elsewhere, under the eyes of the Government, for his education; and it is not a little remarkable that so young a lad should have been permitted to live amongst his own people, by whom many essentials of English education were held in little esteem. It was, perhaps, thought that his association with English officers would be the surest means of attaching him to the cause in which his father had endeavoured to train him. His whole life was certainly affected by this early companionship. Amongst these young soldiers were some who, by their own conduct in after life, added renown to names already illustrious; there were others so deeply tainted with the vices of the detestable school which sent them to Ireland to enrich or distinguish themselves by any means, that they became men of intrigue, loose in their loyalty, and made wreck of name and fame alike. How Florence served

the Queen during the whole of the rebellion that was raging at the time he assumed the command of the Carbury forces, we shall eventually see in his own words. The last desperate struggles of the Earl of Desmond tested his activity and fidelity, and, in all probability, his diplomatic ingenuity also; for the Earl of Clancarr, the head of his house, was drifting on to ruin almost as certainly as his brother-in-law of Desmond. Justly an object of suspicion to the Government, his wife and only son had long since been seized as pledges for his behaviour; nothing could be more deplorable than his own position, and that of the country which he so ill governed. Desmond had become a vast wilderness; the tenants and freeholders, harassed alike by friend and foe, were disgusted with the indecision of their lord, which deprived them of the excitement of open action, and left them a prey to the fugitives who took shelter amongst them, and to the troops who pursued them; yet it is not to be supposed that they or their kinsmen of Carbury could wish to see the head of their race involved in the destruction which was coming swiftly over the Earl of Desmond, nor can it be imagined that there were wanting amongst the Irish allies of the Government men willing to offer him a word of counsel in season. So utterly hopeless had become at last the condition of the unfortunate Desmond, that a man of greater courage, of higher principles than Donnell Earl of Clancarr, might have thought it time to take steps to sever himself from his falling friend, and abandon him to his evil fortunes. With this object, and, doubtless, under the guidance of a head shrewder than his own, he wrote in plaintive wise a letter to the Queen, which is not without dignity and pathos:—

1583. *May 28th.* THE EARL OF CLANCARR to QUEEN ELIZABETH.

“After moste humble duetie remembred, may yt please your most Excellent Matie, whereas I Daniell (whom your Princely goodnes created Erle of Clancarrthie) considering how farr I am bounde to y^r Highnes (whose long life, prosperous raigne, and happie estate I have alwayes, and doe most humbly and hartely wishe and pray for) unfainedly served against the unnaturall traitors, to the uttermoste of my power, ptely wth Sir John Parrott (then Lord President of Mounster) at the taking of Castlemaing, and all times els when occasion was given, nevertheles I (being suspected wthout cause, uppon the countrys enormities) was driven, not only to maintaine my wife twoe yeares at Cork as a pledge, but also to send my sonn from scoole to the Castle of Dublin, remaining there nowe the space of three yeares, without learning, to my intollerable grief and hindrance. Besides that I sustained many wrongs by the late Capteine Zouche, Capteine Smithe, and others (ptely mencioned in a note hereinclosed) by meanes whereof I am greivouslie combred on every side; for the traitors doe not spare me, the soldiers in like case doe take what they can finde, alleadging that it is better for them so to doe then to leave it for the traytors: but Moste Gracious and Sovereigne Ladye, I am sure it happeneth farr contrary to your Highnes upright pleasure,

and moste mylde disposition that they (under couloure of Desmond), shoulde seeke my destruction, as yf they had bene mortall enemyes; which imboldeth me the rather moste humblie to beseeche your Excellent Matie (of your pity towards the oppressed) to have compassion of me in reforming these wrongfull abuses, and uppon continuance of my trueth (w^{ch} alwayes hitherto hath bene performed) to vouchesafe thenlargement of my sonn, that the childe may be the better reduced in his tender yeares to acknowledge his duty towards God, and loyalty to your Highnes, whom I beseeche thAlmighty to prosper in all wisdom and understanding, to the comeforte of your true and faithfull subjects, and suppression of your enemyes. Thus (beseeching your Highness to pardon the necessity of my boldnes) I moste humbly take leave.

"From Clonmell the 28th of Maij 1583.

"Your Highnes moste loyall subiect

"DANYELL CLANCARTHYE."

The Earl wrote at the same time to Ormonde, then Lieutenant-General of her Majesty's forces, to explain his helpless condition, and to request that troops might be sent into his country to expel his unfortunate brother-in-law, and to rescue from final ruin the followers whom his own misrule had brought to extremity. These letters were written not a day too soon; they were, however, effective, and he had the affliction to see English captains take possession of his country, and the consolation of knowing that he had saved himself by the timely abandonment of his relative. The last throes of the death-struggle of the Earl of Desmond, the "*ingens rebellibus exemplar*," are best described in the words of the stern man whose perseverance at last hunted him and a single faithful follower to the cabin beside the Maing, where the sword of a wretched kerne spilled the blood of this great Geraldine.

1583. *April 24th. ORMONDE to the QUEEN.*

"There have ben six score traitors put to the sword, and executed since my coming. Desmond being long since fled over the mountaine into Kerrye, is nowe gon to seke relife by suche spoiles as he can take from the Erle of Clancartie (his brother-in-law), Capt^m Barkley having followed him thether to ayde thErle of Clancartie. I have sent Sir Cormok McTeig and Sir William Stanley towards Castlemaing, to lye for him therabout (if, in the mean tyme, they mete him not). Myself wth my horsemen intend to lye out, this side the mountaine, for him. I finde your Majestie's opinion provethe true, for sine I kept him from the countie of Waterford and Tipprary his men have bene forced many tymes to eat horses and caren, and being nowe kept from cowes in the mountains of Desmond, famyn will destroy them, as daily hit dothe. God send them all the plague I wishe them, and blesse your Majesty wth a moste happy raigune.

"Cork 24th April, 1583.

"THO' ORMOND & OSS."

1583. *Nov. 15th* ORMONDE to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

"In my way nowe from Dublin I receved ^{l^{re}} of the killing of the traitors Gorehe, McSwiny (Capten of Galloglass) the onely man that relived thErle of Desmond in his extreme misery; and the next day after my coming hither to Kilkenny, I receved certaine word that Donill McImoriertaghe (of whom, at my last being in Kerry, I toke assuraunce to sarve against Desmond), being accompanied with 25 kerne of his owne sept, and 6 of the ward of Castlemaigne, the 11th of this moneth at night, assaulted thErle in his cabban, in a place called Glaneguicntye nere the river of the Maigne, and slew him, whose heade I have sent for, and appointed his boddie to be hanged up in chaines at Cork

"From Kilkenny 15 Nov^r 1583.

"THO^r ORMOND ET OSS."

Within a fortnight from the date of this letter the great rebellion which had wasted Munster for eight years was concluded; its chief had fallen; and Ormond, as if the simple tidings would be too good to be credible in England, discovered a means of removing all doubt from the mind of the Queen; he wrote—

ORMONDE to WALSINGHAM.

"I do send Her Highnes (for profe of the good successe of the service and the happy ende thereof) by this berror, the principall traitor Desmond's heade, as the best token of the same, and profe of my faithfull service and travaile; whearby her charges may be deminished, as to her princelie pleasure shalbe thought meete

"Nov^r 28th 1583.

"THOMAS ORMÖD ET OSS."

Never since the time of Miles de Cogan, Robert Fitzstephen, and Philip de Braos, the undertakers of their day, had there been such a feast for the vultures, such spoil for the undertakers of Elizabeth! Half a million and more of acres lapsed by English law to the Crown, by the death of a rebel to whom by law they had never belonged! There was, indeed, a feeble voice raised, a cry that had been heard years before, from a man urging, what everybody knew, that the county of the Geraldines was by inheritance his; that the dainty token sent by Ormonde to the Queen had worn a coronet usurped from an elder brother; but that voice was drowned amidst the shrieks and the clangour of wings of the ravenous birds that clamoured for their prey. Had the claimant, Sir Thomas of Desmond, been himself a mart of land, he would assuredly have fallen to the lot of Raleigh or Barkely, Phytton or Courtney, Popham or Herbert, or others of that fortunate company. A few years after the division of the lands forfeited by the Earl of Desmond, a return was called for by the Government, of the various seigniories in the

hands of these undertakers, with the amount of rent paid for them to the Queen, and the number of people they had placed upon their lands. The list was made by Sir Edward Phyton, himself a fortunate possessor of a large tract of country, and by the Attorney-General, Sir John Popham, who, with his son-in-law, had imported labourers and farm implements before securing his grant, and then had the mortification to find that "there was no room for him." He was compelled to send back his yeomen to Wiltshire and Somersetshire. We shall meet with him again hereafter, making another attempt to introduce his penates and rural deities into Munster, invading certain carucates of Carbury belonging to Florence Mac Carthy, and exerting his powerful legal influence to ruin the man whom he failed to plunder.

"This was the relation and state of English in Munster given to Her Majesty's Attorney-General (Sir John Popham), and Sir Edward Phyton the last summer, and sithence—

TABLE OF UNDERTAKERS IN FEBR'. 1589.

In Kerry and Desmond at Eight Pence an Acre.

	Acres.	People.	Rent.
Sir Valentine Browne,	6000 . .	20 . .	£100
Sir Edw ^d Denny,	6000 . .	„ . .	100
Sir William Herbert and }	18000 . .	„ . .	300
Sir Charles Herbert,			

Conelagh [Connilloe] at 4 pence the Acre.

Mr. Trencher,	12000 . .	37 . .	150
Sir Will ^m Courtney,	12000 . .	„ . .	150
Mr. Oughtread,	12000 . .	22 . .	150
Mr. Billingsby,	12000 . .	137 . .	150
Sir Edw ^d . Barkley,	12000 . .	„ . .	150

Cork at one penny the Acre.

Hugh Cuffe,	12000 . .	74 . .	66 13 4
Arthur Hyde,	6000 . .	24 . .	23 6 8
Phaane Beacher,	12000 . .	12 . .	66 13 4
Hugh Worthe,	12000 . .	„ . .	66 13 4
Sir Warham St. Leger, and }	12000 . .	„ . .	33 6 8
Sir Rich ^d Grynfield,			
Arthur Robyns,	4000 . .	„ . .	22 4 5
George Robynson,	4000 . .	12 . .	22 4 5
Mr. Read,	3000 . .	„ . .	16 14 4

*Limerick at 2^d. ob. (2½).**Tipperary and Waterford at 1^d. q. (1½).*

	Acres.	People.	Rent.
Sir Edward Phytton, and Rich ^d } Bould, and Tho ^r Preston, }	11000	60	80
Rich ^d Phytton and } Alex ^r . Phytton, }	2000	20	
The Earl of Uremont (Ormond), } (he entered but lately), }	3000	"	16 13 4
Thomas Fleetwood, }	3000	22	16 13 4
Marmaduke Redman, but now } dispossessed by Patrick Con- } don. His petition is with Mr. } Secretary, }	3000	22	16 13 4
Sir Walter Raleigh and } his associates, }	36000		
My Lord Chancellor, }	6000	200	33 6 8

"Mr. Attorney (Popham), Mr. Edward Rogers (Popham's son-in-law) and Mr. Warre have had above sixty Englishmen there these two years, and now for want of land are driven to call them home again; besides there were divers women and servants. Also Sir Warham St. Leger, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Edw^d Denny, Sir William Herbert, Sir Thomas Norreys, Sir George Bouchier, Sir Edw^d Barclay, Denzill Hollis, Arthur Robyns, and Mr. Read have no English people numbered by us, because we have not been informed of them.

"Also that the Rent of Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Edw^d Denny, Denzill Hollis, and Rich^d and Alex^r Phytton are not rated, because we know them not.

"Note also, the chargeable lands are not valued, nor many other parcels lying dispersed.

"E. PHYTON.

"J. POPHAM.

"People, 661.

"£1674 14 10."

Before the patents were signed for this list of grants,—before the country which the Geraldines had held for nearly four centuries was by a magnificent application of Sir Henry Sidney's "fixed principle" dispersed amongst English subjects,—a young man presented himself at the court of Elizabeth to claim a simple act of justice. It was James Fitzgerald, the son of Sir Thomas of Desmond, well enough known a few years later as James Fitz Thomas, or the Sougan Earl. His father had long ago resigned himself to the obscurity of private life and the usurpation of his birthright; but this youth, with the chivalrous daring of his race, and the vernal simplicity of his years, came to plead against the huge iniquity of this confiscation. He informed the Queen, what the Queen knew already as

well as he did, that his father was the eldest son of James, the fifteenth Earl of Desmond; that the traitor whose headless body was waving upon the Cork gibbet had been the usurper of his brother's rights before he was a rebel; that the Queen could not by any law, English or Irish, inherit estates from a man who legally possessed none; that the earldom granted by Edward III. to the eldest sons in succession could not be forfeited by the rebellion of a younger brother, to whom it belonged not; nor the blood of an innocent man be attainted because a cadet of his family had been a traitor. The reply he received to this fanciful suit will be given later in his own words; the patents were signed, and James Fitz-Thomas returned to his native land to abide his time.

And now the bill of charges which, it has been mentioned, Sir Owen Mac Carthy had kept with admirable exactness during the past years of trouble, failed not to find its way to the notice of her Majesty. We lay it before the reader, for it will give him some idea of the wealth of an Irish chieftain, and the resources of an Irish country, in which Sir Henry Sidney "found more idle vagabonds kept than good cattle bred."

1583. *July 25th.* SIR OWEN MAC CARTHY REAGH to HER MAJESTY.

"My moste humble and bounden duetie to yo' Excellent Majestie premissed. I thought it goode to signifie unto yo' Highnes whate I and my contrey have employd for the better furtherance of yo' Majesties service during the rebellion in Mounster, the particulers wherof appeareth in a schedule herein inclosed; and as Capteine Barkley may certifie the same unto yo' Ma^{ty}, who behaued himselfe verie well in the said contrey, not doubting but yo' Highnes (according your accustomed bountie) will haue consideration of the same, moste humby beseeching youre royall Majestie to grant unto me suche resonable requests as mine agents will pticularly declare to yo' Highnes on my behalf; and thus (wth all due reverence) I moste humbly take my leave. At Your Ma^{ty} cite of Cork the 25th of July, 1583.

"Yo' Highnes' Faithfull Subiect,

"OWEN CARTY."

A briefe selection of suche payments as Sir Owen M^cCarthy Knight and his country of Caribrie in the Countie of Cork haue paid for the furtherance of Her Ma^{ty} Service sence the first of the Rebellion of James Fitz Morea.

In primes. In the tyme of the Governement of Sir John Perot Lord pident of Mounster, for the better mainteynance of Hir Ma^{ty} Garisons being then here, paid in byfs, and cesse taken upp of the said country, the som of a thousand Pounds st^l.

Item, after to the Earle of Ormonde, being then L. Gen^l of Mounster, in money and byfs taken upp of the said contrey, the som of £700 st^l.

Item, to Sir William Drury L. President of Mounster for cesse of 16 horsmen, being towre yeares in the said contrey, viz. to every horsman 5^s. st. per diem, amountith to the som of £1147 st^s.

Item, more to the said S^r William in money towards Hir Ma^{ties} charges, and to be released of the cesse of the said horsmen £1000 st^s.

Item, the said Sir Owen M^cCartie paid to Patrick Shearlock of Waterford for the number of thrie score kerne cessed upon his said contrey £50.

Item, beseds the pmisses the said Sir Owen (of his owne goode will) for the better furtherance of Hir Ma^{ties} Service, have kept in his contrey afore-said sence the begynning of the rebellion of the Earle of Desmond 100 Englishe soldiers footmen, and paid there Capteyns yearly £1200 viz^t.

Item to Capteyn William Apsley,	£1200
Item to Capteyn Fenton,	1200
Item to Capteyn Barkley,	1200

The total Som amounteth to, £7497

For the distinding of this document the chieftain of Carbury was doubtless indebted to the skill of his lawyer: a little later the reader will meet with a genuine specimen of Sir Owen's own unaided style of letter-writing.

From the first outbreak of the Desmond rebellion, Florence served with the royal forces. At its close, at the age of twenty, with a sound reputation for loyalty, if for little else, he repaired to the English court. Of Florence's personal appearance at this time no notice has reached us, except a brief passage in the "*Pacata Hibernia*," in which he is described as "taller by the head and shoulders than his followers;" but as the same passage compares him to Saul and the Grand Turk, there may be some difficulty in measuring his actual stature by this indefinite standard. Whether favoured by nature in form and countenance, or not, it is certain that he possessed in an eminent degree a power of winning the good-will of all to whom he had access.

On his arrival in England he was at once taken by the hand by Burghley and presented to the Queen, "who most graciously and bountifully rewarded him," presenting him at once with a gift of a thousand marks, and settling on him an annuity of two hundred marks. In the saloons of the minister he met daily the companions of his Munster campaigns, and had it pleased him, he might have turned away his thoughts from the contentions of his native land, and, living in the radiance of court favour, have aspired to as lofty fortunes as the Queen had bestowed upon any of his countrymen. Could he have allied himself with an English heart to the policy of Burghley, and brought his able mind and great influence to aid in the subjugation of Ireland, it would have been impossible for him to miss a career of safe distinction. But whatever dreams his ambition might indulge in, certainly none of them were to arrive at

greatness by making himself a model of loyalty, or a champion of English policy in his native country. There were moments in his career when he appeared to falter in a course of a very opposite nature, and to lend himself for a while to the purposes of the governors of Munster; but it will be found that such conduct was traceable to a motive very different from attachment to England.

For four or five years little attention, certainly little jealousy, seems to have been bestowed upon Florence. He went and came unobserved between Carbury and London. When in Munster, he was in frequent attendance on the Vice-President; and when in London, at the court. His position was not one of sufficient mark to excite any peculiar vigilance as to his mode of life; he had not succeeded to the captaincy of Carbury, and therefore, though the inheritor of vast estates, he was of no political importance. A few years later the keenest eyes of Munster watched his slightest movement, and then it was discovered that "he had long affected the company of Spaniards, and had learned their language; that he had so won upon the affections of the old Lord De Courcy as to obtain from that nobleman vast portions of his lands, and especially the fortress of Down M'Patrick (the Old Head of Kinsale), which commanded the harbour of Kinsale, and mostly tending towards Spain." But a proceeding which chiefly attracted the alarm of the Munster Government was certain negotiations of Florence relative to the succession of Carbury. Sir Henry Sidney had written to the Privy Council that "his fixed principle was the dissipation of the great lordships; to distribute the lands, if among English, the better (!) if not, yet that they be dissipated (!)"

To this fixed principle the barbarous usage of tanistry, "not deserving the name of law," was in direct opposition; and to the abolition of this usage the utmost endeavours of the Government were directed. It was not, however, attempted by violence; a statute, merely permissive, invited the great lords to surrender their countries to the Queen, and receive them back by Letters Patent, to hold at a nominal rent by English tenure, that is, with succession by lineal descent, and, in failure of male heirs, revertible to the Crown. Some Irish chieftains, desirous of securing the succession of their captaincies to their sons, had fallen in with this English offer. An ancestor of the Mac Carthy Reagh had done so; and so also, more recently, had the Earl of Clancar, when he consented to exchange for his peerage the honoured title of his forefathers, that, namely, of Mac Carthy More. This interruption of the national usage seldom extended beyond one generation: the brothers, as of immemorial usage, stepped into the vacancy caused by the demise of a chief, and the son, in spite of his Letters Patent, was put aside, to wait till, in the course of nature, his turn should come for the

succession. Sir Donogh, the father of Florence, had succeeded to his elder brother, although that elder brother had left sons; he was in turn succeeded by Sir Owen Mac Carthy, and Sir Owen was aware that his sons were fated not to succeed him. The heir of Carbry was Donell, called na-Pipy, and the heir to Donell was, not Donell's son, nor yet a son of Sir Owen, but Florence, the son of Sir Donogh, the elder brother of Sir Owen.

About the time that Sir Owen sent in his bill of charges to the Government, it was known that he was about to repair to court. Donell-na-Pipy instantly took the alarm; he well knew that Sir Owen had little love for him, and he naturally imagined that the purpose of this visit was the surrender of his lands, and the resuming them by English tenure. He at once invited a family meeting on the subject, the result of which was, that Sir Owen consented to leave matters as they were, on the condition that Donell would pledge himself, nay, bind himself, in securities of £10,000 to Florence, that he would take no steps to divert the succession from him. We shall see in what light this family compact was afterwards represented to Florence's prejudice, and his own account of the transaction.

At the time of the surrender of his lands to Queen Elizabeth, and resuming them by Letters Patent, the Earl of Clancar had no brothers to dispute the succession. An only son stood in the way of extinction of the elder branch of the Mac Carthys, and the Earl may have thought that this surrender and the acceptance of an English earldom in lieu of his hereditary title, was a lighter punishment for a life of disloyalty than he might have expected; the letter written by him towards the close of the Desmond rebellion has shown us that his son was then living in Dublin Castle, a pledge for the good behaviour of the father. All that we know further of the brief career of this youth is contained in the following despatches:—

1584. *July 9th. From TREASURER WALLOP to Sir F. WALSHINGHAM.*

"My Lo. Deputie hath sent the Earls of Desmond and Clancarty their sonnes to the Court by two of my men, whom I beseeche you to discharge of them as sone as they come to the Court wth them."

1584. *Nov. 28th. WATERHOUSE to WALSHINGHAM.*

"The other two letters are from the Earl of Clanrickarde; the one, as I learn (both from himselfe and Sir Richard), is to exhort his son, the Baron of Dunkellin, to beware of such advice as hath been given to the young Baron of Valentia for his undutiful *departure into France.*"

1586. *January 19th.*

"I have no other newes besydes those I sent you lately, save that one Barry, who was the enticer and conveyer away of the Lord of Valentia from here, is of late taken by the Earl of Glencarse, who had intelligence

of his coming over into the country, disguised like a beggar, to see how he could procure some relief for the young Lord. I have given order to have him safely sent hither unto me: when I have him I will learn of him what I may.

"From the Castle of Dublin."

1586. Feb. 12. NICHOLAS SKIDDIE to WALSINGHAM.

"R^t hon.: My humble and most bouden duty premised. Finding this bearer, my cousin, James Meagher, repairing towards the Court, I thought good to write your Honor these few lines, declaring that William Barry the man that brought the Earl of Clancarre's son into France, is apprehended in Desmond, and now brought to Cork. I offered to bring him to your Honor, wherein I could not prevail, by reason that my Lo. Deputie did write for him; and it is meant that the said Barry shall be sent to Dublin."

Of this boyish escapade, and of the truly Irish device of Barry, we hear no more. It appears that after the execution of the Earl of Desmond, the young Valentia was sent to England, was detained there a very short time, sent back to Dublin Castle, and thence, with or without the consent of his father, spirited away to France.

Neither his subsequent adventures nor his death receive any notice from the correspondents of the English Minister.

It would seem that the Earl found means to persuade the Irish authorities that he had had no part in the singular frolic of his son and heir; and Florence Mac Carthy had not yet earned the credit of suggesting every irregularity committed by any of his name and race; for we find, from the "*Annals of the Four Masters*," *sub anno*, that at this precise period the Earl, Florence, and his uncle and cousins, were summoned to the Parliament held at Dublin by Sir John Perrott in 1585.

By the terms of the Earl's surrender his lands must at his demise, failing male issue, lapse to the Queen. He had indeed a daughter, and it was presumable that on her marriage, with the Queen's approbation, she would receive the same grant that had been made to him and his son at the time of his creation.

The English policy, "the fixed principle," was indeed the dissipation of the great countries; but even the inventor of this great engine of state policy had left on record a warning "that it was perilous, and bred such a number of inconveniences as could hardly be cured." Whatever Elizabeth might choose to do with the heiress and her lands, might be matter of conjecture; what she would not do, was a perfect certainty: she would not allow the extensive country of the Earl to fall into the hands of any other Irish chief, and thus augment estates which it was her chief object to break up.

It would seem that upon the death of his son, and in the uncertainty of what might befall his estates after his own demise, the Earl no longer placed any restraint upon his extravagance. The English undertakers had introduced to his notice the convenience of raising money upon his lands by mortgage, and into this ready way of supplying the requirements of an unbounded licentiousness and unthrift, the Earl plunged headlong. The same recklessness that characterized his political conduct prevailed in his money transactions. There was a gentleman of the name of Browne, originally from Lancashire, who had served the Irish Government in various capacities, but chiefly as a surveyor of lands to which the Queen, on one pretext or another, made claim. In an evil hour for his own peace Browne permitted his eyes to rest covetously upon the goodly lands of Molahuff. Of the shrewdness of the surveyor, and of the utter recklessness of the Earl, the reader may form an idea from the fact that for the three several sums of £421 1s. 2d., £121 13s. 3d., and £80, land valued at £1000 per annum was made over to Browne, reserving, however, to the Earl the right of redeeming his lands by the repayment of these sums. Had Browne contented himself with the profits of this transaction as long as the debt remained unpaid, the folly only of the Earl of Clancarrig could be a fair subject of remark; the sequel will show how little Browne contemplated the contingency of ever parting with the lands thus placed with him in pledge. A day came when the country of Mac Carthy More passed into other hands, and then commenced a grand legal encounter for restitution, which cost half a century and four generations of Brownes to see it to an end.

Whatever consequences might arise from these ruinous modes of supplying his wants, they were in the obscurity of the hidden future, and the Earl was prepared to sell more than his lands for money. There was another person who, for motives far different from the motives of Sir Valentine Browne, dealt with the Earl in his traffic of mortgages. Florence Mac Carthy inherited, as we have seen, great wealth, and, before the attention of the President of Munster had been directed to his private transactions, he had possessed himself, by mortgage also, of the principal fortresses of the Earl's country, especially of Castle Lough, one of the three great mansions, "the owner of which, if a Mac Carthy, might always look to be Mac Carthy More."

Thus stood matters in the year 1587, when the first rumour was heard of the Earl's "intention to prefer his daughter in marriage."

(To be continued.)

CRYPTIC INSCRIPTIONS ON THE CROSS AT HACKNESS, IN YORKSHIRE.

BY THE REV. D. H. HAIGH.

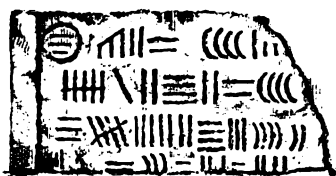
ON the fragments of crosses which are preserved in the chancel of the church at Hackness, relics, doubtless, of St. Hild's foundation, there are Latin inscriptions, which appear to commemorate Oedilburga and Hwætburga, daughters of Aldwulf, King of the East Angles and nephew of St. Hild, successively abbesses of the monastery there; and of Canegyth, Bugge, and Trecea, correspondents of St. Boniface; all of whom were living in the earlier part of the eighth century. These have been noticed in a pamphlet published by Mr. Procter, of Hartlepool ("Notes on the History of St. Begu and St. Hild"). These fragments are, however, worthy of particular notice, on account of their presenting inscriptions in secret characters, different from anything that has hitherto been observed in England. To one of them, and to a system of writing to which it appears to be allied, the present paper will be devoted; the examination of the other must be reserved for a future occasion.

The inscription in question, of which a fac-simile accompanies this paper (see Plate, Fig. 1), seems to be analogous to the Ogham which occurs so frequently on monuments in the south and west of Ireland, in districts which retain their primitive character; but there can be no doubt that it was once equally prevalent all over the island. There appear to be two distinct schools of opinion with respect to its origin, one regarding it as Pagan, the other as Christian. A desire to elucidate the Hackness inscription suggested the study of this question, the evidences on the one side—for the other has none—and the arguments on both; an inquiry commenced, absolutely without bias towards either opinion, by the perusal of the arguments in favour of the Christian origin of the Ogham; and the result has been a conviction of its early antiquity and Pagan origin.

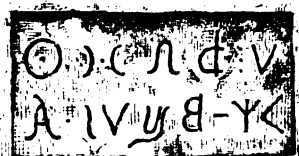
The Ogham "Beithluision" consists of thirteen single and two double consonants, five vowels, and five diphthongs (see Plate, Figs. 2, 3), each of which is called by the name of some tree of which it is the initial:—

B	<i>Beith</i> , Birch.	H	<i>Huath</i> , White-thorn.	M	<i>Muin</i> , Vine.
L	<i>Luis</i> , Mountain-ash.	D	<i>Duir</i> , Oak.	G	<i>Gort</i> , Ivy.
F	<i>Fearn</i> , Alder.	T	<i>Twine</i> , Holly.	NG	<i>Ngedal</i> , Broom.
S	<i>Sail</i> , Willow.	C	<i>Coll</i> , Hazel.	ST	<i>Straif</i> , Black-thorn.
N	<i>Nin</i> , Ash.	Q	<i>Queirt</i> , Apple.	R	<i>Ruis</i> , Elder.

1 *Hackness,*



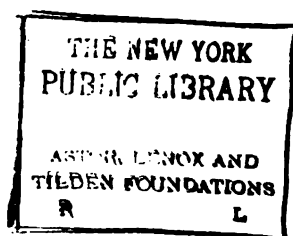
2 3
 l e u o a r r n s m q c e d h n r f l b
 b l f r n h d t c q m s n s r r a o u e i
 X O t X



5
 A ↑ 1 f Ø Y m r † R 1 † V † | f Ø n * †
 b l f r n h d t c q m s n s r r a o u e i e a o i u a i a e

Bressay,

c r r o s : c c : n a d t f f d d a d d s : d a t t r r : a n n
 b e n n r e s m e q q d d r r o i a n n



A	<i>Ailm</i> , Fir.	EA	<i>Eabhad</i> , Aspen.
O	<i>Onn</i> , Gorse.	OI	<i>Oir</i> , Spindletree.
U	<i>Ur</i> , Heath.	UI	<i>Uilleann</i> , Woodbine.
E	<i>Eadhad</i> , Aspen.	IA	<i>Ifin</i> , Gooseberry.
I	<i>Idad</i> , Yew.	AE	

Such are the names, with their signification, as given by Irish grammarians. Into the question—what was the original number of the letters of this scale—it seems needless to enter. All the fifteen consonants and the five vowels have been found on Irish monuments; and as far as these are concerned, it appears most probable, that their numbers and arrangement were in use when the Ogham scale was invented for expressing them in writing. But with respect to the diphthongs, it may very reasonably be doubted whether they are not a later invention, and addition to the scale. All the combinations of vowels which form these diphthongs have been found in inscriptions, except the last, which alone is nameless; so that there does not seem to have been occasion for them. On the other hand, none of the characters which represent these diphthongs have been discovered, except those which are said to represent EA and OI, and the last appears only on the very latest Ogham monument, that at Bressay, in Shetland. The former can scarcely be a diphthong, since it occurs between the vowels A and I on monuments at Dunloe and Whitefield; and indeed the identity between the names of this supposed diphthong and the vowel E, seems a sufficient reason for removing it from the series. Possibly this character may represent the letter X, which the ancient glosses at St. Gall and Wurtzburg, and the formulæ so ably interpreted by Grimm and Pictet, concur to prove, was in use in the ancient Irish language. Other characters besides these, of which the ancient grammarians knew nothing, and the value of which we have no means of ascertaining, have been found on a very remarkable monument at Kilbonane.

Here it may be well to remark, before we proceed, in illustration of the arguments that have been adduced for the Scandinavian origin of the Ogham scale on the one hand, and for its Phœnician origin on the other, that D, G, Q, NG, ST, are wanting in the Norse alphabet, though they appear in the Anglo-Saxon, and both supply TH and the letter W, which are wanting in this; that all the consonants of the Ogham scale except NG are found in the Phœnician and cognate alphabets (for Q is represented by the Phœnician and Hebrew Koph), whilst it wants the letter P, which they have. No conclusive argument, therefore, can be drawn from this source in favour of either hypothesis.

Leaving the diphthongs out of the question, it appears that this alphabet, or, more properly, “Beithluisnion,” consists of four groups, of five characters each, the value of which depends on their position,

attached to the right or left of a stem, or crossing it obliquely or horizontally; and on the number of strokes, from one to five, which compose them; for inscriptions in this character (still carrying out the idea of trees) are written, not from left to right, or from right to left, as in other systems, but from the bottom or root upwards; and the stem-line is, in almost all the instances which have been discovered, represented by the angle of the stone on which they are inscribed, or by a raised ridge on its surface. On a very few, as at Callan, Killruis, and Kilcoleman, it is incised on the surface; and on a few others, as at Kinnard, it is merely ideal. At Kilcoleman, where the height of the stone did not admit of the inscription being written vertically in its whole length, the line takes a horizontal direction at the top. All these varieties of the Ogham writing appear combined on the curious monument at Kilbonane. It has two inscriptions on its angles, then an inscription attached to an incised line on its face, and this is continued apparently by a further series of characters without a stem-line, and to the right of this is another similar inscription.

Now this mode of writing is perfectly unique, and so also is the alphabet. Other ancient alphabets have their letters called by the names of objects, but none has been found in which, as in this, all the letters are systematically named after a peculiar class of objects, all called by the names of trees. Do not this nomenclature, the mode of writing in the form of a tree springing from a root, and putting forth branches on either side; as well as the designations by which the several classes of letters were known (the consonants, "taobomna," or side trees; the vowels "feadha," or trees; each stroke "fleasg," a twig), concur to show that the origin of the whole system is attributable to a race or an order, with whom trees were objects of special veneration? Such were the Phœnicians and the primitive Greeks; such in the West were the Druids.

But this alphabet and this mode of writing tell us more than this about their origin. When the names of the letters of an alphabet are words of the language to which the alphabet belongs, it may be regarded as a presumptive proof that the alphabet owes its origin to the people who spoke that language. Thus the name of nearly every letter in the Hebrew and Phœnician alphabets has its meaning in the ancient Hebrew language¹, with which the Phœnician is now known to have been identical, whilst the names of the letters of the Greek alphabet confirm the tradition of their Phœnician origin; and those of all the letters in the Norse, Anglo-Saxon, and Gothic alphabets, are evidently Teutonic (the one exception which has been

¹ A learned oriental scholar has favoured the writer with an interpretation of the names of the characters of the Hebrew alphabet. They are such as could only have been invented by a nomad of the desert, who had

no ideas beyond those of his tent, with its appurtenances, the care of his camels and oxen, and the occupation of hunting and fishing; and, as such, are decisive evidence of the primitive antiquity of this alphabet.

quoted, "Queorth," being really "Queorn," as the analogy with "Cwairuns," of the Gothic, and "Quirun" of an old German alphabet, shows). Now all the names of the Ogham scale are Irish, and, therefore, they owe their origin to the Celtic race; but they reveal to us, moreover, the important fact that they were brought to Ireland by colonists who came from a distant land, and from a very different climate. For the names are those of Irish trees, and the alphabet is nearly a complete list of the trees that are indigenous to Ireland. From this it is clear that the trees were called after the letters, and not the letters after the trees; for it would be impossible to find in any country its catalogue of forest-trees undesignedly furnished with names, the initials of which would give all the sounds necessary to make an alphabet; and equally impossible would it be to induce an unlettered people to give up the names to which they had been accustomed, and adopt a new nomenclature at the bidding of a learned few, supposing these alphabetic characters to be of later origin. It is plain that the Irish names still in use must be those by which the early colonists of Ireland first designated the native trees of the country. Had they who introduced these letters been a small colony among a people who had already given names to their trees, they could not have forced upon them the adoption of other names. They must then have been either the original colonists or a powerful nation who subdued an earlier race, as the Saxons did the Britons. Whence, then, did these come? Not, certainly, from any northern clime, such as Britain, Gaul, or Scandinavia,—where the trees are the same as in Ireland, else they would have called them after the names in use there instead of after elementary characters,—but from some more southern country. The internal evidence of the alphabet, then, goes to prove that it must be referred to a race sufficiently numerous to have colonized Ireland, or sufficiently powerful to have taken possession of, and established their own literature in, the country; who came from a southern land, and, holding trees in special veneration, named those of Ireland after the letters of their own alphabet. Such a race were they, to whom the invention of the Ogham has been generally ascribed, the Tuatha de Danann. This ingenious argument, the force of which seems irresistible, is borrowed from a paper by Mr. O'Daly, in the "*Ulster Journal of Archaeology*."

Modern philological research has thrown great light upon the origin of the Celtic language, and its affinity with the Sanscrit is now acknowledged. A very able writer, Mr. Crowe, in the same *Journal*, has instituted a comparison between the classification of the consonants by the Celtic bards, and the arrangement of the Sanscrit alphabet; he has pointed out a very striking correspondence between them, and shown that the only difference is in favour of the earlier antiquity of the Bardic system; the more systematic

arrangement of the Sanscrit, which is not earlier than the seventh century, being, most probably, an improvement on an earlier system, and one closely resembling that of the Bards, which, for this reason, he argues, may have been introduced into Ireland at a very early period from the East. Hence he draws the conclusion that there is nothing improbable in the story which ascribes the compilation of the “*Úraicept-na-Eigeas*,” or “Primer of the Bards,” to Feirceirtne, who lived in the reign of Conchobhar mac Neasa, in the first century of our era.

Thus the arguments of two acute writers concur in referring both the alphabet and grammar to a remote antiquity and foreign origin. Now the distinction of the Beithluisnion into classes of consonants and vowels, and of the latter into broad and slender, has been used as an argument for the recent origin of the Ogham, but surely it is too much to presume that the Druids of Ireland were incapable of making this distinction. Irish traditions point to Egypt as the country, *in transitu*, of one of the races which peopled Ireland, and in Egypt at least this distinction was made in times of very remote antiquity. Plato says that Thoth, “perceiving that the inflexions of the voice of man were capable of uttering various distinct sounds, divided them into three classes, one called vowels, a second of a mixed character, and a third called mutes, and that he then separated and distinguished the vowels, the medial sounds, and the mutes, and gave to each an elementary name as a fixed part of lingual sound. What was the order of the Egyptian alphabet, or indeed of any of the primitive alphabets, Phœnician or Assyrian, Oscan or Etruscan, is not known; but here, in the West, we have an alphabet differing entirely in its order from any that we know, which cannot therefore have been derived from them, but claims a distinct and primitive origin; and of this alphabet the distinct class of vowels, and their order, form an integral part. The order of the alphabet in itself precludes the supposition of an origin subsequent to the introduction of Christianity into Ireland. Equally distinct from the Roman *a b c d*, &c., and the Teutonic *f u t h o r*, &c., it can be ascribed neither to Roman nor to Scandinavian influence; and its earlier antiquity is proved by the fact that the Irish retained this order, even when Roman letters were introduced amongst them through the influence of Roman missionaries, instead of adopting that of the Roman alphabet, and rejected several of the foreign letters.

Independently of the arguments and evidences for the early origin of the Ogham, the supposition that a system of this kind could be invented by a people to whom the Roman alphabet was familiar, seems in the highest degree improbable. For it was evidently in very general use, more than two hundred inscriptions in this character having been discovered in Ireland, and as these were

written that they might be read, doubtless those who could read were able readily to comprehend their purport.

The very simplicity of this character seems to be an additional argument for the primitive antiquity we claim for it. For whilst the idea of trees appears to have suggested the form of the scale, the names of the letters and their classes; the division of the scale into groups of five seems to have its origin in the very same idea which suggested the primitive decimal notation of numerals, i. e. the fingers of the two hands. For, in reference to the scale, it will be observed that the first group, *b l f s n*, corresponds to the fingers of the left hand, and the second, *h d b c q*, to those of the right. This theory ancient MSS. confirm, saying that the stem-line being drawn vertically, the strokes to the right were called the left hand, and those to the left the right; so also does an ancient Bardic story, quoted in the "*Archæologia Cambrensis*," distinctly referring to ten original or principal letters. It is as follows:—

"Einigan Gawr beheld three pillars of light, on which were visible all past and future sciences, and he took three rods of quicken, and engraved on them the signs of all sciences, that the memory of them might be preserved, and he exhibited them, and all persons who saw them misunderstood them, making a god of the rods, whereas they only bore his name. In his grief he broke the three rods, and no others were found like them. He died broken-hearted, praying to God that correct sciences, and the right understanding of them, might be vouchsafed to mankind. A year and a day after his death Menw ap y Feirgwaedd beheld three rods growing out of Einigan's mouth, which exhibited the sciences of *the ten letters*, and the order of all the sciences of language and speech. He then took the rods and taught the sciences therefrom, except the name of God, which he kept secret."

This arrangement in groups of five, thus suggested, having been adopted for the first ten letters, it was natural to combine them for the next group, *m g ng st r*. The vowels may have been at first suppressed, as in many Oriental systems of writing (and certainly some of the Irish inscriptions, as at Aghadoe and Kilfountain, have no vowels), and when it was found necessary to add them, they were represented by mere points upon the stem-line.

Mr. Crowe's testimony to the probability that the Uraicept was composed at an early period will warrant our admitting it as evidence of the existence of a tradition at that period, ascribing the invention of the Ogham to Ogma, the son of Elatan, and brother of Breas, Kings of Ireland, of the Tuatha de Danann race. Such an origin is perfectly consistent with what we learn from the alphabet itself, and when we find that the Druidic priesthood of Gaul, at the time when this tract is said to have been composed, attributed language, eloquence, and poetry to Ogmios (whom there can be no hesitation in identifying with Ogma), we have an addi-

tional reason for believing in the antiquity of the Uraicept, and in the existence of this tradition in the first century of our era, relative to one who must have lived several centuries previously.

All the Irish annalists received the tradition, and all ancient writers are agreed that the Ogham was used by the Druids for writing on monuments and on tablets of wood. The monuments exist, and although the tablets have perished, the minute and circumstantial annals that remain of many ages prior to the conversion of Ireland, which could not have been preserved by tradition alone, are presumptive evidence that the events of very early times were committed to writing.

Furthermore, whilst not a single instance is recorded in the Irish MSS. of a Christian monument inscribed with Oghams, they abound with instances of their use in Pagan times. Some of these notices are very curious, and, though the MSS. in which they occur are of comparatively late date, present the strongest internal evidence of their Pagan antiquity.

Thus, in the Book of Leinster, compiled, as Mr. Curry thinks, before the year 1150, (others think it much earlier), there is a curious tract, called "Tain bo Cuailgne," in which are several of these notices.

In one it is said that Cuchullain or Mac Beag, having made a survey of Ulster, arrived at a fort, called Dun Mhic Neachtain, and there found a stone pillar, around which an iron ring was firmly clasped, standing before the fort; and on the ring was an Ogham inscription, intimating that whatsoever warrior entered the green on which the pillar stood, was bound not to depart before he had done battle with one of the occupants of the fort. He read the inscription, grasped the stone and ring in his arms, and cast them into a neighbouring pool. Now it is remarkable that this story contains the only written notice of the ring of chivalry (the remembrance of which tradition has preserved); and here, allowing for some exaggeration to magnify the gigantic strength of the hero, may be some record of one of his daring and impious exploits, for this story is certainly of Pagan origin, and contains an account of one of the objects of Pagan idolatry. Its whole tenor is to represent the supernatural attributes of an extraordinary bull, called Donn Cuailgne, said to have been endowed with understanding; and it has been supposed that this bull was an object of religious worship, like Apis amongst the Egyptians. That the Druids did worship such a bull is extremely probable; for at St. Just, near Penryn, in Cornwall (another seat of the Druids), a small bronze bull was found some years ago,¹ of workmanship so rude that it may be presumed British rather than Roman. It would almost seem to be human-headed,

¹ "Archæological Journal," vol. vii. p. 8.

for the profile is decidedly human, and on the right side is the crescent identifying it with Apis. That such a bull should have been found in a country so closely connected with Ireland as Cornwall, is a strong confirmation of Mr. O'Daly's theory that the Ulster bull was an Apis; and the correspondence he has traced between "Neachtain" and "Neton," which Macrobius records as an appellation of Apis, or "Necht," which the hieroglyphics give as one of his titles, seems to raise it to a certainty; and all this appears to confirm the tradition that the Scots were in Egypt before they came to Ireland, so that they may have brought to Ireland, not only the learning, but the superstitions of the Egyptians.

These identifications are certainly important, because they tend to establish for this tract a pre-Christian origin, and so afford an argument for the great antiquity of the Ogham.

On another occasion, this tract tells us that Cuchullain, on his way through Machaire Conaill (Louth), entered a dense wood, where he found a *coirthe*, or pillar-stone, and that he carved an Ogham verse on a withe, and placed it round the stone. Now this very place has been identified, Coirtheoll, a townland in the parish of Kilcurley, and barony of Upper Dundalk. It is now a peat-moss, but was once a wood.

Other notices of the use of this character are purely historical. The same Book of Leinster contains a poem which records the death of Cairbre Leiffeachair, in the battle of Gabhra, A. D. 283, and the raising of a stone above his grave inscribed with Ogham, in these words :—

"An Ogham on a stone, a stone on a grave,
In the place where men were wont to pass,
The son of the King of Eire was there slain."

The poem concludes :—

"That Ogham which is on the stone,
Around which fell the slain,
If Finn¹ of the many battles were living,
Long would he bear in mind the Ogham."

In the "Leabhar na h'Uidhre" there is an account of what was placed in the grave with the corpse of Fothadh Airgtheach, who was killed at the battle of Ollarba, A. D. 285; and it is added that a pillar-stone was set up over his grave, on which was inscribed "Eochaidh Airgtheach inso" (here).

From the "Book of Ballymote" we learn, that the name of Fiachrach, King of Connaught, who died A. D. 380, was inscribed

¹ He was dead before the battle.

in Ogham on his monument at Hy-Mac-Uais. Such instances might be multiplied, but these are sufficient for our purpose.

It is true that these stories, as presented to us in MSS. of comparatively recent date, are far removed from the events which they record; yet it is very probable that they are transcripts of more ancient annals, or embody ancient tradition; and even tradition is not to be set aside, as the Bewcastle tradition, verified by the epitaph of King Alcfrid has shown; and, besides this, other remarkable verifications of ancient traditions have occurred, one or two of which it may suffice to mention.

When the celebrated gold corslet was found at Mold, in Flintshire, it was concluded, and it seems the only way of accounting for the fact, that the old woman who had seen an apparition of a warrior in gold armour vanishing in the cairn, twenty years before, had allowed her imagination to present to her one of whom she had heard in her youth, from the traditions of her fathers.

So, also, the silver armour of the warrior interred at Norrie's Law, in Fifeshire, is said to have been familiar to the traditions of the country.

Bishop Gibson, in his edition of the "Britannia" (1722), tells us that, not many years before, the Bishop of Derry happening to be at dinner at Ballyshannon, an old Irish harper came in and sang a song to his harp; which was explained to him, as he did not understand the Irish language, as containing a statement, that in a certain spot, which was clearly indicated, a man of gigantic stature lay buried, with plates of gold on his back and breast, and on his fingers rings of gold, so large that an ordinary man might creep through them. Here was exaggeration, as in the above cited story of Cuchullain, but still some truth; for the exact description of the place tempted two persons who were present, to go and dig for the treasures celebrated in the harper's song, and they actually found two circular plates of gold. This discovery encouraged them to go again in the morning, but whether others had been there on the same errand in the interval or not, they found nothing more. The exaggeration alluded to above was probably imputable to those who translated the song for the benefit of the Bishop, and who might have added the marvellous circumstances from their own traditional recollections, for it does not appear in what is believed to be the very song which the harper sang, and which is preserved in a MS. formerly in the possession of the late Mr. Crofton Croker, communicated by him to Mr. C. R. Smith's "Collectanea Antiqua:"—

"On the top of Slieve Monard
There is a hero's grave,
And two gold plates enclose the warrior's body,
And there are golden rings on his fingers."

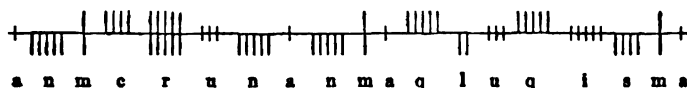
In the year 1813 a similar verification of an ancient bardic tradition occurred in Wales. An Anglesey farmer having occasion for stone, proceeded to demolish an ancient cairn on the banks of the river Alaw, and found within it a square cyst, containing an urn with burnt bones and ashes. The place was always known by the name of Ynis Bronwen; and two Welsh clergymen of the neighbourhood, as soon as the report of the discovery reached them, at once called to mind a verse of the "Mabinogion :"—

"A square grave was made for Bronwen, the daughter of Llyr,
On the banks of the Alaw, and there she was buried."

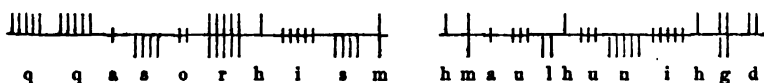
The urn, recognised as that of Bronwen, the daughter of Llyr, and aunt of Caractacus, is now in the British Museum. Where, then, we find ancient traditions thus remarkably verified, it is hard to discredit such stories as those we have quoted, speaking of Ogham monuments in Pagan times,

On the other hand, there is not a particle of evidence of the invention of Oghams at any period subsequent to the Advent of St. Patrick. For, minutely as the lives of the early Irish saints record their actions, no passage can be found in which the invention of such an alphabet as this is attributed to them. On the contrary, there is evidence that St. Patrick introduced the Roman alphabet into Ireland, and it is recorded, as a proof of his zeal, that he wrote 365 "abecedaria," as a means of making that alphabet familiar to the eyes of his disciples. These were probably on stone, as otherwise the writing of these alphabets would scarcely have been a work of sufficient importance to be recorded. Now in the churchyard of Kilmalchedor there is a stone, of which Dr. Petrie has given an engraving in his "Essay on the Round Towers," and which was undoubtedly a pillar; on which is carved a cross, the word "dñi," and a nearly complete alphabet (a portion of the stone, on which was the first and part of the second letter, having been broken off)—*b c d e f g h i k l m n o p q r s t u y y x*. This, if not one of St. Patrick's "abecedaria," is certainly of very early date, and may be presumed to be at least the work of one of his followers. It has evidently been cut after the word "dñi," and its having been written on a pillar-stone can only be referred to an age when the Roman alphabet was a novelty. Fortunately, amongst the early inscriptions which exist in Ireland, we have one of which the age is determined to be that of St. Patrick, and this is sufficient to show of what character were others of the same age which have disappeared. On Inch-a-guile ("Inis an Ghoill Craibhthigh," the isle of the devout stranger), in Lough Corrib, at Temple Patrick (which there is every reason to believe was one of the saint's foundations), there is a pillar-stone, on which is inscribed *LIE LUGNAEDON MACC*

And at Derreenderagh, within a circle of twelve stones, stood two, one of which is similarly inscribed :—



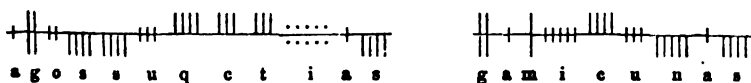
There appears to be no doubt that the perforated stones which are occasionally met with in these islands were connected with Pagan superstition. One of the columns of a stone circle at Tor-more, in the parish of Kilmore, Buteshire, is perforated; so, also, is a stone pillar which stands in the centre of a circle at Applecross, in Rosshire; and another formerly stood to the north-east of the circle at Stenniss, pierced with an oval hole large enough to admit of a child being passed through it. At Maddern, in Cornwall, is a remarkable group of three stones, the middle one of which is pierced with a hole 14 inches in diameter, close to the ground; and at Buryan is another, with a hole 6 inches in diameter, about 4 feet from the ground. The character of these stones, and the situations in which they occur, seem to vindicate for them the Pagan origin which tradition ascribes to them. Now, one of these which stands in the churchyard at Kilmalchedor, county of Kerry (where we have already noticed the alphabet stone), is inscribed on two of its angles:—



Other instances of the occurrence of these Ogham monuments are no less singular, for the Pagan character of the works in which they are found can scarcely be doubted.

At Bealahamire, county of Cork, a place thought to derive its name from Midhir, son of Daghdha, of the Tuatha de Danann race, is a large oblong enclosure, encompassed with a rampart of earth, and a fosse, and within this is a smaller space, also inclosed with a ruinous fence. This space contains several pillar-stones, and two of these are inscribed with Oghams. There are also several subterranean chambers, and a well, called Tobar Midhir, outside the fosse.

At Ounagoppul, county of Kerry, a square heaped enclosure, or leacht, has a pillar-stone at each corner, and two of these are inscribed :—



A tumulus at Ballinrannig, near Smerwick, county of Kerry, was crowned by a group of seven stones, each of which was inscribed.

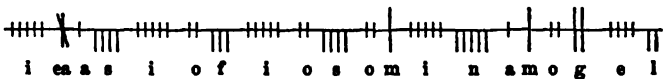
A square stone formerly stood in the entrance of a fort at Coolowen, county of Cork, on the upper surface of which, in connexion with its angles, was an inscription. The situation of this stone cannot fail to remind the reader of that at the entrance of the Dun Mhic Neachtaain in the mythological tale already referred to.

Aghadoe was certainly a sanctuary of the Druids. A stone was long preserved in the church there, with the inscription:—



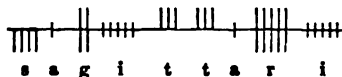
Many monuments of this kind are found in unconsecrated burial-places of suicides and unbaptized infants, called "kil."

The fact, however, that at a very early period the Ogham monuments had lost their original value, and were used as building materials, is a very decisive proof of their great antiquity. They have been found employed as the covering-stones of the subterranean chambers of raths, much of their inscriptions being concealed by their position, and even if the raths themselves are not Pagan structures, which doubtless they generally are, their antiquity is unquestionably very great. Thus, in the year 1838, a subterranean chamber was opened at Dunloe, county of Kerry, the sides of which were formed of uncemented stones inclining outwards, and the roof, of long transversed stones, six of which were inscribed, and of these three were so placed that their inscriptions could not be read. In the centre of the chamber was an upright stone, supporting a broken roof-stone, each inscribed; the inscription on the front lintel is as follows:—



Here there were seven of these monuments collected together as the building materials of a sepulchral chamber of very remote, if not of Pagan, antiquity.

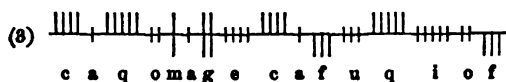
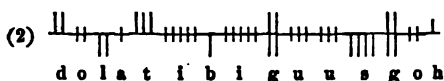
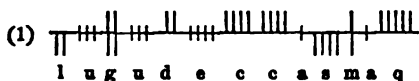
Another stone in a rath at Burnfort, county of Cork, is inscribed:—



Another at Emlagh, in the county of Kerry, reads:—

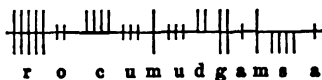
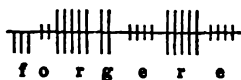


But the most remarkable instance of the use of those monuments in the construction of buildings of a later time occurs at Ardmore, county of Waterford. There, one of those early stone-roofed oratories, of which so many exist in Ireland, remains, and it is universally regarded as having been built during the lifetime of St. Declan, a contemporary of St. Patrick, for his oratory, and as having afterwards become his tomb. In the eastern wall of this oratory there was a pillar-stone inserted in the masonry, with inscriptions on three of its angles:—



The use of this stone in the construction of a building of so early a period shows that even then it had ceased to be of monumental value.

Another, nearly square, stone built into the wall of a very ancient church at Kilrush, county of Waterford, has two lines of an inscription engraved on its face:—




The inscribed pillar-stones which remain in this island, in Devonshire, Dorsetshire, Cornwall, and Wales, present some points of resemblance to, but at the same time others of difference from, the Irish monuments. Their inscriptions are almost invariably in the Latin language, and written in the opposite direction to that in which the Ogham inscriptions are written; and the forms of the letter appear for the most part to belong to the period of the Roman occupation of Britain.

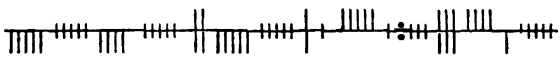
A pillar-stone, near Padstow, in Cornwall, is inscribed in well-formed Roman letters, *VL CAGNI FIL'* on one side, and *SEVER-* on the

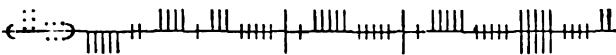
other; one at St. Clement's, Truro, has *IGNIOC VITAL FIL' TORRICI*; one, four miles from E. Michel, *RVANI HIC IACET*. With regard to the last it must be remarked, that the parish of Ruan Lanihorne, in the immediate neighbourhood, and those of Ruan Major and Minor, about twenty miles to the south-west, still bear the name of the person to commemorate whom it was erected. One at Barlowena, between Gulval and Maddern, has *QVENATAY-ICDINVIFILIUS*; one at Mawgan, in Meneage, *CNEGVMI FIL ENANS*; one at St. Columb Minor, *NONE MIMOR-TRIBVN*; one near Lanyen, in the parish of Maddern, *IALOBRAN-CVNOVALL-II-*. These are in Cornwall. In Devonshire, we have one at Tavistock, inscribed, *NEPRANI FILI CONDEVI*; and one at Buckland Monachorum, *SARIN-FIL-MACCO DECHET-*. In Wales, we have at Langian, near Caernarvon, the inscription, *MELI MEDICI FILI MARTINI IACIT*; and in a field, called "Doltrebeddw," on the Holyhead road, between Lima and Cernioge, *BROHCMAGLI IAM IC IACIT ET VXOR EIVS CAVNE*.

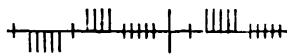
Sometimes the inscriptions on these stones are written correctly: as, for instance, *CIRVSIVS HIC IACET CVNOWORI FILIVS*, in which the name appears with a Latin termination; but in such inscriptions as *RVANI HIC IACIT*, *BROHCMAGLI IC IACIT*, the Latin termination is wanting, and these would seem to indicate some peculiarity of Celtic orthography. These names, and several others which might be cited, cannot be in the genitive case, as they come before the verb; and so we have no right to conclude that *VLGAGNI*, *CNEGVMI*, and *NEPRANI*, are in the genitive case, with "lapis" understood; they may be in the nominative as well as the rest. One of these names, *TRILVNI*, seems to have remained to this day almost unaltered, "Trelawney."

It is important to remark this fact, that some of these names, ending in *i*, occur on the Cornish and Welsh pillar-stones in situations in which they cannot be in the genitive case, because the occurrence of very similar names in the Irish inscriptions, such as—

 at Emlagh;
t a l a g n i m c

 at Kilgravane;
n i s i g n i m a q i n g c b i

 at Whitefield;
(d) n o c a t i m a q i m a q i r e d

 at Ardmore;
a n a c i m a q i

has been made the ground of an argument that the writers of these inscriptions were acquainted with the Latin languages. Names ending in *i* are, however, by no means uncommon in early Irish history. No one would venture to say, that Bruidi, Buiti, Mochaoi, Molaissi, Nissi, &c., are Latinized genitives; neither does there appear any reason to say it of the names in these inscriptions.

To what age do these Devonian, Cornish, and Welsh monuments belong? Mr. Westwood pronounces of several of their inscriptions, that they are not later than the fifth century, and there is nothing in the form of the letters to forbid our assigning them to a much earlier period. The interesting inscription at Dolmellynlyn, *PORIVS HIC IN TVMVLO IACIT HOMO XPIANVS FVIT*, must certainly belong to an age antecedent to the establishment of Christianity: else, why should the fact of his having been a Christian be recorded? And if others be Christian, as those of *IGNIOC* and *CIRVSIVS* probably are,—for we have no right to say it of them all,—we must remember that Christianity was early preached in this island, if not from the days of the Apostles, at any rate from those of King Lucius, A. D. 167, nearly three centuries before St. Patrick's labours in Ireland. These monuments, then (on which the inscriptions are in well-formed Roman characters), are not later than the age of St. Patrick, and may be much earlier. On two of them we have inscriptions in Ogham characters, besides those in Roman letters, and I believe it will be found that the former express the same names as the latter, and that the only differences will be those of the languages in which they are respectively written. The monument at Crickhowel is inscribed *TVRPILLI IC IACIT PVVERI TRILVNI DVNOCATI*; that at Kenfegge, *PVNPEIVS CARAN TORIVS*. On the former we have a name closely resembling, if not identical with, that in the Whitefield Ogham inscription.

In Scotland four monuments have been found bearing Ogham inscriptions, and these are very interesting, for they seem to range over a period from Paganism until long after the establishment of Christianity, and fully to establish the theory that the Ogham writing had its origin in the days of Pagan antiquity, although it might be occasionally used in Christian times.

The first to be noticed is a stone pillar at Newton, in the Garioch. On this is an inscription in two lines which appears to present some differences from those in Ireland. One line is on the angle, the other on the face of the stone, and the comparative length of the latter shows that they must both be read upwards. A second inscription on this monument is written in six lines, in characters which have baffled all Scotch antiquaries, but which the late Dr. Lee (no mean authority in questions of Oriental literature), thought might be Phœnician. They certainly bear a great resemblance to

those inscriptions which have been found in Africa. It is evident, however, that they are to be read from left to right.

The next two belong to a class of monuments which is peculiar to the north-east of Scotland. They are marked with a variety of symbols, a walrus (as the most perfect representations of it seem to warrant us in regarding it), a fish, a dog's head, a crescent, a zigzag, a double circle, &c., and these are admitted to be Pagan. Others have, besides these, crosses and interlaced work, and these are certainly Christian, probably of the sixth century. Now, of the former or Pagan class is the rude stone pillar at Logie in the Garioch, marked with the double circle, zigzag, and crescent; and above these is an Ogham inscription, of a scale different from the Irish written on a circle. No example of this kind occurs in Ireland, though it seems to be illustrated by that mentioned in connexion with Cuchullain in the *Tain Bo Cuailgne*. Of the second, or Christian class, is one at Golspie, in Sutherland. One side is occupied by a large cross, filled with, and inclosed in, interlacing and fretwork. The other has the walrus, fish, dog's head, crescent, double circle, two serpents interlacing, and a man combating a wolf; and on the right hand, written upon the angle of the stone, and bounded by a line which two scores cross, is an Ogham inscription, which again appears to differ from the Irish scale.

Lastly, we have a monument in the Isle of Bressay, undoubtedly Christian, and probably of the ninth century. On one side is a cross formed by interlaced ribbons; beneath this, two dogs; and beneath these, two bishops with pastoral staves. The other side has a different cross, and two figures again with pastoral staves; between them is a man on horseback, beneath them a lion, and lower still a pig. On the edges are Ogham inscriptions.—See Plate, Fig. 7.

These, as interpreted by Dr. Graves, are said to mean:—

1. The cross of Natdodd's daughter here.
2. Benres, of the sons of the Druid, here.

Natdodd appears to have been a famous sea-king who resided in the Faroe Islands, and accidentally discovered Iceland in the year 861. He had a grandson called Benir, who seems to be mentioned in the second inscription, and this Benir had a daughter, Hildigunna, to whose character, as a witch, allusions occur in a story preserved in the *Land-namabok*—a fact which illustrates her father's patronymic, Meccu-droi. This patronymic occurs in *Adamnan's Life of St. Columba*, as borne by a robber who lived in Colonsay, Erc Moccydruidis.

It is not a little remarkable that this, the latest Ogham monument that is known, should present in its inscriptions a confirmation of what we learn from other sources was the origin of this mode

of writing, bearing witness, as it does, that the descendants of the Druids, driven from Ireland by St. Patrick and his disciples, and from Hii by St. Columba, retreating still before the Cross, preserved even to the tenth century, in the remote northern isles, the traditions of their race, and used the old Druidic writing.

These inscriptions present some peculiarities:—1. The occurrence of the character which represents the diphthong, *oi*, which is found in the Ogham scale, but has not appeared in any Irish inscription as yet. 2. The ornamental forms given to certain characters are indicative of its late date. 3. The frequent duplication of the consonants. The occurrence of the Scandinavian word *datr* need excite no surprise. Doubtless many Scandinavian words were admitted into the vocabulary of the Celtic population of these islands.

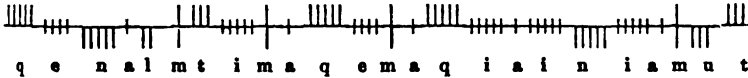
In the foregoing pages we have observed that the tree-like character of this writing, the tree names of the letters, and their classes, suggest a Druidic origin; that the list of these names, comprehending nearly all the indigenous trees of Ireland, points to a primitive antiquity, and marks the invention of this alphabet as the work of a conquering race, such as the Tuatha de Danaan were; and that the grammatical distinction of the letters was evidently derived from the East: that all this is perfectly consistent with the traditions not only of Ireland, but of Gaul also, relative to Ogham, with the concurrent voice of all Irish histories telling of the use of this writing in Pagan times, and with the fact of its occurrence on many monuments undoubtedly Pagan; and that, on the other hand, the writing which St. Patrick introduced and zealously propagated, was not this, but the Roman abecedarium. All evidence, then, internal, as well as external, proves the primitive antiquity and Pagan origin of the Ogham. On the other side not a particle of evidence can be adduced; and the arguments that have been urged for its Christian origin are, as might be expected, when the weight of testimony is so decidedly in our favour, utterly destitute of force. These, however, must be examined in detail.

It is said, then, that these Ogham monuments are marked with crosses, many of them of very antique form, and to all appearance as ancient as the inscriptions themselves. In reply to this, it may be observed, that it must be a very difficult matter to determine whether the crosses incised upon these stones are, or are not, of equal antiquity with the inscriptions near them (for in no instance has a cross been found in decided connexion with an Ogham inscription); and then, that what we know of the proceedings of the first missionaries in Ireland makes it far from improbable that they carved the cross on the pillar-stones which they found, as a means of placing that sacred symbol constantly before the eyes of the nation, and weaning them from the superstitious reverence with which

they regarded these monuments. We read, for instance, in the *Life of St. Patrick*, that he cut the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin names of our Lord,—IESVS, SOTER, SALVATOR, respectively, on three pillar-stones which had been raised by the Pagans at Magh Selga; near Elphin, and there can be no doubt, as Dr. Petrie suggests, that he would also mark them with the cross. We have already had occasion to notice the singular monument at Kilmelchedor, originally, no doubt, a Pagan pillar-stone, on which a disciple of St. Patrick, if not the saint himself, has carved a cross, the word “*dñi*,” and an abecedarium, the symbols at once of the new religion, and of the new learning which accompanied it. At Riesk, near Dingle, there is a pillar-stone, on each side of which a cross is incised, with letters which certainly do not belong to any Christian alphabet, $\text{H}\Pi\Theta$ on one side, and JHP on the other. In an inscription found near Carthage, the letters $\text{H}\Pi\Theta$ occur in the same order, and these are the same as those of one of these inscriptions, H and H being in the Oscan and early Greek alphabets different forms of the same letter, the former of which is used in the Phœnician and Samaritan alphabets, the latter in the Roman. So, on the other side of this stone the last letter is the Samaritan, early Hebrew, and Phœnician Koph, (the Oscan equivalent of which has not yet been found), and the other two are Oscan letters. To this alphabet, indeed, all these characters appear to belong, but when the affinity between this and the Phœnician, early Greek, and other alphabets, is considered, in connexion with the resemblance which these characters bear to those of the inscriptions found near Carthage, the probability must be admitted that we have here an inscription which must be attributed either to the Phœnicians, or to those African pirates who figure so conspicuously in the Irish annals. It is certainly not Christian, and yet, on the same stone, on each side, a cross is engraved, of so simple a form that no one probably who did not know the nature of the letters would dare to pronounce an opinion which were the more ancient, the crosses or the inscriptions.

It is certain that Christian missionaries did consecrate the monuments of Paganism, not only in Ireland, but in other countries as well, by placing upon them the symbols of their faith. In Bretagne we find the cross inserted on the summit of the tall *Maenhir*; in Auvergne the rocking-stone surmounted by the cross. The occurrence, therefore, of crosses on a few of the Ogham stones is no ground for concluding that they are Christian monuments: on the contrary, the probability is far greater that they were originally Pagan, consecrated to Christianity in times much later than those in which they were set up. Again, it is alleged, that some of those stones bear the names of early saints, though it is admitted that those names are not found in the inscriptions. Thus a pillar-stone

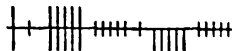
at Teampul Geal, three miles from Dingle, is said to bear the name of St. Monachan. It stands near to his oratory, has a plain cross deeply cut on one of its faces, and on the angle the inscription :—



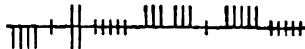
in which, of course, there is no trace of his name. If it were ever called after him, which is not now the case, it is, at least, quite as likely that it was called so because St. Monachan lived here, and carved upon the monument of some Pagan the emblem of his own faith. At Kilfountain, near Dingle, is another of these stones, on which is written the name FINTEN, the saint from whom the place derives its appellation, and a cross to which is attached the letter π thrice repeated. On the side are the Ogham equivalents of ns, which obviously have no connexion with the name on the front. What has been said of the stone of St. Monachan must be applied to this and to all others which are traditionally connected with the memory of saints. The fact of this being associated with their memory cannot be considered as any proof that they were erected by the saints whose names they bear. Further, it is said that many stand in Christian cemeteries, and others in the neighbourhood of cells and oratories. This is true, as it is also that they are sometimes found built into the walls of these oratories, as having been at the time of their erection of no value beyond that of building materials, (just as at Hexham, in Northumberland, a Roman inscription has been found on one of the covering-stones of a passage of St. Wilfrid's crypt); and that, with far greater frequency, they occur in places remote from Christian remains, and under circumstances which can scarcely admit of a doubt of their Pagan origin. That Pagan monuments should be found in Christian cemeteries is not to be wondered at, for it is well known that the early missionaries of Christianity did take possession of the sanctuaries of Paganism, and convert them into places of Christian worship. Thus Dr. Wilson, in his "Prehistoric Annals of Scotland," remarks that no reason can be assigned for St. Columba's choice of Hii, than that it had been a sanctuary of Druidism, as the name by which it is still known to the Highlanders, "Inis na'n Druidheanach," proves. So also it is related of St. Mocteus, that at the time of his coming to Louth, he found it in the hands of the Druids, that they fled before him in dismay, and that he founded his monastery there. Other instances of the same kind might be adduced, but these will suffice. The missionaries of the Gospel knew well that it was in vain for them to try to wean the people from their old superstitions so long as these places remained undisturbed; that they would still resort

to them as they had been wont to do; and so it was their policy to establish themselves in such places that they might have better opportunities of instructing them in the mysteries of the Christian faith. This was the case in England as well as in Ireland. St. Gregory prescribed that the temples of Paganism should be purified and used as churches; and in a charter of Oeric, king of the Hwiccas (Worcestershire), A. D. 676, he states that he had established monasteries in all the sanctuaries of Paganism, "*ut ubi truculentus et nefandus prius draco errorum deceptionibus inserviebat, nunc versa vice ecclesiasticus ordo in clero conversantium, Domino patrocinate, gaudens tripudiet.*"

With this fact before us, the occurrence of Ogham monuments in Christian cemeteries, so far from being a proof of their Christian origin, makes it more probable that they mark the site of Pagan sanctuaries, where Christian missionaries fixed their abode, and built their oratories. This is known to have been the case at Aghadoc and elsewhere. In England we have a remarkable instance of a monument, undoubtedly Pagan, standing in a churchyard, at Rudstone near Bridlington, in Yorkshire; a gigantic pillar-stone, resembling the so-called Devil's Arrows at Boroughbridge; yet no one has ever made the fact of its standing in a Christian cemetery an argument for its Christian origin. On the contrary, the name of the place, which is evidently derived from this "red stone," shows that the stone itself was in existence before the church and village, just as in the instance above cited the Clogh-or existed previous to, and gave its name to, the Christian city of Clogher. Again, it is said, that some of the inscriptions prove that they were written by persons acquainted with the Latin language. Out of the whole number, however, two only have been adduced which with any degree of probability can be asserted to be in Latin. These are the Kinnaird—



and Burnfort—



The former is read "Mariani;" but the five strokes which are supposed to stand for *i* may also stand for *uo*, and thus the inscription would read "Ma Ruani," "the field of Ruan," and the curious device which has been compared to the ground-plan of a building might also represent enclosures and divisions of land. This reading acquires greater probability from the fact that, in very early times a person of this name was a proprietor of land, in the very barony in which this stone is situate, and gave his name to an ex-

tensive townland in the parish of Ferriter, called Tir Ruan ; and this is an exact parallel to the monument of Ruani in Cornwall, in the neighbourhood of parishes which still bear his name. In the Isle of Man, too, there is a parish called Marown, after the name of Rooney, an Irish ecclesiastic.

The Burnfort inscription reads "Sagittari," and in this, also, able scholars have discovered two Celtic words.

Granting, however, which we can well afford to do, that the Kinnaird inscription is "Mariani," the equivalent of "Maolmuire," and that the Burnfort inscription contains a Latin word, what does this prove ? No more than what we have admitted from the first, that after the missionaries of Christianity had introduced the Roman alphabet, the older writing still continued to be occasionally used, just as Runes were in this country. The instance which has been quoted by Mr. Westwood, of the scribe of the Duke of Buckingham's Irish Latin Gospel of St. John, in the seventh century, writing his name in Ogham, is exactly paralleled by one which Mr. Kemble has adduced, of "CÉdillfæd descriptit," written in Runes at the end of an Anglo-Saxon MS. These instances are, however, very few, compared with the great number that have been brought to light by the persevering industry of Mr. Windele and others ; and doubtless the antiquated and obsolete forms of the language in which these are written have proved the greatest obstacle to their being satisfactorily interpreted. Of one word of constant occurrence in these inscriptions the meaning can scarcely be doubted, *magi*, or *macqi* ; and a comparison of this form with *macc* on a tombstone of an age immediately following St. Patrick's, seems sufficient to show that this is more ancient, and that the inscriptions are of an earlier time.

The name *Brusccos*, on the Trabeg monument, has been supposed to be that of a contemporary of St. Patrick, and *Moinuna* on the Ballinisteenig stone, that of a disciple of St. Brendan ; but, even supposing that a probability of the identity of these persons could be demonstrated, it would but follow that these characters were in use in St. Patrick's days, and, therefore, that their origin must be referred to an earlier period, since what we know of his zeal in introducing the Roman alphabet forbids us attributing their invention to him.

Supposing that a religious motive dictated the occasional grouping of seven stones together, nothing could be deduced from this in favour of their Christian origin, for seven was a sacred number with many Pagan nations. It is only in four instances, however, out of more than two hundred, that groups of seven have been found ; in others we have two, three, four, five, &c., so that the occurrence of these numbers is probably merely fortuitous.

A resemblance has been imagined between the characters repre-

sending respectively *a* and *o* in the Ogham scale, and the Norse Runic alphabet, and hence it has been concluded that the former has been borrowed from the latter. This resemblance, however, does not in reality exist. The scribe of Ballymote has indeed given at the beginning of his tables two scales of Oghams, the second of which is that in which all the Irish inscriptions hitherto discovered are written, and the first (which is concluded to be the earlier) differs from it only in having the characters written vertically, as they ought to be, but separated, instead of being on a continuous stem-line. These two scales are in fact identical, for the second, if written as the inscriptions are, should also be vertical, beginning from the bottom; and this shows what the scribe of Ballymote had in view when he gave the same scale in two different ways. The fancied resemblance then disappears at once, for herein is the great characteristic difference between the Ogham and Runic systems. Oghams are always written vertically from bottom to top, Runes horizontally, almost always from left to right, sometimes standing on, or depending from a stem-line; and if occasionally we meet with a vertical line with the distinctive marks of the characters branching from it, this can be attributed to nothing but the caprice which dictated the formation of some early monograms. It is the very rare exception, by no means the rule, as in the Ogham writing, and never are more than half a dozen characters consecutively found united in this way.

The assertion, that the Anglo-Saxon Runic alphabet was invented by persons acquainted with the Roman letters, ought not to have been made without some examination of the evidence of its antiquity. The number of its letters, and their order, claim for it a primitive and distinct origin, and their names show that this origin must be sought in the ages of Pagan antiquity. Three only of the Runic letters, *B*, *R*, and *I*, resemble their Latin equivalents; and the *s* is of a form which sometimes occurs in the older Oscan and in very ancient Greek; but all the rest are wholly unlike the characters of any of the ancient alphabets.

The compilers of the Books of Ballymote and Leacan were acquainted with Runic alphabets, but merely as literary curiosities. Centuries of Scandinavian rule in Ireland must have in some degree made the natives familiar with the Norse system of writing, and Runic inscriptions may yet be discovered in Ireland, though they have not hitherto. We have a remarkable proof that the Irish in the seventh century in England were familiar with the forms of the Anglo-Saxon Runes, but were ignorant of their value, in the Gospels of St. Ceadda, one of the earliest MSS. we possess of the Irish school of Lindisfarne. The writer of this MS., in the capital letters of the first page of the Gospel of St. Mark, has used the Runes *ᚷ* (Stan), and *ᚢ* (Dæg), for *P*; and in those of the first

page of St. Luke's Gospel, the same characters for M. Perhaps he took the Rune \mathfrak{M} for \mathfrak{M} (Man), and \mathfrak{M} for \mathfrak{M} (Peord); but it shows clearly how confused was his knowledge of their value, that he has used both, in one instance for M, and in the other for P; yet Runic writing was not an antiquarian curiosity, but a living system in Northumbria, when these Gospels were written, for inscriptions of the time are still in existence.

Dr. Graves has given a curious alphabet, unfortunately deficient in the first five characters, discovered by Mr. Curry in a fragment of an ancient MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, purporting to be an Ogham, carved by the King of Lochlin on his sword-sheath, and brought by him across the sea. It is arranged in the order of the Irish Beithluisnion, but from what has been already advanced, we must conclude that this order is derived from a source very different from that which Dr. Graves supposes. All that can be allowed is, that these characters brought from some foreign land, were arranged according to the Beithluisnion by a native of Ireland. A comparison of these characters with the Scandinavian and German Runes is sufficient to prove that they came neither from Scandinavia nor Germany, as Dr. Graves supposes they might have come, for eight out of the twenty are found in neither alphabet; but there is another Teutonic race to whom possibly they may be ascribed—the Franks. Their original alphabet is lost, but there can be no doubt that, like other Teutonic races, they had one of their own before they came in contact with Roman civilization. The alphabet, as given in the MS. above mentioned, appears in the Plate, Fig. 6. Seven of these characters, *t, m, r, a, o, e, i*, correspond with those of the Scandinavian alphabet: five others, *h, d, c, ia, æ*, have the forms, but not the values, of the Scandinavian Runes. It is, however, by no means improbable that, whilst a correct alphabet may have been brought to Ireland, the values may have been assigned to them erroneously, and that we have here an alphabet containing twelve characters which do, and eight which do not, belong to the Scandinavian alphabet. Now these characters appear on a tombstone which was found some years ago at Saverne in France. Along with it were two others, on which were more Roman letters, and near it some Roman remains—circumstances which render it probable that those monuments belong to the period when the Franks succeeded the Romans in the occupation of Gaul.¹ Of the twelve characters upon this stone (see Plates, Figs. 4 and 5), seven are identical with characters in the above alphabet; one is of the same value as, though more Roman in form than, another; and one evidently represents one of

¹ This probability is confirmed by the resemblance of these monuments to two Anglo-

Saxon tombstones, bearing Runic inscriptions, found near Canterbury.

THE LOCAL COINAGE OF YOUGHAL.

BY THE REV. SAMUEL HAYMAN, B.A.

No. I.—MONEY OF NECESSITY.

THE Tokens which will come into my first division are popularly called Siege Pieces. They have been so designated, as belonging to a type of money hastily made in a beleaguered town, for the purpose of supplying the place of the regular coinage. In their outward presentment these pieces display the exigency of the occasion that produced them. They are for the most part rudely executed, sometimes barbarously so. They are of various metals: silver, copper, brass, lead, or pewter (seemingly as these severally could be found and be made available); and of divers shapes: circular, octangular, square, lozenged, or triangular. They are found sometimes without inscription, and sometimes are stamped on but one side; but for the most part they have an obverse and reverse, and bear, either fully or in some abridged form, the name of the place in which they were struck, the armorial bearings of the town or of its governor, and the year in which they were thrown off to meet the existing pressure.

The Obsidional Money of England has received well-deserved attention. Much of it was put forth, in the troublous times of Charles I., between the years 1643 and 1648, by royalist commanders of towns when besieged by the Parliamentary forces. The chief places of issue were Newark, Carlisle, Pontefract, and Scarborough; and among the pieces struck in these towns occur all varieties of shape which I have before alluded to.

It is not generally known that about the same time a similar coinage was struck in Ireland, and was put into circulation in a few southern towns, which, in the midst of general defection, continued faithful to the English Crown. The purpose of the present paper is to describe, with a few suitable illustrations, the Money of Necessity issued in Youghal. I am not aware that the subject, *as such*, has been brought before general readers in a distinct form; and I would fain that it had been taken up (if only his leisure had permitted) by the gifted friend, whose drawings grace this and the subsequent article, Dr. Aquilla Smith.

The towns in Ireland that adopted this issue of money were the four chief places of Munster: Cork, Youghal, Bandon, and Kinsale. These were the only towns in the province which, at the period referred to, were safe from the Irish party, as Sir William St. Leger, the Lord President, testified in his printed letter to the Lord Lieutenant (London, 1642).

Sir William Penn, the famous Sea-General of the Commonwealth, writing at the same time, gives us a similar account of these places; as likewise does Sir John Temple, in his "History of the Civil War of 1641." And Sir Richard Cox, in his "History of Ireland" (vol. ii., page 190), shows that, even a few years later, these were the only places in Munster held by the English:—"The Parliament hath [i. e. in 1646] Cork, Kinsale, Youghal, and Bandon."

Our distinguished fellow-countryman, the late Thomas Crofton Croker, whose quick eye suffered nothing to pass unobserved that related to the ancient history of Ireland, attributed the coinage of Money of Necessity in Ireland to Lord Broghill. Writing to me, September 12, 1853, Mr. Croker said:—

"Pray look after any old tobacco pipes turned up in or about Youghal—I have my reasons for making this suggestion; also any pewter bits or square copper bits of this size and character." [He here gave a graphic pen-and-ink sketch of a triangular and a circular piece, labelling them "pewter or lead," and of a square token, bearing on the obverse "Y T," and on the reverse a ship, over which he wrote "copper"]. "I call this the Broghill Coinage—a new fact for numismatists, but one I think I can establish, as well as the date [to be] 1646, from specimens found at Cork, Youghal, Bandon, and Kinsale. More on this subject."

Again, in a letter of Nov. 28, the same year, he observed:—

"I have very little to add to Broghill's Coinage of 1646 (Youghal, Cork, Kinsale, and Bandon being then under Lord Broghill's command or influence) beyond what you already know. My industrious sister picked up for me, to complete the series of these square bits of brass, a B.B. or Bandonbridge token. This piece was found since Lindsay's work was published, and [was] therefore not known to him. . . . I shall, with pleasure, send you careful drawings of all, when my eyes get a little better, and the fogs clear off."

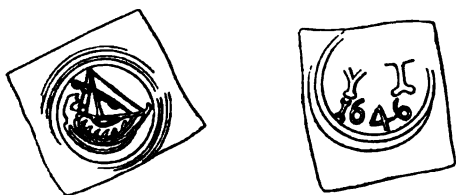
Mr. Croker's failing health induced him to defer a fulfilling of these kind intentions; and his decease, which followed in the course of the next year, put a stop for ever to their accomplishment. We have, however, here his views concerning the Irish Money of Necessity; and when I mention that he was at this time engaged in preparing a Life of Lord Broghill, for which he had made extensive preparation, and that his store of original papers belonging to the Boyle Family was perhaps unrivalled, we may accept without hesitation his decision concerning the authorship of these pieces.

Let us now proceed to describe the Youghal pieces:—

The rudest specimens were dug up near the town walls in the year 1816, along with a little copper coin called "a Patrick." They were, four pewter bits, two circular, and two triangular in shape. The circular pieces were the size of a half-crown and of

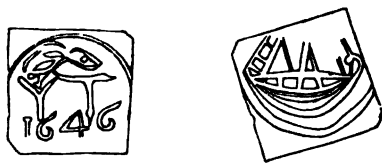
a shilling, respectively, and the triangular ones seemed as if they had been once the two quarters of a circular piece. They were all without legend or intelligible device, bearing only on both sides marks of having been squeezed in some instrument like a vice. By Mr. Lindsay, who has engraved them ("Supplement," Plate v. Nos. 10, 11, 12, and 13), they were denominated "Uncertain Pewter Coins;" but Mr. Crofton Croker, into whose possession they passed soon after their discovery, regarded them as of the "Brog-hill Coinage," and alluded to them as such in his letter, dated September 12, 1853, which I have already quoted.

If there be some difficulty in deciding about the pewter pieces, there can be none in regard to the six interesting specimens of the Money of Necessity, which I shall now describe. The first I shall take is the heaviest, weighing 55 grains. It bears on the obverse



"YT" (i. e. Youghal Town), and beneath these letters, "1646." On the reverse is an ancient galley, being the arms of the borough. We may remark, that the obverse is partially defaced, and, as the kindred specimens which follow, have each some device over the initial letters of the town, such may have existed likewise in this piece. Specimens are in the British Museum (having been purchased after Mr. Croker's sale), and in the cabinets of Mr. Lindsay and of Dr. Aquilla Smith.

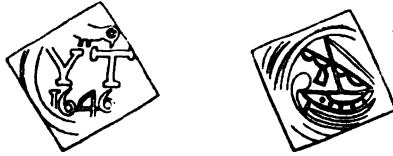
The second Youghal piece weighs 22 grains, and its obverse



and reverse resemble the preceding one. Here, however, over the "YT" we have a rude representation of a bird(?). The engraving is made from a specimen in Dr. Aquilla Smith's collection.

No. 3 of the Youghal pieces is of a like pattern with No. 1. The bird in chief on the obverse is here clearly developed. Perhaps it was intended for an heraldic martlet. This mark of cadency denotes a younger son, and may thus fitly designate the person who

issued the piece,—Lord Broghill, who was one of the younger sons of Richard, first Earl of Cork. This coin weighs 15 grains, and is in Dr. Aquilla Smith's cabinet.

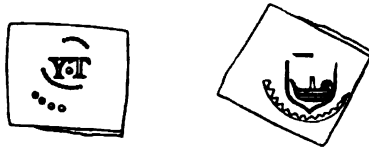


No. 4 presents us with the bird on the obverse, in a perfect



shape, so that its resemblance to the martlet may be more plainly seen. The obverse and reverse are like Nos. 1, 2, and 3. The piece weighs 14 grains, and is in Mr. Sainthill's collection.

No. 5 exhibits a different type from the rest. The specimen



from which the engraving has been made was turned up on the 6th of July, 1853, in the course of some excavations made near St. Mary's Church, Youghal, and is believed to be unique. Its weight is 20 grains. It is the property of Dr. Aquilla Smith.

The sixth and last specimen of the Youghal Money of Neces-



sary differs from all the rest. The obverse still bears the "Y T" for Youghal Town, but the reverse has a fish, in allusion, doubtless, to the maritime position of the town. This piece weighs only 9 grains, and is in Mr. Sainthill's collection.

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

GENERAL MEETING, held in the Assembly Rooms, Kilkenny, on
Wednesday, November 3rd, 1858,

THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF OSSORY, President of the Society,
in the Chair.

The following new Members were elected:—

The Right Hon. and Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Down and Connor, and Dromore; and Lady Anna Maria Loftus, 63, Eaton-place, London: proposed by the Rev. G. H. Reade.

John M'Clintock, Esq., M. P., Drumcar, Dunleer: proposed by the Rev. J. H. Stubbs.

The Right Rev. William Delany, D.D., Roman Catholic Bishop of Cork; the Very Rev. Canon Keleher, P.P., V. F. Kinsale; Joseph Henry Corbett, Esq., M. D., Professor of Anatomy, Queen's University, 13, Patrick's-hill, Cork; William O'Keeffe, Esq., Solicitor, Rose Lodge, Blackrock, Cork; William Delany, Esq., Blackrock, Cork; Nathaniel J. Hobart, Esq., M. D., South Mall, Cork; Thomas Power, Esq., M. D., Resident Physician, District Asylum, Cork; James Patten, Esq., Innoshannon, county of Cork; Henry Hassett, Esq., J. P., Clancoole Brewery, Bandon; William Shaw, Esq., J. P., Woodlands, Bandon, county of Cork; Maurice Fitzgerald, Esq., Distillery, Bandon; Hezekiah O'Callaghan, Esq., Bandon; Michael Joseph Barry, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, 8, Lower Pembroke-street, Dublin; James Mahony, Esq., Consul for Monte Video, Honduras, and Uruguay, 8, Nelson-street, Dublin; Charles D. Astley, Esq., Architect, Board of Public Works, Custom House, Dublin; and John Fennessy, Esq., High-street, Kilkenny: proposed by Barry Delany, Esq., M. D., Resident Physician, District Asylum, Kilkenny.

Arthur Kavanagh, Esq., J. P., Borris House, Borris, county of Carlow: proposed by William Graves, Esq., J. P.

James Shearman Loughnan, Esq., Patrick-street, Kilkenny: proposed by Rev. J. Graves.

The Rev. John Kingston, Bantry; Richard Nicholson, Esq., Bantry; John L. Nicholson, Esq., Castletown, Berehaven; John Warburton Jermyn, Esq., Castlecove House, Kenmare, and Thomas Maybery Jermyn, Esq., Liss Cottage, West Cove, Kenmare: proposed by the Rev. Stephen O'Halloran.

William L. Cole, Esq., Editor of the "Irish American," New York, United States: proposed by Edward Fitzgerald, Esq., Youghal.

William Blain, Esq., Eldon-terrace, Waterford: proposed by J. Elliot, Esq., M. D.

The Hon. Secretary said that the Society was much indebted to Dr. Delany for his zeal in bringing in the names of so many new Members, an observation which was heartily responded to by the Members present.

The following presentations were received, and thanks voted to the donors:—

By the Society of Antiquaries of London: "Archæologia," Vol. XXXVII., part 2; their "Proceedings," Vol. IV., No. 47; and "List" of Members, 1858.

By M. Boucher de Perthes, Président de la Société Impériale d'Emulation d'Abbeville: "Mémoires, de la Societe Impériale d'Emulation d'Abbeville," 1852-57.

By the Author: "Antiquités Celtiques et Antediluviennes," tome deuxième, by M. Boucher de Perthes, Président de la Société Impériale d'Emulation d'Abbeville.

By the Royal Dublin Society: their "Journal," Vol. I., 1856-57.

By the Publisher: "The Gentleman's Magazine," for September, October, and November, 1858.

By the Suffolk Institute of Archæology, Statistics, and Natural History: their "Proceedings," Vol. II., No. 7; and "East Anglian Notes and Queries," No. 1.

By Robert Mac Adam, Esq.: "The Ulster Journal of Archæology," No. 23.

By the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland: their "Journal," No. 58.

By the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland: their "Proceedings," Vol. II., part 2.

By the Cambridge Antiquarian Society: "Report and Communications," No. 8.

By the Geological Society of Dublin: their "Journal," Vol. VIII., part 1.

By the Author: "An Address to the Royal Irish Academy,

on the Delivery of the Cunningham Medals, 1858," by James Henthorn Todd, D. D., F. S. A., &c.

By the Publisher: "The Builder," Nos. 809-21 inclusive.

By Mr. George Stephenson: a gutta percha cast of the seal of Dillon's regiment of the Irish Brigade in the service of France, which had been attached to a deed bearing date between A. D. 1750 and 1760. The device was a shield azure, charged with three fleur-de-lis, surmounted by an imperial crown, and supported by six regimental colours. The legend was REG^t D'INF^{rie} IRLANDOISE DE DILLON.

The Rev. J. Graves said that they were much indebted to Mr. Stephenson of Grimsby, England, a gentleman who had formed a very large collection of similar objects, for this rare seal; he had mentioned the existence of this seal to Mr. O'Callaghan, the historian of the Irish Brigade, and was informed by that gentleman that he considered it to be a great rarity, if not unique.

By the Rev. Dr. Spratt: a leaden "bulla" of Pope Gregory IX., in fine preservation. The donor accompanied his presentation by the following communication to the Hon. Secretary:—

"Will you be good enough to present to the 'Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society' the enclosed leaden bulla, which was found by a labouring man whilst opening a sewer within the ancient precincts of the Cathedral Church of the Blessed Trinity, Dublin? It is, as you will have perceived, in a most perfect state of preservation. This bulla was appended to an edict or brief which had probably been transmitted to that church between the years 1227 and 1238. It is impressed on one side with the venerable bearded heads of SS. Peter and Paul, and on the other with the name of Pope Gregory IX."

By Henry Barry Hyde, Esq.: two guinea notes of the Tuam Bank of French, Taaffe, and Co., dated January 5, 1813, and of the Waterford Bank of Atkins, Skottowe, and Robertson, dated October 10, 1809.

By Mr. Daniel Byrne: a gun-money half-crown of James II., and an English shilling of Elizabeth; the latter was one of many found on the Knockbawn, or the White Hill, in the parish of Desertgallen, Queen's County. According to Mr. Byrne, on this hill there are three Druidic circles, one within the other; and tradition asserts that it was once encircled by a race-course, and was a place of public meeting. Mr. Byrne proceeds:—

"It is my opinion that the coins were lost on the hill at the time Prince Anthony O'More encamped there opposite the camp of the Earl of Ormonde, who encamped on Chatsford Hill. This event took place about the end of the summer of 1598. With Prince Anthony were Edmond Burke and the celebrated Captain Tyrrell. The coins must have been in the possession of O'More's soldiers, who rested on the hill, which received its name

Knockbawn, or the White Hill, from the white appearance made by O'More's camp. It is also worthy of notice, that in removing the rocks on this hill the remains of silk clothing have been very often found, which, on being touched, fall into dust. From such discoveries it is supposed that much treasure lies still hidden on this hill."

Mr. Graves exhibited a number of antiquities purchased for the Society's Museum, at the sale of the late Dr. Cane's effects. The collection comprised an iron stirrup of the time of Cromwell, an interesting chased brass spur of the period of Henry VIII., a bronze dagger, or spear-head; all except the dagger had been found in the River Bregach, in that part of its course which, passing through Kilkenny, had been deepened in 1847. Four portions of horse-trappings of bronze, and four antique buckles, of the same material, were also purchased.

The Secretary exhibited five magnificent photographs issued by the Architectural Photographic Society to its members, for the year 1857-58. They consisted of an east view of Ely Cathedral; a view of the Parthenon at Athens; of the Palace of the Municipality at Vincenza, Italy; of the Tower of Galata on the Bosphorus, and of an elaborate silver crozier of the fifteenth century.

The Very Rev. President exhibited a large number of encaustic tiles of the thirteenth century, found in some recent works in the cemetery of the Cathedral of St. Canice. They had formed a portion of the ancient flooring of the Cathedral, and had been found buried near the north door, in a spot which has been prolific of similar remains, and where the materials of the ancient floor seem to have been thrown when it was demolished in the seventeenth century.

Mr. J. G. Robertson exhibited some coloured glass beads, which form a currency in the interior of Africa. The object of the exhibition was to show the similitude between these beads and those found on the strand at Dunworley Bay, county of Cork, presented at a former meeting by Mr. Jones, of Cork.

Mr. Robertson also exhibited a small phial of wine, which had been found in a bottle shaped like one in the Society's Museum, which latter had been discovered in the ancient cellars of the Castle of Kilkenny. The bottle alluded to by Mr. Robertson, he said, had been dug up in some ground adjoining the Infirmary at Armagh, which was the site of an old inn, stated to have been visited by James II. when in Ireland.

The President, on the part of Mr. Joseph Greene, exhibited a Waterford silver penny of Edward I., and a silver coronation medal of Queen Anne.

The Rev. Constantine Cosgrave, P. P., Keash, Ballymote, recorded the discovery, seven feet deep in a bog at Battlefield, in his parish (where a battle was fought, A. D. 1236, between Phelim

O'Connor, King of Connaught, and the English forces, assisted by some of the surrounding petty princes), of a wooden cup, capable of holding about two quarts, with a foot five inches high, like that of an egg-cup; the form of the cup was elliptical, the largest axis being about ten inches, and the entire about a foot high. The material was apparently beech, and bore traces of a high polish, the rim being ornamented with faint but elegant carvings. The cup had been carefully placed in a chamber constructed by crossing the trunks of trees. Mr. Cosgrave expressed his intention of presenting this interesting remain to the Museum of the Society, but had subsequently written to say that, in drying, it had unfortunately fallen to pieces.

As the question had been raised whether the work entitled "Manipulus Florum" (an early codex of which, preserved at Nice, had been described by Mr. Albert Way, p. 65, *supra*), generally attributed to Thomas of Palmerstown, or de Hybernia, was really written by him, or by Johannes Galensis, or Waleyss; the following communication, dated Sept. 18, 1858, from Mr. Way, must prove interesting as tending pretty nearly to remove all doubts on the subjects:—

"In Quaritch's September Catalogue, under MSS., No. 311, I have noticed:—

" 'Thomæ de Hibernia Tabula originalium sive Manipulus Florum secundum ordinem Alphabeti extracta a libris xxxvi. auctorum.'—*Folio MS. sæc. xiv., vellum, with illuminated capitals.*

" 'Colophon.—Explicit Manipulus Florum compilatus a magistro thoma de hybernia quondam socio de Serbona et Incepit Johannes Galensis (*Waleyss*) Ord. Fratr. Minor. Doctor in Theologia istam tabulam et Magister Thomas finivit'

"I am sorry I cannot leave home to go to London to look at the MS. It would seem as if John Waleyss only made the Tabula, which in the Nice MS. was an elaborate affair."

Dr. Belcher, of Bandon, sent the following:—

"Outside the east window of Christ's Church, Bandon, is a flat stone, lying north and south; on its upper part is a well-cut figure of a mariner's compass, under which, in irregularly wrought Roman capitals, is the following epitaph:—

" 'Though Boreas's winds and Neptune's seas
Have toss'd me to and fro,
In spite of both by God's decree
I harbour here below:—
Where at an anchor I do ride
With many of our fleet
But once again I hope to sail
Our Saviour Christ to meet.

Thomas French and family burying place—1782.'

"This is evidently a *memoriter* copy of one in Skelton church-yard on two sailors :—

" 'Tho' "Boreas" blasts, and Neptune's waves
Have tossed us to and fro;
In spite of both by God's decree
We anchor here below.
Tho' here we safe in harbour lie
With many of our fleet;
We shall one day set sail again
Our Admiral Christ to meet.' "

This epitaph is also to be found, almost *totidem verbis*, at Chalmondiston, on Captain John Dunch, *ob.* 1696, and in it the spelling "spight" occurs, as at Bandon.

Mr. Henry Martin, Master of the New Ross Endowed School, sent the following interesting communication :—

"The following particulars have been communicated to me by a still living person, Mr. Patrick Magee, who was himself perfectly acquainted with the facts; and although the details are not numerous, I doubt not that they will prove not quite uninteresting to the readers of your 'Journal.' The present bridge at New Ross, as is well known, was the work of an American architect, Mr. Coxe, and was built of American oak in 1796, but there is evidence in aid of tradition that the River Barrow at New Ross was formerly spanned by a noble wooden bridge, the work of an Irish architect, and built of native oak, its width being fifty feet, that is, ten feet wider than the present bridge now measures. When Mr. Edward Hay was a very extensive and prosperous timber merchant in this town, and had no less than five well-stocked timber-yards on the quay at New Ross, it was the practice of some of his workmen to employ a portion of their vacant hours in trawling up and down the river in boats, and armed with harpoons, or long poles headed with spikes. They frequently drew from the bed of the river many fragments of the ancient bridge, consisting of uprights, break-waters, and other portions. The most remarkable piece was taken up nearly opposite the watch-house on the quay, and about 600 yards below the present bridge. This was a cap-piece which was full 50 feet long, and after the honeycomb or corrosion, caused by long immersion in the water, was removed, it was 2 feet square. This cap-piece was of Irish oak, which my informant himself ascertained, as being a person, from his occupation and experience, well qualified to decide, and to distinguish the quality of native timber. It had all the mortices which originally received the tenons of the uprights. This relic of former days, the cap-piece, was handled and examined by the person from whom I have my information, and who was at the time in Mr. Hay's employment, about the year 1825, and, being regarded as a relic of ancient Irish skill, and an undoubted fragment of the ancient woods of Ireland, it was an object of much curiosity, but was finally sold to John Rossiter, Esq., of Abbeybreney, in the county of Wexford, who had it converted into household furniture, in which form, no doubt, it is still preserved. The site of the

ancient bridge was most probably the same as that of the present bridge, and although we may have no account of the date of its erection, there can be little doubt of its original connexion with the arms of New Ross, as they are represented on the front of the Tholsel,—a bridge, and a hound killing a deer. Tradition says that the arms of New Ross were taken from the circumstance of the death of a deer which was killed upon the ancient bridge by a hound, and which was hunted by the De Freignes of Ballyreddy. In connexion with this subject, it may be interesting to state that about twelve years before the finding of the cap-piece here described, that is, about 1818, there was found near the same part of the River Barrow, also by some of Mr. Hay's workmen, a neatly formed canoe, which had been hollowed from a single piece of timber, which was also Irish oak. The canoe was 17 feet long by 4 in the beam. This class of boats was formerly much used on the Rivers Barrow and Nore, and employed in bringing to New Ross, amongst other goods, iron, which was at those times plentifully manufactured in the county of Kilkenny. The canoe, as may well be supposed, was viewed as a great curiosity, and finally Mr. Hay made a present of it to Sir Thomas Esmonde. The ancient wooden bridge had fallen into decay, most probably at a very remote period, for ferry-boats supplied its place at New Ross from time immemorial, until the new bridge was built. It is a fair conjecture, surely, that that ancient bridge of Irish oak had been erected long before Columbus discovered the New World, and we may well believe, therefore, that Ireland at a remote period could furnish native timber and native artisans to build that fine and expansive bridge whose surviving fragments in this locality alone remain to bear testimony to their ability and skill."

Mr. Graves said there was little doubt that the relics of an ancient bridge, described by Mr. Martin as having been found at New Ross, had formed part of the original timber bridge built by the great Earl Mareschal in the reign of Henry III., to connect Kilkenny with Wexford, both forming portions of the Liberty of Leinster, which that powerful nobleman had received in marriage with the heiress of Strongbow. King John dates some of his Irish writs from "The Town of the New Bridge of William Earl Mareschal,"¹ which shows that it was in existence in his reign. The legend respecting the pulling down of the deer on the bridge by the hounds of a De Freigne was curious, and afforded the only clue he (Mr. Graves) was aware of to explain the town arms of New Ross; however, as the town of Clonmel bore a similar device, he feared it was not conclusive. With regard to the tradition that iron ore had originally been carried in cots down the Nore to Ross, it was amply confirmed by the express statement of Gerard Boate, Physician to the Commonwealth Forces in Ireland, who, in his "Natural History," says that Sir Charles Coote exported large quantities in that man-

¹ "Apud villam nove pontis Will'i Marescalli." Mr. Herbert F. Hore, to whom Mr. Graves was indebted for the fact, is of opinion

that there are proofs to show that Cromwell caused a timber bridge to be thrown across the river at Ross.—ED.

ner from his smelting furnaces, of which remains still exist all along the base of the Slieve-bloom mountains: and the iron furnaces established by the Wandesfordes at Castlecomer, which continued to blaze whilst a tree stood on the hills of ancient Hi-duach, could have (in the then state of the roads of Ireland) no other outlet.

The Honorary Secretary observed that he much regretted to be obliged to report that persons of Mr. Martin's turn of mind seemed scarce in the ancient town wherein he dwelt. Perhaps no Irish town once held so many monuments of the taste and skill of our ancestors as New Ross. Not to speak of the adjoining town of Rosbercon, which could once boast of most interesting architectural remains, Ross possessed two monastic houses, a noble Early English church, with crypt, and had been, in the thirteenth century, surrounded by a wall with bastions and gates, the erection of which is so quaintly described in the contemporary Norman-French poem of Brother Michael of Kildare, worthily translated into English metre by "L. E. L." By degrees, however, one after another of the monastic buildings was razed, the nave of old St. Mary's was cleared away to make room for the present modern church and tower; and the Corporation, having removed the Bewly or Three Bullet Gate, had made itself notorious by the notice still remaining, cut on a stone fixed in the wall of a modern corn-store. This composition—a genuine example of an Irish bull—was as follows:—

THIS IS THE WEST SIDE OF
BEWLY GATE TAKEN DOWN
IN THE YEAR 1845 BY CONSENT
OF THE TOWN COMMISSIONERS.

It was reserved, however, for the present Town Commissioners to complete the category of Vandalism by demolishing, a short time since, the beautiful Early English gateway known as the "Market Gate," conjectured by a modern writer¹ to have been erected in honour of the ladies of Ross, when all classes of citizens laboured to fortify their town. Whilst persons of taste remained on the Commission, several efforts to destroy the fine remain had been successfully resisted, but a change in the constitution of that body having

¹ On the authority of the good friar of Kildare, who, as rendered by "L. E. L.," states that the ladies of Ross having worked at the erection of the walls with their own fair hands, the gallant burghers declared that, to serve as a memorial of their appreciation of the patriotic labours of their townswomen,—

"A gate they'd make,
Called the Ladies', for their sake,

And their prison there should be;
Whoso entered, straightway he
Should forego his liberty.
Lucky doom I ween is his,
Who a lady's prisoner is."

The present race of Ross burghers seem determined to get rid of every indication of the olden prosperity of their once important, but now decayed town.

been recently effected, the poor old gate was doomed, and has actually succumbed to the "crowbar brigade" of the Town Commissioners. Shame on the men of Ross, who could stand by and see their town deprived of one of its chief objects of interest in the eyes of all persons of cultivated taste!

The following interesting communication to the Hon. Secretary was received from Aquilla Smith, Esq., M. D., dated September 6, 1858 :—

"I lately found among my loose papers the copies of two depositions made before some magistrate in 1673. If you consider them worth printing, they are at your service.

"The mention of 'Arabian gold' is remarkable, as it implies a belief at that time existing, that the gold found so abundantly in Ireland was introduced from Arabia. The 'quarter cobb' or quarter dollar, in 1660, weighed 4 dwts. 6 grs. (Simon, edit. 1810, p. 50); at the same period 4 dwts. 8 grs. of gold were worth 16s. The piece cut from the 'smallest ring' must have weighed about 8 dwts., as the goldsmith gave 30s. for it. Ballickmorish is probably the same as Ballymorish, which is mentioned in an Inquisition held at Maryborough, in the Queen's County, on the 19th of September, 1617 (14 Jac. I.) It was part of the property granted by Queen Elizabeth to Owen M'Hugh O'Dempsie, in the thirteenth year of her reign (Inquisit. Com. Reginae, published by the Record Commission). Kildegin may be 'Villa de Kildegny,' or 'Kildignie,' mentioned in an Inquisition held at Gallen, in the Queen's County, the 19th of July, 1621.

(MS. Vol. F. 1. 20. pp. 71, 72, Trin. Coll. Lib., Dublin.)

"The examination of Kate Moylony, alias Oulaghan, taken before me upon the holy Evangelist, the . . . day of January, 1673.

"This examinant being duely sworne saith, that at or about the last of May, 1670, she and her son Edmond Moylony came to the house of Farrell M'Morris, at Ballickmorish, in the evening, and there staid them both all night; after supper the said Edmond spake unto the said Farrell M'Morris, and told him that he was sent thither by his father, Laughlin Moylony, to see some brasse that the said Farrell found. After a good while the said Farrell answered and said it was no brasse, but whispered his owne son in the eare, upon which the son went into a chamber, and unlocked a chest, and brought with him a yard of pure gold, completely wrought, about 28 inches long, and as thick as her middle finger, and one greate ring that might compasse and [any?] man's head with his hatt on, and shaped after this manner [*here is a rude sketch of a torque with the hook and spiral terminations for fastening*] and each of the 3 loopes near as long as her finger, and much of the same thicknesse, and another ring of lesse compasse, plaine and round, and another piece in the figure of a pair of tongues, two spans long, and of equall thicknesse with the yard, and after the said Kate and Edmond viewed the said parcell of gold, Farrell spake to the said Edmond, and said, I know that this is good mettall, and if you prove faithfull to me, I will give that which you will be the better for, and your posterity after yow, the said Edmond promised to

be faithfull, then Farrell said, take a little of itt, and try if it be what I thinke it to be, upon that Edmond drew out his tooles, and Farrell would not suffer him to cutt above a quarter of an inch of the smalest ring, which the said Edmond tooke, and parted next morning, and went to Birr, and sold it to one John Cavan, goldsmyth, for 30s., and the said John told the said Edmond and Kate that it was as good Arabian gold as ever was seene, and the said Kate and Edmond told the said John where they found that there was an infinite deale of gold, and what they could gett they would bring from tyme to tyme. After parting Birr the said Kate and Edmond came to their place of abroad, by name Kildeggin, where one Tady Flin lived, the said Kate and Edmond drinking at the said Flin's fathers house, and after drinking what mony they had, they spoake unto the said Tady Flynnne to gett some mony, the said Tady taking some excuse for mony, they told him he needed not be affraid to lend them some mony, and that they had it in chase which would make them considerable, upon which they told the said Tady, that there was a greate deale of gold with one Farrell M'Morrish. Within six days the said Kate and Edmond went to the said Farrell M'Morrish, and stayed a night, after settling the said Edmond and Kate told the said Farrell that what he had was pure gold, upon that Farrell answered, that what was there it was gon, and taken away from him by force, by a strang hand, and that he was booke-sworne never to reveale it, upon that this examinant said, I doe believe it was one Edmond Cartan that gott it from yow, he held his peace, onely said I am book sworn not to name him, but soone after they saide it was Edmond Cartan tooke all. This examinant further sayth, when Farrell's son went to the chest to take out the severall parcells which he shewed, that he made such a noyse, as if there were great chaines of gold in the chest.'

"Jan. 11, 1673.

"Catherine, the wife of Lauglin Mullawney, sayeth that about the end of May, 1671, she and her son Edmond deceased, were at the house of one Farell M'Morris, and that she saw there a round piece or barr of gold of 27 or 28 inches long, which she knowes by measuring the same with her arme, that she saw another piece of gould that was doubled, and being so doubled was 2 spans long. That she saw likewise one large hoop of gould that had (at the joyning of its ends) two loopes or turneings one from another, and that one of the said loopes or turneings had 3 doubles, and that the said hoop would compasse any man's hatt. That she saw one small hoop or ring that would compasse any man's neck, with a passage betwixt both the ends thereof, and that her son cutt off the weight of a quarter cobb of this latter ring, and sould the same for thirty shilling. That it was the said Farrell Mac Morris, and his son (that was said to have found the said gould) were the persons that shewed the said gould unto her and her son, and that both she and her son did not onely see, but handle the said gould, that the said Farrell Mac Morris tould her son, that if he would make good use of that little bitt he cutt of, and bring him a good and faithfull account thereof, that he would give him what would make him for ever, that at the bringing the said gould out of a chest, that was in another roome there was a great shineing over all the roome, and that she heard a noyse and jungling att the removing of the said gould as if

plough chaines were stirred, And that she could not judge any other than that there was abundance of gould more, than what she and her son saw. That about a fortnight afterwards she and her son came to the said Farrell's house with intent to buy the said gould and all of that kind that they could find for some smale matter, and that when they demanded the said gould to that end, the said Farrell made answer that he would not wish for all that ever he was worth that he had shewed them any of it, and that he believed it was her son that imployed some of the neighbourhood to rob him thereof. And that since he and his mother was there some of his able neighbours had taken it from him by force on a morning before he was out of his bed. And that the greatest cause of his grief for his losse, was, that it was a protestant, and not one of his owne profession that tooke it from him, and that he was forc't to swear never to tell who robbed him thereof.' ”

Mr. Daniel Mac Carthy communicated an important document, being the Charter granted by Dermot Mac Carthy, King of Munster, to the Church of St. John at Cork, accompanied by some necessary elucidations and a translation, as follows :—

“ Surviving the lapse of seven centuries there is, to this day, preserved in the British Museum (Addit. MSS., No. 4793, fol. 65), a copy of a Charter of Dermot Mac Carthy. It has no date, is without the name of the transcriber, and appears to have been copied from an equally undated anonymous previous copy. Although it is likely that the Charter itself was without mention of the year of its execution, it is difficult to believe that the existing transcript is literally faithful; for, besides the two lacunæ towards the end, and the random rearrangement of the fragments of the broken sentence, there is an earlier paragraph, as the reader may readily perceive, which is incomplete. It may, indeed, have been, though it is scarcely probable, that the original composer of the document had strayed into so complicated a parenthesis that the earlier portion of his sentence escaped his memory by the time he had extricated himself from it. Were there no means of conjecturing the date of the transcript, or the name of the transcriber, it would be of little consequence; the absence of date in the Charter is fortunately of none, for its contents enable us to determine the period of its execution with sufficient exactitude. If we consider the illustrious names on the body of this document, or the assembly of saintly men who attached their signatures to it, the Irish reader will allow that it would be difficult to present to his veneration a nobler national monument of the piety of our forefathers; and it is with feelings of peculiar gratification that, after the lapse of so long a period, a descendant of the granter of this Charter is permitted to bring it under the notice of his countrymen, illuminated with such feeble marginal colouring as his limited skill enables him to throw upon it.

“ Dermot of Kilbaghuine, ‘so called a loco occisionis,’ was the son of Cormac, son of Muiredhach, son of Carthach, from whom the Mac Carthys assumed their surname. Of the life of Cormac, reputed Bishop and King of Munster, it were superfluous in the writer of these pages to speak, for the searching investigation of the learned Dr. Petrie has already decided for us all that we have authority for believing with regard to him. He

was put to death at the instigation of his son-in-law, Tirlough O'Brien, in 1138; and then began the long, eventful, and disastrous reign of Dermot, whose most unenviable lot it was to be the first of the Irish princes who swore fealty to Henry II., and whose latter days were darkened by the execution of a rebellious son. With reference to the former of these events, historians concede to us in courtesy the consolation that submission to the Normans was not made without a struggle, that it was not to the sword of Raimond Le Gros, but to the kingly policy, the *urbanitatis blandimenta*, of Henry that the Irish princes yielded. The scenes acted at Waterford have found many historians, but none have told with more detail the acts by which the English monarch flattered the impulsive and proud character of the Irish; none have related in more generous and graceful language the submission of Dermot, than Stanihurst. Henry landed at Waterford on St. Luke's day, 1172, and his first act was to imprison Robert Fitz Stephens for outrages laid to his charge by the Irish.

"'Postridie quam hæc gesta erant,' writes Stanihurst, 'Dermitius Urbis Corcagiæ princeps Waterfordiam intrabat, et se ad Henrici pedes abiciens, eos imperii sui fasces non dimicanti deferebat, quos multis antea dimicantibus dinegarat.'

"Serenely indifferent to the scruples which guided the pen of Stanihurst, an unknown chronicler in the Book of Howth, relates the event in far homelier phrase:—

"'The king tarried a few days at Waterford, &c. After came the kinge of Corke, Dermot M'Carty, and yeldet himself to the kinge, and did him homag, and sware gret othes, and delywred him ostage for to be his subject, and gawe him sartayne evary yere of his land. Frō this the kinge went to Lesmore w^t his hoste, and ther was two dayes, and from thens went to Cassell, Thether cam Donell O'Bren, kinge of Limricke to him apoñ the water of Surry [Siuire], and soe to hawe peace, yeldet him to the kinge in all māner as M'Carte had done. The kinge sett keepers bothe at Corke and at Limricke, and to him came the beste of both contrys after M'Carti and O'Bren & yeldet them to the kinge, and became his men by othes and hostages; so ther was none that was of ainy name in all Mounester that by his good will but yeldit them to the kinge. When this was done the kinge w^t much worshepe and w^t riche gefts lett eiſy man goe to his owne land."¹

"The account of the rebellious conduct of Dermot's eldest son, Cormac Liathanach, the '*illustris filius*' of the Charter, is furnished us also by Stanihurst, and by the same old Lambeth chronicle. The meagre narrative of the latter would leave on the mind of the reader the painful impression that the father had acted with unnatural severity to an erring son. Stanihurst, as if the defence of the fame of King Dermot were his pleasing office, would persuade us that the act of the King was necessary and justifiable:—

"'Per hos dies,' he writes, 'execrandus quidam furor Cormachum Dismondiæ Principis natum invasit, nam non modo contra patrem arma tulit, sed etiam de ejus exactione totus cogitavit,' &c., &c.

"'Cormachus in perfidia instinctus furore perseverans, credulem patrem cepit, atque in carcerem conjecit,' &c.

¹ The Book of Howth, page 17, Carew MSS., Lambeth.

"Caring little for the reputation of Dermot or his son, the Howth chronicler tells us how the King applied for aid to Raimond le Gros, and what an excellent business the Norman knight and his men made of their march against the rebel:—

"The Prince of Dessemond, Dermot M'Carty, sent by messengers to Raymond & besoght him that he agayne his eldest sone that heyght Cormocke O'Lethan, that he migh make him a trew man to the kinge & he shulde helpe him. Raymond as a man that was not slowe to goe himself amongst his men & spacke thereof to his felowes & they all granted to doe as he wold & turned the bandes toward the contry of Corke. By way as they went they made manly preyes whereof the mē was full well payed & much thereof was oft sent to Littricke so longe that throgh helpe of Raymond, Dermot recowred all his kingdom upon his sone, of the wich kingdome he was ney pout owt. The sone was taken and delywerd to y^r father, and he put him in presone, and not longe after he toke him owt of p̄sone and smot off his heade."

"The mere fact of the rebellion of Cormac Liathanach has its recital in every history of the time; but neither do the authors above quoted, nor the 'Annals of the Four Masters,' assign or suggest the motive of the son for the imprisonment of the father; it may then be permitted to the writer of these pages to hazard the conjecture, that the *execrandus furor* of Cormac was rather against the invaders than against his father. He rebelled, and the men of Cork and Desmond rebelled also, *because* of the shameful scene at Waterford! As far as we know, Cormac had lived in amity with his father until the coming of the Normans; it is to be presumed that with his father he had fought against them; he is not mentioned as having accompanied King Dermot to wait upon Henry; and he witnessed the speedy sequel to his father's abasement in the occupation of his capital, and the parcelling out of his lands amongst the nobles whom Henry left behind him. It was the opinion of the men of Munster in those days that the man who 'swore gret othes to the invader, and delyvred him hostag for to be his subject,' had reigned long enough. We can scarcely be surprised that Cormac was of this mind also, for indeed Dermot and Raimond Le Gros appear to have been the only two men who thought otherwise. Before passing to the subject of the Charter, we may mention that Dermot, in his old age, married the daughter of a Norman knight, Petronilla de Bloet. Respecting this marriage, nothing beyond the fact, proved by the following extract from the Tower Rolls, has reached us:—

(*Rot. Litt. Claus. in turri Londinensi. An. 1 Hen. III., 1217.*)

"Mandatū est G de Marisc Justic Hiñ q^d sñ dilōne hre faciat Petronilla Bloet maritagiu suū quod Thom' Bloet frat ejus eidē Pet'nille dedit cū Deremot Magarthy Rege de Cork viro suo. T. coñ ut sup^a."

¹ Book of Howth, page 81.

² Lord Campbell, in his "Lives of the Chancellors of England," informs us that Lord Chancellor Giffard was succeeded by Robert Bloet, a Norman, who, with several brothers,

came over with the Conqueror. He was Bishop of Lincoln, and died in 1090. This family, he adds, still subsists in Monmouthshire, the name being now, with little change, spelled Bluet.

"No mention is made of any issue from this marriage: the offspring of Cormac Liathanach was cut off from succession to the perishing kingdom of Cork; for Dermot was succeeded by his second son, Donell Mor ne Currah, one of the most valiant and victorious of his race. The posterity of Cormac, however, continued, and continues to the present day. It was blessed, beyond other families of the name, with a multitudinous issue, and became a robust, far-spreading, and florid branch of the sept. Its pedigree, under the distinction of Mac Carthy Mucklagh, or 'Clan Teige Roe na Scairte,' was fortunately kept with the detail and care it so well merited till early in the seventeenth century, and is extant at Lambeth.

"King Dermot lived until the year 1185. His death is thus mentioned in a manuscript in the British Museum (Clarend., 4783, page 97):—

"'This year (1185) Dermot Mac Carthy, prince of Desmond, was slaine neere unto Corke, in a parley by the citizens and some of Theobald Walter's party.'

"The Charter of King Dermot could not have been given earlier than 1172, for in that year only did Gregory, one of the witnesses, become Bishop of Cork. In that year it might have been given, for all the remaining witnesses were then living, and filled the offices attached to their names. Later than 1177, the year in which Cormac was put to death, and Dermot replaced in his kingdom, it is not probable that a public document prepared for the king's signature would speak of the unhappy rebel as the *illustris filius*. Allowing for the troubles ensuing upon the invasion of the Normans, and the subsequent quarrel between father and son, we may safely place the date of this Charter midway between the two periods. The question of the date, however, is not so summarily disposed of by the learned anonymous writer, who has left us his notes appended to his transcript, and who laboured to ascertain, not the period only of its grant, but the site and precise nature of the building erected by Cormac, and enriched by his son and grandson. Unfortunately, he fell into confusion relative to the names and dates before him, and arrived at the strange conclusion that there must have been doubles of the king and his son. 'Unde colligo,' he concludes, 'Dermotium filium Cormaci, hujus Chartæ donatorem, posteriozem esse Dermotio illo cujus supra fit mentio in prima Nota A' (i.e. Dermot of Kilbaghuine).

"Relative to the site of the building he writes as follows:—'Aliqui volunt hanc Ecclesiam sitam esse extra australem portam Civitatis Corcagensis, licet ex ruina non appareat; dicunt tamen esse monasterium, cum in fine hujus diplomatis vocetur cœnobium, et communis traditio sit fuisse ibi monasterium monialium; nunc autem vix apparent vestigia Ecclesiæ aut Monasterii, in ejus tamen fundo Dominus Thomas Ronain Major Civitatis anno 1630 ædificare curavit hospitale pauperum. Sed crediderim potius per hanc Ecclesiam significari Monasterium Antri Sancti Finbarrii prope Cork, tum quia cœnobium Canonicorum regularium est, tum etiam quia memoratas hoc diplomate terras hodie adhuc possidet, ejusque fundatio hæc tempora incidit juxta Annales Hibernicos.'

"Unaware of the critical perplexity of this anonymous writer, Archdall, following the firmer track of Ware and King, informs us that the Abbey of St. Barr was refounded for regular canons, following the rule of St. Austin, under the Invocation of St. John the Baptist, by Cormac King of

Munster, and adds, quoting from King's collections, the son of the founder tells us that his father built this Abbey for the strangers from Connaught who were the countrymen of St. Barr, &c. About this time, 1174, King Dermot, who was the son of the founder, confirmed the grant made by his father, and made addition thereunto. Donat Abbot of Maig, Gregory of Cunga, and Eugene of Ardmore, were subscribing witnesses to the Charter.

"That the building of Cormac, whether church or monastery, which had been endowed by Dermot O'Connor, enlarged and beautified by the royal munificence of Dermot, was in fact the reconstruction of a previous abbey dedicated to St. Finbar, has every appearance of truth; for a long and cruel war had existed between O'Connor and the Princes of Desmond. Peace had been made between them at last by the interference of Gregory, and surely no memorial of such a peace would be more likely to be suggested by a Christian bishop than a church jointly endowed, built in the territories of the one, for the use of pilgrims from the country of the other.

"It would be an usurpation of very limited space to enter into any biographical details of the witnesses, who throw an additional splendour upon this kingly Charter. The reader will find ample details of most of them, the periods of their consecration and demise, in Ware, Archdall, and more recently in Cotton.

(*B. M., Addit. MSS., 4793, fol. 65.*)

"*Carta Dermitii Regis Momoniensium, de Ecclesia S^a Johannis Corcagiæ.*

"*Dermitius divina favente sententia Rex Momoniensium universis xpi fidelibus, tam presentibus quam futuris, pacem in perpetuum, et salutem.*

"*Labilem experti mortalium memoriam, et labentis mundi pompam instabilem, idcirco chartis commendare dignum duximus, quanto dilectionis studio beate memorie Pater meus Cormacus Rex Momoniensium Ecclesiam S. Johannis Ap^{li} et Evangeliste Corcagiæ Mauritio Archiep^o et Gregorio [et] successorib⁹ eorum, peregrinis de Conacia S. Barri compatriotis, edificaverit, ac suis defendendam commendaverit.*

"*Nunc autem paterno potitus regno, divino fretus auxilio, eandem Ecclesiam, sicut regiam decet magnificentiam, pro remedio anime mee et parentum meorum, defendendam suscepi, et ad honorem Sanctorum, quorum idem locus esse dignoscitur, sublimare [et] amplificare proposui. Noverit itaq^{ue} universitas fidelium me cuncta quæ idem locus iuste in presenti possidet, vel paterna oblatione, vel aliorum Regum donatione. Gloriosus namq^{ue} Pater meus Rex eidem loco Lysuctdach et Clochan tradidit, Diarmat h^{ic} Concubuir Killina Carrigh donavit, quæ Ego sequacib⁹ confirmo. Villam verò Illæ me sciat talia eisdem peregrinis dedisse, et hac mea Charta confirmasse. Illustris autem Filius meus Cormacus, petente Catholico Tuamensi Archiep^o Madueilgi, Deo et Sancto Johanni, pro remedio anime sue et nostre eternaliter, libere et quiete, absq^{ue} ullo seculari servitio contulit; quam nos villam Regiâ donatione confirmavimus. Ipsum deniq^{ue} cenobium, cum predictis villis in nostram tuitionem suscepimus, ab*

omni reditu seculari accernimus, quiete et libere Deo eternaliter concedimus. Ne vero . . . vel de ceteris, de his aliquis . . . præsumat, nostri sigilli impressione hanc chartam p̄uivimus, et peregrinis Conactensib⁹ sub idoneis testib⁹ servandam.

“ Testes hi sunt ex clero et populo.

“ Christianus Liamorensis Ep̄s et Ap̄lica sedis Legatus.

“ Donatus Archiepus Casselensis.

“ Gregorius Ep̄s Corkens.

“ Bricius Ep̄s Limericensis.

“ Benedictus Ep̄s Rossensis.

“ Matheus Ep̄s Cluonensis.

“ Donatus Abbas de Magio.

“ Gregorius Abbas de Cunnaga.

“ Eugenius Ardmorensis Ep̄s.

“ TRANSLATION.

“ Dermot, under favour of Divine Providence, King of Munster, to all the faithful of the people, as well present as future, Greeting, and peace for ever.

“ Being well persuaded of the fleeting nature of human memory, and of the unstable pomp of a perishable world, we have, therefore, deemed it worthy to record in writing the affectionate zeal with which our father, Cormac, of blessed memory, King of Munster, built, and confided to the protection of his people, the church of St. John the Apostle and Evangelist at Cork, for the use of Archbishop Maurice and his successors, and for the pilgrims out of Connaught, the compatriots of St. Barry.

“ And now, having succeeded to our paternal kingdom, relying upon the divine assistance, we have undertaken, for the health of our soul, and of the souls of our parents, to defend the said church in such manner as it becometh royal munificence to do, and to re-edify and enlarge the same in honour of the saints under whose protection the said place is known to be; Be it, therefore, known to all the faithful, that we do confirm for all time to come to the said foundation all that the said place now justly possesses, either by the paternal donation, or by the grants of other kings; for my glorious father, the king, bestowed upon the said place Lysnoldarh, and Diarmaid O'Connor endowed it with Cillina Carrigh. And be it known, furthermore, that we have ourselves granted to the said pilgrims the lands of Illa, and by this our Charter do confirm the same: and our illustrious son, Cormac, at the request of Catholicus, Archbishop of Tuam, granted in perpetuity to God and St. John the lands of Maeldulgi, for the health of his soul and ours, to be enjoyed freely and without molestation, and exempt from all secular services, which grant of said lands we also hereby confirm. Now, finally, we do take under our protection the said monastery, with the aforesaid lands, which we exempt from all secular charge, and yield freely and peaceably to God for all time to come. And lest at any time any one should presume to call in question the truth of those former grants, or of this our present grant, we have authenticated this Charter with the impression of our seal, and delivered it, in the

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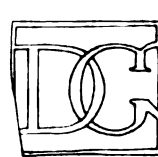
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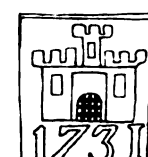
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presence of fitting witnesses, to the pilgrims of Connaught, to be preserved.

"The witnesses are the following of the clergy and people:—

- "Christian, Bishop of Lismore, and Legate of the Apostolic See.
- "Donat, Archbishop of Cashel.
- "Gregory, Bishop of Cork.
- "Bricius, Bishop of Limerick.
- "Benedict, Bishop of Ross.
- "Mathew, Bishop of Cloyn.
- "Donat, Abbot of Mayo.
- "Gregory, Abbot of Cong.
- "Eugene, Bishop of Ardmore."

The following Papers were submitted to the Meeting.

CATALOGUE OF LEADEN AND PEWTER TOKENS ISSUED IN IRELAND.

BY AQUILLA SMITH, M. D., M. R. I. A.

TOKENS made of lead or pewter are scarce, because they have in general been disregarded by collectors as unworthy of their notice, and being of so little intrinsic value, they are usually thrown away by the person who finds them. They possess, however, some claim to be put on record as evidence of the state of the currency at particular times, when, owing to the scarcity of regal copper money, it became necessary to substitute leaden tokens for the convenience of the poorer classes of society.

All the tokens described in the following Catalogue are made of lead, except the Ballycastle halfpenny, which is made of pewter, and was struck with dies. The greater number of the leaden tokens were cast in moulds, and a few of them were subsequently countermarked with a stamp, bearing the initials of the person by whom they were issued.

There was an abundance of regal copper halfpence coined for Ireland between the years 1736 and 1783, but no copper farthings were issued after the year 1760, until 1806. The regal money must have become scarce soon after 1783, as a necessity arose for the coinage of a great variety of copper halfpence after the year 1789, a copious list of which has been published by Mr. Lindsay.¹

The only tokens which bear dates are the curious one of Kil-

¹ "View of the Coinage of Ireland," p. 116.

kenny, struck in 1578, and the square piece with the date 1731, the last in this Catalogue.

The period during which the Dublin tokens were current has been ascertained from a careful examination of the "Dublin Directories." It extended from the year 1773 to 1799, and nine of the sixteen Dublin tokens were in circulation between the years 1780 and 1790; most of them were issued by grocers who chiefly resided in obscure localities, viz.: Mary's-abbey, Boot-lane, Fisher's lane, Pill-lane, Church-street, Upper Church-street, and North Great Brunswick-street, all in the same neighbourhood; and one in Britain-street, on the north side of the city; and on the south side in Francis-street, Thomas-street, and James's-street.

Most of the Cork tokens were also issued by grocers, as appears from the symbol of the sugar-loaf, and more particularly from the local information respecting them for which I am indebted to Mr. Richard Caulfield of Cork. The period during which the Cork tokens were in circulation extended from the year 1795 to 1816.

It is probable that these tokens passed as farthings to accommodate the poorer classes in the purchase of small quantities of tea and sugar, which bore high prices during the protracted war with France.

BALLYCASTLE, CO. ANTRIM.

1. *Obv.* A ship with all her sails set, sailing to the left, within a beaded circle, close to the edge of the coin.

Rev. ONE—HALF—PENNY—FOR—BALLYCASTLE—COALS OR—SALT, in six lines, within a beaded circle. It weighs 94 grains.

Coal was worked at an early period on the coast near Ballycastle, and salt-pans were in operation in the same neighbourhood during the last century. The coal-mines were held by a company mostly composed of Englishmen, previous to the year 1736, at which time the Earl of Antrim granted them in perpetuity to Hugh Boyd, Esq.¹

Snelling published this token in his second additional plate to Simon, about the year 1769, and, having described a few of the copper tokens which were issued in the North of Ireland, in 1736, added:—"It is very probable that about this time No. 23 was struck, which is made of lead."

This token, which is of good workmanship, and made of *pewter*, was probably issued by Mr. Boyd, shortly after the year 1736, for the convenience of the poor at Ballycastle.

¹ "Statistical Survey of the County of Antrim," p. 82.

· CLONMEL, CO. TIPPERARY.

2. *Obv.* MARTIN · DIX · CLONMEL, within a double circle; in the centre a dagger, pointing downwards; at each side of it a pierced mullet of six points.

Rev. IN · TIPPERARY · MUNSTER, within a double circle; in the centre a harp. Weight 59 grains. Fig. 1.

This coin in type and size resembles many of the tradesmen's tokens of the seventeenth century; it was probably issued between the years 1656 and 1664, the dates which occur on the Clonmel tokens. The letter v is used instead of u in Munster, a peculiarity which distinguishes it from all the other leaden tokens, except the one of Kilkenny, with the date 1578.

3. *Obv.* Same as No. 2.

Rev. IN · TIPPERARY · MVN, within a double circle; in the centre a harp. Weight 45 grains.

CORK, CO. CORK.

4. *Obv.* JOHN CARROLL · MALLOW LANE. A sugar-loaf in the centre.

Rev. A bird with expanded wings resting on a heart, at each side of which is a sprig of olive. Weight 121 grains. John Carroll was a grocer and baker. Fig. 2.

5. *Obv.* W · M — HOARE, in two lines across the field.

Rev. P · L · M · T — BRIDGE, in two lines. Weight 145 grains.

This token was dug up at Friar's Walk, near Cork, in April, 1844. It was issued by "William Hoare," a grocer, who resided at the George's-quay side of "Parliament Bridge," in the year 1810.

6. *Obv.* D O F, Script capitals in cipher, within a beaded circle close to the edge.

Rev. SHANDON STREET. In the centre a crest, viz., an arm, couped above the elbow, holding a snake, between NO. and 2. Weight 118 grains. Fig. 3.

This token was issued by Denis O'Flynn, whose son and successor was a Town Councillor of Cork in 1854.

About the year 1795 these tokens were first issued by the late Mr. O'Flynn, who continued to circulate them for many years afterwards. I am indebted to Mr. Richard Caulfield for a token cast in the original brass mould, at his request, by Mr. O'Flynn, in the year 1856.

7. *Obv.* A · L · in Script capitals.

Rev. A sugar-loaf suspended from a ring, between B^r and S^r (Barrack-street); an olive-branch above, and another below the sugar-loaf. Weight 128 grains.

This token was issued by Andrew Lucette, a grocer, who resided in Barrack-street about the year 1808.

Engraved in Lindsay's "View of the Coinage of Ireland," Supplement, pl. v. fig. 18.

8. *Obv.* A sugar-loaf between the letters F · M · in Roman capitals; a circle of pellets near the edge.

Rev. An eagle with expanded wings, within a circle of pellets. Weight 88 grains.

Engraved in Lindsay, Supplement, pl. v. fig. 17.

Frederick Miller, a grocer, who resided in Barrack-street about the year 1808, issued this token.

9. *Obv.* I · D · in Script capitals, within a circle of pellets.

Rev. A sugar-loaf suspended from a ring, between B^r and S^r (Barrack-street), within a circle of pellets. Weight 141 grains.

John Drinan, a grocer, who issued this token, resided in Barrack-street about the year 1808.

10. *Obv.* JOHN · HARE.

Rev. BARRACK STREET. A circular token described by Mr. Lindsay, "View of the Coinage of Ireland," p. 120.

John Hare was a grocer in Barrack-street in the year 1816; he afterwards removed to Patrick-street.

DUBLIN, CO. DUBLIN.

11. *Obv.* JOHN BOSHELL. In the centre a flower with six petals.

Rev. N^o 28 — CHURCH — ST^r in three lines; weight 75 grains.

John Boshell was in business as a grocer at 83, Old Church-street, from the year 1781 until 1786, at which time he appears to have been an oil and seed merchant; and in 1788 he was a wholesale merchant; his name does not appear in the "Dublin Directory" after the year 1789.

12. *Obv.* P — BYRNE — N^o 28, in three lines; milled on the edge.

Rev. C^r — ST^r in two lines; weight 131 grains.

Patrick Byrne, grocer, resided at No. 28, Old Church-street from the year 1779 until 1792; his name is omitted in the "Directory" for the year 1786.

13. *Obv.* C · COLGAN.

Rev. N^o 11 — THOMAS — ST. in three lines; weight 115 grains. Fig. 4.

14. *Obv.* WILLIAM · FAY +

Rev. 114 — JAMES'S — ST^r in three lines; weight 80 grains. Fig. 5.

William Fay, grocer, is in the "Directory" for the years 1798 and 1799.

15. *Obv.* PET^r FLEMING. In the centre an urn, with a loop at each

side, and flames issuing from the urn; the letters P. F. stamped in as a counter-mark.

Rev. N° 101 — CH^s S^t in two lines: weight 108 grains. Fig. 6.

Peter Fleming, grocer, is in the "Directory" from the year 1776 to 1786, when he was succeeded by Patrick Rooney (see No. 22), whose name is in the "Directory" for the year 1787, as residing in No. 101, Old Church-street.

16. *Obv.* CHR^s — HALPIN in two lines.

Rev. CHURCH · ST^t; in the centre 39; weight 103 grains.

Christopher Halpin, grocer, resided in No. 39, Old Church-street, from the year 1787 to 1793.

17. *Obv.* * * * : HUTTON, in the centre a double circle, with four small crosses at equal distances between the two circles.

Rev. JAMES · STREET; in the centre, 101; a bird (?) over the figures; weight 72 grains.

Maxwell Hutton, No. 131, James's-street, is in the "Directory" from the year 1787 to 1790. The Hutton family carried on the grocery business for many years subsequent to 1790. There is a street in Dublin called Dame's-street, which at first was put on the mould, and altered to James-street.

18. *Obv.* THO^s · LEONARD ·; in the centre a flower of six petals.

Rev. N° 41 · BRITAIN · S^t; in the centre a flower of six petals; weight 52 grains. Fig. 7. There is another variety, which has a small pellet in the centre, instead of a flower, on each side; weight 52 grains.

Thomas Leonard, grocer, resided at No. 41, Britain-street, now called Great Britain-street, from the year 1779 to 1783.

19. *Obv.* I : LYON across the field. A lion rampant over the name, and a trefoil under the name, within a roped circle near the edge.

Rev. 27 — FISHERS — LANE in three lines, within a roped circle weight 53 grains. Fig. 8.

Fisher's-lane is an obscure place between Pill-lane and Mary's-lane.

20. *Obv.* * MOR^s M^s DONOGH; in the centre a harp; at the edge a beaded circle.

Rev. * BRUNSWICK * ST^t; in the centre, N° 14; at the edge a beaded circle; weight 53 grains. Fig. 9.

Brunswick-street, now called North Brunswick-street, is adjacent to Upper Church-street.

21. *Obv.* JOHN M^s · GRANE; a flower of six petals in the centre, and a similar flower between the name and surname.

Rev. N° 10 — BOOT — LANE in three lines, a flower of six petals

near the margin after "Boot," and two similar flowers under "Lane." Fig. 10.

Boot-lane extends from Mary's-abbey to Little Mary-street.

22. *Obv.* PAT — ROONEY in two lines; between the lines a sprig.

Rev. N^o 101 — CH^d · s^t · in two lines; a scroll under the lower line; weight 88 grains.

Patrick Rooney, grocer, resided at No. 101, Old Church-street, from the year 1787 to 1790; he was the successor of Peter Fleming, No. 15.

23. *Obv.* CHA^s SMYTH a small annulet after the surname.

Rev. MARY'S — ABBEY · in two lines; weight 75 grains. Fig. 11.

Mary's-abbey extends from Capel-street to Pill-lane

24. *Obv.* I : T — N^o 32 in two lines.

Rev. UPPER · CHURCH : ST. * ; in the centre s2; weight 103 grains. Fig. 12.

John Taylor, grocer, resided at No. 32, Upper Church-street, which is a continuation of Old Church-street, from the year 1787 to 1791.

25. *Obv.* ROB^t — WHITE in two lines, countermarked with the initials, R. W. in Script characters on a rectangular label.

Rev. 106 — PILL — LANE in three lines; weight 86 grains. Fig. 13.

Robert White, grocer, resided at No. 106, Pill-lane, from the year 1773 to 1784.

26. *Obv.* ASHLEY — BLUE BOAR — FRAN^d ST^t in three lines within a raised border.

Rev. Blank; weight 80 grains.

William Ashley, grocer, resided at No. 77, Francis-street, in the year 1797.

KILKENNY, CO. KILKENNY.



27. This rare and curious piece struck at Kilkenny in 1578 has been already described in the second volume of the "Transactions of the Kilkenny Archæological Society," page 171.

LOCALITY NOT ASCERTAINED.

28. *Obv.* M.
Rev. Plain. A circular piece.
29. *Obv.* F O D stamped in.
Rev. Plain. An oblong piece.
30. *Obv.* I · S stamped in.
Rev. Plain. An irregular lump.
31. *Obv.* Seems W. S. E. very deeply stamped in.
Rev. Plain. An irregular lump.

These four tokens are described by Mr. Lindsay, who states that they were struck in Cork "between 1809 and 1813," but the persons who issued them have not been identified.

32. *Obv.* T · A; a circle of pellets near the margin.
Rev. A fox seated within a raised border; weight 164 grains.
33. *Obv.* H L; a dentated circle near the margin
Rev. A bell, a pellet at each side, and another below the bell, within a dentated circle; weight 52 grains.
34. *Obv.* A tower within a beaded circle.
Rev. V · I within a beaded circle; weight 37 grains.
35. *Obv.* D O B stamped in an oblong label, with an engrailed border.
Rev. Blank; weight 79 grains.
36. *Obv.* T D — F in large Roman capitals in two lines.
Rev. Blank; weight 120 grains.
37. *Obv.* K F in beaded circle near the margin.
Rev. Blank; weight 48 grains.
38. *Obv.* 2^d; a large figure within a plain circle.
Rev. Blank; weight 76 grains.
39. *Obv.* TYRRELL — N° 9 T · C in two lines within an engrailed border.
Rev. Blank; weight 82 grains.

This is an oblong piece, with the angles cut off; the impression of the stamp extends to the margin of the piece on all sides. The letters T · C possibly signify "Thomas-court," an obscure place in Dublin, on the south side of the city, and in the vicinity of the other streets in which tokens were issued.

40. *Obv.* D G in large Roman characters, interlaced.
Rev. A castle with three towers; 1731 in large figures under the castle; weight 87 grains. Fig. 14.

This remarkable square piece is in the cabinet of William Leycester, Esq., of Cork.

THE LOCAL COINAGE OF YOUGHAL.

BY THE REV. SAMUEL HAYMAN, B. A.

No. II.—TRADESMEN'S TOKENS.

THE general history of Irish Tradesmen's Tokens has already appeared in the "Transactions" of this Society (vol. ii., pp. 155-159, first series). It was supplied by the hand, of all others best qualified to deal with it, that of Dr. Aquilla Smith. A very interesting supplementary paper was at the same time given, in which, restricting himself to the Tokens belonging to Kilkenny, Mr. Prim identified the persons who issued those pieces, and illustrated his remarks with various genealogical and personal notices. It is the desire of the present writer to attempt for Youghal what Mr. Prim has so ably accomplished for Kilkenny. The subjoined list of Youghal Tradesmen's Tokens comprises all that long and patient research could recover. The pieces are in number fourteen. Nine of these have inscribed on them the year in which they were respectively struck (the earliest being 1656, and the latest 1672), and five are undated. There cannot be a doubt but that, like the former, the latter, or undated, tokens were issued in various years. Wanting, however, the knowledge of these periods, it is impossible to form a chronological list of the whole; and I shall arrange them alphabetically, following the surname of the "striker." When I come to describe each token separately, the bearings in the field will be given, along with any interesting particulars. The legend only is now transcribed:—

I. JOHN. GERALD. OF.	YOVGHALL, 1667. (1 st)
II. FLORENCE. GILES. OF.	THE. TOWNE. OF. YAHALL. (F. G)
III. { [PETER. GODWIN] THE. ARMES. OF. YOVGHALL.	IF. NOT. LIKED. ILE. CHANG. THEM (1 st P. G. 1656).
IV. JOHN. HANCOCKE. 1666.	OF. YOVGHALL. MARCHANT. (I. H.)
V. WALLTER. HIBBARD.	OF. YOVGHALL. 1668. (W th M.)
VI. THOMAS. IONES.	IN. YOVGHALL. (T. L)
VII. JOHN. LVTHER. OF. (1 st 1672).	YOVGHALL. MERCHANT. (monogram).
VIII. JOHN. MERRICK.	OF. YOVGHALL. (I. M.)
IX. EDWARD. PERRY.	OF. YOVGHALL. (E th D 1667).
X. EDWARD. PERRY. (monogram).	OF. YOVGHALL. 1672.
XI. JOHN. PINNE. (I. P.)	OF. YOVGHALL. (1667.)
XII. THOMAS. VAVGHAN.	OF. YOVGHALL. (T. V.)
XIII. THOMAS. WALTERS.	MARCHANT. OF. YOVGHALL. (T. W.)
XIV. ANDREW. WANDRIK.	IN. YOGHILL. 1666. (A. W.)

I. GERALD, JOHN.—The heraldic bearings of this token, the shield with the saltire, and the ape as crest, would apparently denote the issuer's descent from the old feudal *suzerains* of Youghal,



the Geraldines. But the name has spread itself so widely, that we cannot now hope to recover a knowledge of his claim to consanguinity. On a reference to the Municipal Lists, we find that John Gerald served as Bailiff of Youghal in the two consecutive years of 1671 and 1672. There is no record of his having been chosen Mayor. He appears to have resided, subsequently, in one of the suburban townlands; for the Parish Register has the following burial recorded :—

"1683. May 3^d. *The wife of John Gerald, Ballyvergen.*"

This token is of brass, and weighs 18 grains. Specimens are in the collection of the British Museum; in the cabinet of our efficient local Secretary at Youghal, Mr. Edward Fitzgerald; and in that of the Rev. Dr. Neligan, Cork.

II. GILES, FLORENCE.—The family of Gyles, or Giles, came to Youghal from Bowden in Devonshire, about the middle of the seventeenth century. Four anterior descents are given in the Devon



Visitation-Book of 1620.¹ At Youghal they were seated in the old College, as I have already shown in these "Transactions" (vol. i., page 24, new series); and they have always maintained, both in the town of Youghal and in the adjacent district of the county of Waterford, a high patrician place. Although "Florence" be an epicene name, I believe I am right in referring this Token to a female, whose interment is thus entered in the Parish Register :—

"1671. *Januarie 6th. Mrs. Florence Gyles, widow, was buried.*"

¹ Burke's "General Armorie." *sub nomine* "Giles (Bowden, Co. Devon)."

The arms are a gryphon, or griffin, rampant, As borne by the family at present, they are a lion rampant. This token is of copper, weighing 30 grains, and is in Mr. Sainthill's collection.

The following are instances of Irish tokens also issued by females:—

ANN. HENBURY.	IN. CLONMEL.
MARY. DRINKWATER.	IN. SKYNNER. ROW. IN. DUBLIN.
MARY. STEPHENS.	OF. THE. CITY. OF. WATERFORD.

III. GODWIN, PETER.—This rare token carries on its obverse a device and legend that, at first sight, would imply a municipal origin. An examination of the reverse, however, will show that,



like the preceding tokens, it was issued by an individual. Peter Godwin served as Bailiff of Youghal in 1657; and, perhaps, when in the next year he put forth his token, he adopted the arms of the town as commemorative of his official career. He died September 28, 1660, and was buried in St. Mary's Church, Youghal. His flag-stone remains in excellent preservation near the western door. It is thus inscribed:—

HERE LIETH THE	BODY OF PETER GODWIN, BURGESS OF THIS	TOWNE, WHO
ANNO DOM		
1660.		
DEPARTED THIS LIFE THE 28 DAY OF SEPTEMBER.		

On the obverse we have a ship, being the arms of the borough of Youghal; and on the reverse a promissory engagement from the issuer of the token, along with his initials. I know of but two existing specimens. One, formerly in Mr. T. C. Croker's cabinet, is in the British Museum. It is of copper, and weighs fully 34 grains. Through the courtesy of Edward Hawkins, Esq., F. S. A., the Curator of Antiquities, it has been engraved for these pages. The other specimen, weighing 30 grains, is in a poor condition.

It is in the interesting collection of Irish and foreign coins made by Mr. John Burke, the intelligent sexton of St. Mary's, Youghal.

IV. HANCOCKE, JOHN.—The individual who issued this token was of a Devon family, seated at Combmartin, on the borders of Somersetshire. He served as Bailiff of Youghal in 1657, and as



Mayor, in 1668, with Benjamin Murdock and William Clove as Bailiffs under him. Cooke, in his MS. History of Youghal, *sub anno* 1668–69, tells us of an unhappy dissension between the municipal officers :—

“This year there was a great dispute between the Mayor and Bailiffs, which was carried to such a height that it was decided by the Right Hon^{ble} Baron of Broghill, who made peace and recommended amity. The Mayor dying, his Lordship wrote to the Corporation in favour of John ffarthing, whom they elected accordingly for the remaining part of the year; and, upon a second letter in his favour, they elected him the following year.”

It is possible that this contention hastened Mr. Hancock's de-
cease. The Parish Register thus mentions his burial :—

“1669. June 2^d. Mr. John Hancock, y^e Mayor of this Corporaⁿ. ”

The reader will notice on the shield an heraldic rebus, namely, gules a dexter hand coupé and erect argent; on a chief of the second, three cocks of the first. The token is of brass, weighing twenty grains, and is in the cabinet of Archdeacon Cotton.

V. HIBBARD, WALTER.—The first vowel of this name, I am inclined to believe, should be “v” and not “i.” Perhaps the hairstroke of the “v” was omitted by the die-sinker. The name of Hubbard



is common in the neighbourhood of Youghal, but that of Hibbard is unknown. Yet, names were so capriciously spelled in olden times,

that it is wrong to pronounce dogmatically on their orthography. I presume that the individual who issued this token was the same as he whose baby's baptism is thus entered in the Parish Register:—

“1668. *November 3^d. Mary, y^e Daughter of Walter Hubbert, gent.*”

This was the year in which the token was issued.

A Walter Hubbard (probably this same person) served as Bailiff of Youghal in the year 1676, but he did not reach the higher office of Mayor. About this period a very respectable family of the name lived near Cloynepriest, in the neighbourhood of Youghal, and it is likely that Walter belonged to them. The armorial bearings are, sable, an estoile of six points or, between two flaunches erminée. The token is of brass, and weighs thirty-four grains. It is extremely rare. Only three specimens are known to the writer: one, presented by him to the late Thomas Crofton Croker,¹ and now in the British Museum; a second, in the cabinet of Dr. A. Smith; and a third in that of Mr. Boyne, an English collector.

VI. JONES, THOMAS.—I have failed in identifying this individual. I cannot trace him either in the Municipal Lists, or in the Parish Register. The name, originally Welsh, i.e. ap John, or



Johnes, is of old occurrence in Youghal. Dr. Meredith Hanmer, the chronicler, when Warden of Youghal College, demised, on the 27th of October, 1602, that foundation, along with all its lands, tithes, tenements, and offerings, to William Jones, Esq., of Youghal, in trust for Sir Walter Raleigh.² From him, possibly, this Thomas Jones was descended. The device is an anchor, and would appear to indicate that the issuer was a seaman, perhaps a master mariner. The token is of copper, weighing sixteen grains, and is in the cabinet of Dr. A. Smith.

VII. LUTHER, JOHN.—This family was established in England, *tempore* Henry VIII., and claimed kindred with the Reformer,

¹ Mr. Croker, in acknowledging it, July 5, 1853, wrote to me as follows:—“I am very much obliged to you for the Hubbard token. I agree with you in the reading. It is a valuable addition to my small collection of Irish

tokens, which Dr. A. Smith's paper on the subject has now really made one of interest and importance.”

² “Transactions,” vol. i. pp. 17 and 18. second series.

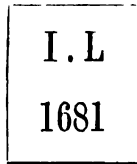
Martin Luther.¹ Its members maintained, for a long series of years, a leading position among the great landed proprietors of Essex, and were seated at Myles', Kelvedon, and Stapleford Tawney in that shire. They frequently intermarried with the nobility, and were chosen representatives of the county in Parliament. The last of the Essex Luthers, John Luther, Esq., of Myles', about the close of the last century, stood a memorable contest for the county with Mr.



Conyers, and succeeded in obtaining his return, after an expenditure of £50,000.²

John Luther, born in Essex in 1623, came to Ireland about the year 1650, and settled at Youghal. He married, first, Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Giles, Esq., of Youghal (by Florence, his wife, who, as we have already seen, herself issued one of the Youghal tokens), and had by this marriage two daughters, Florence and Elizabeth. He married, secondly, Hannah, daughter of Alexander Dashford, Esq., of Bandon, and had issue, Richard, a captain in the army; Henry, M. P. for Youghal, 1703-15 (from whom is descended Guy Luther, Esq., of Áta Villa, Queen's County, the present representative of the family); and John, who married Frances, third daughter of Samuel Hayman, Esq., of South Abbey, Youghal, and left issue, but whose line is now extinct. He married, thirdly, Mrs. Elizabeth Bowen, of Dublin, and by her had a daughter, Grace, and a second child who died in infancy.

Mr. Luther served as Bailiff of Youghal in 1659, and as Mayor in 1666 and 1681. In the second year of his mayoralty he erected at the foot of Windmill-lane, Youghal, a dwelling-house, still standing, and but little changed either within or without. The massive staircase of oak exists, and the principal apartments appear to be in their original condition. In the north coign, high up near the eaves, is a small black slab, inscribed (as was customary) with the founder's initials and the date of the erection of the house. In 1688, on the 18th of April, a new Charter of Incorporation was granted to the town of Youghal by James II.,³ in which a Mayor, two Bailiffs, nineteen Aldermen,



¹ Burke's "General Armorie," *sub nomine* Luther, and "Peerage," p. 638, *note*, edition of 1848.

² Burke's "Peerage," p. 1089, *note*.

³ Enrolled Rot. Pat., 4 Jac. II., p. 2, m. 34, d.; but subsequently rendered inoperative by the change in the succession to the throne.

twenty-four Burgesses, a Recorder, Town Clerk and Prothonary, were appointed by name. Fifth in the list of Aldermen appears the name of Mr. Luther. He was appointed November 6, 1697, one of the Commissioners of Poll Tax;¹ but he did not live to discharge this duty. He died of fever in the month following, and was buried in the nave of St. Mary's Collegiate Church, Youghal, beneath a flat stone, thus inscribed:—

“Heere lyeth the body of Elizabeth Giles wife to Iohn Lvther who deceased the 4 day of December Anno Domini 1661.

“Also here lieth interred the body of Alderman Iohn Lvther who departed this life the 18th day of December in the yeare of our Lord 1697, and in the 74th yeare of his Age.

“Here lieth the body of Rich^d Giles. He was several times May^r of y^e town & nephew to y^e above Eliz. Giles.”

Alderman Luther's token is one of the latest of the Youghal series, bearing date 1672. It is one of the commonest also, and is found in many collections. The specimen from which our engraving was made is in Dr. A. Smith's cabinet. It is of brass, weighing 36 grains. Another specimen was presented by the writer to Guy Luther, Esq., of Alta Villa, and a third was given by him to John Luther, Esq., of Clonmel.

VIII. MERRICK, JOHN.—This family was of Welsh extraction. In the Principality they used, and still use, the spelling “Meyrick.” The individual who put forth this token was Bailiff of Youghal



in 1667, and Mayor in 1677. An old volume, once his property, is in the possession of his lineal descendant, Mr. Jeremiah Merrick, of No. 83, North Main-street, Youghal. It is a copy of the “Breeches” Bible (including Apocrypha), “imprinted at London by the Deputies of Christopher Barker, Printer to the Queen’s Maiestie, 1589;” and contains numerous entries of births, marriages, and burials in the family, commencing with January 30, 1664–65. The token bears a shield, charged with two chevronels between three fleurs-de-lis. The specimen engraved is of copper, and weighs 24 grains. It is in Dr. A. Smith’s collection.

¹ “Journals of the Irish House of Commons,” anno 1697.

IX. and X. PERRY, EDWARD.—This individual put forth two tokens, one in 1667, and the other in 1672. An engraving of each



is presented to the reader. The reverse of the later token was defaced, in the specimen from which the drawing was made. Re-



cently, a specimen in excellent preservation has been obtained by Mr. Lindsay, and from a sealing-wax impression which that gentleman has kindly sent me, I find that the wanting portion of the inscription was simply the date 1672. Both tokens are of copper. That of 1667 weighs 12 grains, and is in Mr. Harris's cabinet; and that of 1672 weighs 35 grains, and is found with Dr. A. Smith and Mr. Lindsay. The ingenious monogram on the obverse of the latter token deserves attention.

Mr. Perry served as Bailiff of Youghall in 1664, and as Mayor in 1674. His interment at St. Mary's is thus recorded in the Parish Register :—

"1696. November 18. Ed. Perry, Ald., 66 years, tissick."

XI. PINNE, JOHN.—Of the family to whom this individual belonged, Dineley, the Worcestershire tourist, whose MS. is being



published in our own "Transactions," gives the following account :—

¹ "Tissick," i. e., *Phthisick* [Gr.], a consumption of the whole body, arising from an ulceration of the lungs, accompanied with

a slow continued fever, ill-smelling breath, and cough."—*Glossographia Anglicana Nova*, 8vo, London, 1719.

"The Piens are of the house of Mogealy, formerly the estate of S^r Walter Rawleigh, who after having granted them an estate for fourscore years and upwards, at the same time proffer'd the fee-simple for a Goshawk, which Pien the ancestor refused S^r Walter; and the lease being expir'd, [the estate] is now in the hands of the Earle of Cork, and sett for the best part of an hundred pounds per annum by his Agent."

The striker of this token served as Bailiff of Youghal in 1664, along with Edward Perry, whom I have just noticed, when Edward Gillet was the Mayor. It does not appear that his year of office was a distinguished one. Cooke, in his MS. History, describes it in these words:—

"This Mayor and Bailiffs neglected their duties, in not minding the weights and measures, and not settling the Assize of Bread, according to the several Acts of the Town."

The name is now spelled "Pyne," and is one of respectability in the neighbourhood. The token is of brass, and weighs 12 grains. The specimen from which our drawing has been made is supposed to be unique. It is in the collection of Dr. A. Smith, to whom it was presented by the writer of this paper.

XII. VAUGHAN, THOMAS.—This gentleman was of a Brecknockshire family, who bore for arms, as the token before us exhibits, three human heads, full-faced, coupéd. He was Bailiff of Youghal



in 1654. Next year he was chosen Town Clerk, as Cooke informs us, "by unanimous consent." In 1658 his name appears in the Municipal List as Mayor. He appears to have had (with perhaps others) three children:—1. John, who married, July 20, 1682, Jane, eldest daughter of Samuel Hayman, Esq., of South Abbey; 2. Elizabeth, married September 28, 1675, to Robert Ball, Esq., of Youghal, from whom descended our gifted naturalist, the late Robert Ball, LL. D.; and 3rd. Anne, married January 6, 1680–81, to Francis Baker, Esq. Vaughan's token is of copper. The specimen from which our engraving is made weighs 37 grains, and is in Dr. A. Smith's collection. Another specimen is in the British Museum. A third is in the possession of Mr. John Burke, sexton of St Mary's, Youghal.

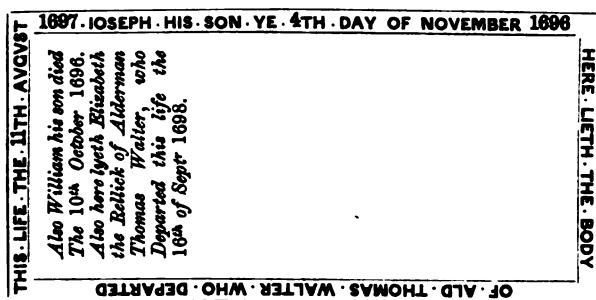
XIII. WALTER, THOMAS.—The Municipal Records of Youghal show that this gentleman served as Bailiff of the town in 1687, and



as Mayor in 1693. The Parish Register records his interment in St. Mary's Church:—

"1697. August 13. Tho. Walters, Alderman, about forty. Consu[mption]. Buried."

His tombstone, now much broken, bears the following inscription:—



The specimen engraved is of copper, weighing 41 grains. It is in Dr. A. Smith's collection. Another specimen, which formerly belonged to the late Dean of St. Patrick's Dublin, is in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy.

XIV. WANDRICK, ANDREW.—Although this name comes last in alphabetical arrangement, the token appears to have been the earliest issued. Mr. Wandrik was Bailiff of Youghal in 1648,



Mayor in 1651, and was chosen Recorder in 1656. In the earliest Book (Liber A) of the Corporate proceedings, at a Court of

D'Oyer Hundred, held September 29, 1656, is the following entry:—

“Item. It is agreed by the Mayor, Ballives, Burgesses, and Commonalty, assembled in Common Council, that Andrew Wandrick, Esq., Recorder of this Towne and these Liberties thereof, for his rare and great paines in the supplym^t of that Employment of Recorder shall have yearly paid unto him by the Mayor for the time being out of the Revenue of this Corporation the sum of x£. (viz.), £5 on the 25 of March and the other £5 on 29 of September.”

In 1670, Owen Silver was chosen Recorder, so that Mr. Wandrick either had resigned the office, or was then deceased. This token is of brass, and weighs 20 grains. Specimens are in the British Museum, and in Dr. A. Smith's collection.

REGISTER OF HISTORICAL PORTRAITS.

EDITED BY THE REV. JAMES GRAVES, A. B.

THIS age has shown great favour to those ancillary branches of history which give insight to the everyday life of the generations long gone by. It is pleasant to know how men then lived in peace and war—what the inlaying and jewelling of the knight's bascinet cost—where the blade of his good sword was tempered and damascened—how he purveyed the cloth of gold and costly furs of his weeds of peace—how the gallant of the second Richard's time recommended himself to the eyes of the fair lady of his love by arraying himself in a suit divided in colour by a right line from head to heel, the right side red, the left, mayhap, white, even to the chained up point of his preposterously elongated shoes. The dim and unsubstantial forms that have gone “down amongst the dead men” seem to grow more real and life-like as we become familiar with such details; and when touched in by a master's hand, the canvass glows and brightens, and we almost think to see the figures live and move as when they fretted their brief space on the busy stage of life. Now, of these handmaids to the knowledge of the past, none is more permanently interesting than portraiture. We cannot choose but be pleased as we trace character in the features of the cleric, sage, or soldier, who has been a “king of men,” has led the herd, and stamped the fashion of his soul on the age he lived in. The importance of a National Portrait Gallery has been acknowledged in England, and is supported by public money. Should we not have one, too, in Ireland? It is to be hoped that a collection of Ireland's

worthies shall find a place, sooner or later, in Dublin. In the meantime, however, there is no reason why the machinery of this Society should not be used to register the existence and place of conservation of the numberless historical portraits, either painted or engraved, which adorn the houses of the nobility and gentry of Ireland. The subject is one that has not been worked out or even thought of hitherto, and if this Society did nothing else but ascertain and make known the *locale* of original and authentic portraits of Ireland's notable men of all sides and parties, it would deserve the thanks of all intelligent students of Irish history. Our Members are scattered over the length and breadth of the land, and a little co-operation is all that is needed to carry out the object in view. When, in the course of a summer tour, or otherwise, the existence of an undoubted historical portrait is ascertained, the opportunity should not be let slip to make a note, *on the spot* (subsequent recollection is never to be trusted), of the particulars and characteristics of the picture or pictures, to be transmitted at once to the Honorary Secretaries for registration—such registration to be effected by insertion in the pages of the Journal of the Society, from time to time, as materials come in. It is earnestly requested, therefore, that the Members of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society will, each in his own district, aid in carrying out this project. The desired end cannot be effected without their co-operation; and surely so worthy an object cannot fail of support.

The idea suggested itself to me on the receipt of a letter in August last, from a Member of the Society, the Rev. Philip Moore, who in the course of an autumn excursion had noted down a brief yet characteristic description of one or two historical portraits which he had seen. I brought it before the Society at the subsequent November Meeting, and a newspaper report of my observations elicited the following remarks from the "Athenæum" (No. 1621, p. 648)—no mean authority on such matters:—

"At a Meeting of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society last week a good idea was thrown out by the Rev. James Graves. Every one knows how rich these islands are in historical portraits; and every one knows how difficult it is to find an original whenever it may be wanted. Let us give an example:—There are two well-known engraved portraits of Raleigh, known as the Houbraken print and as the Virtue print. They are evidently not representations of the same man; and it would be interesting to find the originals, and see if any evidence of authenticity could be drawn from a more exact inspection and comparison. Where are they? The Houbraken is noted as from a picture in the possession of Peter Burrell,—the Virtue as from one in the possession of Lady Elwas, described as a descendant of Raleigh. Neither the one engraving nor the other bears any very overpowering likeness to the Downton Raleigh, recently purchased by the Commissioners of the National Portrait Gallery. So that here are three or four questions of an

extremely interesting kind. Have we extant a true portrait of Raleigh? Had the planter of Virginia a bullet head and bilious eye, as shown in the Virtue engraving, or a grandly calm countenance, as seen in the Houbraken? Has the nation bought as a portrait of its great hero and statesman a representation, as some people think, of one of his obscure cousinry—one of the Downton Raleighs? All these points, a precise knowledge of the whereabouts of the Houbraken and Virtue originals might help to settle. Can any reader of ours tell us the present locality of these pictures? Now the same doubts often arise with less illustrious men, and a General Registry of Historical Portraits is one of the wants of the age. The Kilkenny Society proposes to open an account, and they solicit from their correspondents a brief description of such portraits as they discover in old houses, the descriptions, of course, properly authenticated. By way of encouraging others to begin this useful work, we open in another column a Register, with Mr. Graves's two notes."

This paragraph led to an important letter from Mr. Redgrave, which I think it well to give at length, as it comes from one whose full acquaintance with the subject, and official position, give him a right to be heard in the matter, and whose communication, as might be expected, contains many valuable suggestions:—

"REGISTRY OF HISTORICAL PORTRAITS.

"18, *Hyde Park Gate, South Kensington,*
"November 23.

"Your Journal of last week notices an excellent proposition which was thrown out by the Rev. James Graves, at a Meeting of the Kilkenny Archæological Society, and the determination of the Society to open an account and solicit correspondence on the subject. Let me suggest, that the scheme (an excellent and useful one) might be advantageously extended, and that, while the Kilkenny or any other Society might do valuable local service, the object would be much advanced, and would receive far greater attention, if the proposed 'Registration of Historical Portraits' had a national rather than a local action.

"First, as to the extension of the idea. In making a Register of all the pictures, the property of the Crown, on which I am at present engaged, I have found that the best verbal description of a picture is in its nature very imperfect, and I have obtained the proper sanction to assist it, by having a photograph taken of each work, to affix to the description, and other information, and form part of the Register.

"Now, the practice of photography is so universal, and [that] qualified operators are to be found in all localities; and I would suggest this plan be adopted in the Registry of historical portraits. Let an extreme size be determined on (say not greater than five inches in the largest dimensions), and each contributor to the Registry be requested to forward such a photograph, with the best possible description of his picture, together with as much as he knows of its authentic history, in order that such

photograph shall be affixed to a prepared sheet, and the information written in at the Registry.

"I would also propose that information be registered under the following heads:—1. The material on which the work is painted, whether pannel, canvass, or ivory, &c. 2. The size, in inches, of the pannel, canvass, &c. 3. Any signature, monogram, or date, found on the work.

"It would also be desirable, in the description of the picture, to be as accurate as possible on various points. The supposed age of the individual represented might be given, and of which, within a year or two, most persons capable of describing a picture would be able to judge. The direction from which the light comes might be indicated, and the description, as to the right hand or left hand, should be understood, of the portrait, and not of the spectator, so that a uniform method would be adopted.

"I think, if such a Register were formed, it would be highly valuable in aid of antiquarian, artistic, and historical research, and should be easily accessible for examination and comparison by all persons desirous of obtaining information, or authenticating works of their own.

"Now, is it more than necessary to suggest how fitly this duty of registration might be undertaken by the Committee of the National Portrait Gallery, and carried out by their Secretary, Mr. George Scharf? It would not only be collecting valuable information for themselves as to purchase, but gaining attention to the object of the Government in forming the Gallery, and, perhaps, be the means of many valuable gifts in aid. Certainly such a means of registration would gain far more extensive attention than would be given to a local Registry in Ireland, where, to great numbers, consultation would be impossible, and could only be asked as a matter of courtesy. At the same time, localities might undertake to collect information, and transmit it to the central Registry.

"RICHARD REDGRAVE."

To this communication, which appeared in the "*Athenæum*" (No. 1622, p. 684), I thought it necessary to reply briefly as follows; as I feared the project might be hampered by conditions which, however well they might suit an undertaking carried on under royal patronage, or at the expense of the nation, would, at all events, not suit a Registry such as that proposed to be effected by the aid of this Society, which, if carried out at all, must depend on the voluntary exertions of private individuals:—

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE ATHENÆUM.

"*Kilkenny, December 6.*

"As you have stamped my suggestion relative to a 'Registry of Historical Portraits' with your approval, perhaps you will give me space for a few words on Mr. Redgrave's proposal that five-inch photographs should accompany all contributions. I do not deny that, wherever practicable, photographic registration would be the most truthful and effectual: but I greatly fear that, if insisted on, it would go far to defeat the object in view. I look for contributions to the 'Registry' not so much from regular

investigators, who can afford to set out furnished with the heavy baggage of photographic apparatus, as from the general run of summer tourists, whose more slender *impedimenta* can barely find room for sketching and memorandum book. A brief, yet comprehensive formula should at once be constructed, and Mr. Redgrave has thrown out many excellent hints for that purpose. Let it not be clogged, however, by too many conditions, as the end in view is not so much to give a full description of the portraits, as to indicate their existence and place of conservation.

“JAMES GRAVES, A.B.”

I would propose, therefore, that, when the existence of an undoubted historical portrait, either painted or engraved, is ascertained, information be registered, on the spot, under the following heads:—

1. The name and date of the portrait.
2. The material on, and manner in, which the work is painted or engraved.
3. The size of the portrait.
4. Any signature, monogram, or date, found on the work.
5. The age, dress, and characteristics of the portrait.
6. Name of painter or engraver.
7. The place of conservation, and owner of the portrait.

By the phrase “an undoubted historical portrait” is meant to be conveyed that the personage represented has figured in history, or borne some office in Church or State; or that the armour, dress, or other characteristics of the picture tends to illustrate history. The cataloguing of mere family portraits should be avoided. In like manner, well-known engravings should not be noticed.

Having premised thus much, I proceed to make a commencement of the “Register of Historical Portraits,” with the assurance that it will be continued by many pens.

COMMUNICATED BY REV. PHILIP MOORE, R.C.C., PILTOWN.

No. 1. *Name and Date*—Sir Charles Coote, the elder, a celebrated leader on the side of the Commonwealth in Ireland, slain 1642. *Material, &c.*—Canvass; in oil. *Size*—Half-length, life-size. *Signature, &c.*—No signature, monogram, or date observed. *Age, Dress, and Characteristics*—Middle age; pointed beard; dark-brown moustache; brown eyes; slight person; in armour; baton in right hand. *Name of Painter*—Not known. *Place of Conservation*—Ballyfin House, Queen's County. *Owner*—Sir Charles Coote, Bart.

No. 2. *Name and Date*—Sir William Parsons, Lord Justice of Ireland, ob. 1650. *Material, &c.*—Canvass; in oil. *Size*—Full-length, life-size. *Signature, &c.*—No signature, monogram, or date

observed. *Age, Dress, and Characteristics*—Middle age; a fine, mild-looking man; shaved close; no moustache; dark eyes and brows; in armour. *Name of Painter*—Not known. *Place of Conservation*—Parsonstown Castle, King's County. *Owner*—The Earl of Rosse.

COMMUNICATED BY THE REV. JAMES GRAVES, A.B., KILKENNY.

No. 3. *Name and Date*—Tenison, Archbishop of Canterbury, ob. 1715. *Material, &c.*—Canvass; in oil. *Size*—Three-quarter length, life size. *Signature, &c.*—None.¹ *Age, Dress, and Characteristics*—Middle age; thoughtful face; dark complexion; natural gray hair, long and uncurled; sitting in high-backed chair, dressed in black gown and rochet; book open in hands. *Name of Painter*—Said by family tradition to have been Sir Peter Lely. *Place of Conservation*—The residence of William Hayden, Esq., Kilkenny. *Owner*—William Hayden, Esq.

No. 4. *Name and Date*—Dr. Edward Tenison, Bishop of Ossory,² ob. 1735. *Material, &c.*—Canvass; in oil. *Size*—Three-quarter-length, life size. *Signature, &c.*—None. *Age, Dress, and Characteristics*—Youthful-looking; fresh complexion; large, unintellectual features; flowing wig; black gown and rochet; right hand on book. *Name of Painter*—Not known. *Place of Conservation, and Owner*—Same as No. 3.

No. 5. *Name and Date*—Thomas Tenison, Archdeacon of Carmarthen, ob. 1742.³ *Material, &c.*—Canvass; in oil. *Size*—Three-quarter length, life size. *Signature, &c.*—None. *Age, Dress, and Characteristics*—Middle age; large, unintellectual features; flowing wig; scarlet gown, and black scarf. *Name of Painter*—Not known. *Place of Conservation, and Owner*—Same as No. 3.

No. 6. *Name and Date*—Dr. Potter, Archbishop of Canterbury,⁴ *Material, &c.*—Canvass; in oil. *Size*—Three-quarter length, life size. *Signature, &c.*—None. *Age, Dress, and Characteristics*—Advanced in years; thoughtful face; dark complexion; scanty, gray hair; sitting, book in right hand. *Name of Painter*—Said by family tradition to have been Sir Peter Lely. *Place of Conservation, and Owner*—Same as No. 3.

No. 7. *Name and Date*—Major John Haynes, of Cannycourt, county of Kildare. *Temp.*—William III.⁵ *Material, &c.*—Canvass;

¹ Family tradition fixes the time of its being painted as previous to the elevation of Dr. Tenison to the Archiepiscopal See of Canterbury, and whilst he was Bishop of Lincoln. Nos. 3 to 6 have descended to Mr. Hayden from his uncle, Joseph Hayden, Esq., of Prospect, county of Kilkenny, a descendant of the Tenison family by the female side.

² Dr. Edward Tenison was nephew to Archbishop Tenison.

³ Son to Dr. Edward Tenison, Bishop of Ossory.

⁴ This prelate was predecessor to Dr. Tenison in the See of Canterbury. His granddaughter was married to the Rev. Thos. Tenison, Archdeacon of Carmarthen, son to the Bishop of Ossory (No. 4).

⁵ Major Haynes from whom descends Mr. William Hayden's wife, married, first, the widow of — Usher, daughter of — Bur-

in oil. *Size*—Three-quarter length, life size. *Signature, &c.*—None. *Age, Dress, and Characteristics*—About thirty; manly, bronzed, good-humoured face; shaved close; profusion of dark brown hair, scarlet tunic with wide sleeves, laced; shirt full at wristbands: voluminous cravat; steel cuirass; buff sword-belt; tall grenadier-like cap by his side. A fine picture. *Name of Painter*—Not known; said to have been painted in Holland. *Place of Conservation, and Owner*—Same as No. 3.

No. 8. *Name and Date*—Sir John Newport, Bart., the last Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer, born 1756. *Material, &c.*—Canvass; in oil. *Size*—Half-length, life size. *Signature, &c.*—None. *Age, Dress, and Characteristics*—Middle age; dress of gentleman of the period; sitting. *Name of Painter*—James Ramsay, Esq. *Place of Conservation*—The residence of Charles Newport, Esq., Waterford. *Owner*—Charles Newport, Esq., J. P.

No. 9. *Name and Date*—Sir Patrick Sarsfield, created Earl of Lucan by James II.; slain at Landen, 1693. *Material, &c.*—Paper; line engraving. *Size*—About twelve inches by eight. *Signature, &c.*—"My Lady Bingham, pinxit. M. A. Bregeon F. Tilliard sculpsit. After the original picture in the possession of Sir Charles Bingham, Bart., at Castlebar in the county of Mayo, in the Kingdom of Ireland.

" 'Oh Patrick Sarsfield, Ireland's wonder,
Who fought in fields like any thunder,
One of King James's chief Commanders,
Now lies the food of crows in Flanders.
Oh Hone, Oh Hone.' "

Age, Dress, and Characteristics—About thirty-five; in armour; flowing wig; handsome, full face. *Name of Engraver*—Tilliard.¹ *Place of Conservation*—Tintern Abbey, county of Wexford. *Owner*—Rossborough Colcough, Esq., D. L., J. P.

rowes, and a co-heiress, by whom he got the Cannycourt property, which was subsequently sold to the Latouche family. This picture is chiefly valuable for its accurate

representation of the military costume of the period.

¹ This engraving is not noticed by Granger, or his continuator, Noble.

(To be continued.)

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS
OF
THE KILKENNY AND SOUTH-EAST OF IRELAND
ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY,
FOR THE YEAR
1859.

ELEVENTH SESSION.

If any there be which are desirous to be strangers in their owne soile, and forrainers in their owne Citie, they may so continue, and therein flatter themselves. For such like I have not written these lines, nor taken these paines.—CAMDEN.

VOL. II.—PART II.

NEW SERIES.

DUBLIN:

PRINTED AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

M^CGLASHAN & GILL, 50, UPPER SACKVILLE-STREET.

1859.

The Committee wish it to be distinctly understood, that they do not hold themselves responsible for the statements and opinions contained in the Papers read at the Meetings of the Society, and here printed, except so far as the 9th and 10th Amended General Rules extend.

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS

OF

THE KILKENNY AND SOUTH-EAST OF IRELAND

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY,

FOR THE YEAR 1859.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, held in the Assembly Rooms, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, January 5th, 1859,

W. JACKSON DOUGLAS, Esq., in the Chair.

The following new Members were elected :—

Stephen Edward De Vere, Esq., M. P., Monair, Foynes : proposed by the Rev. R. J. Gabbett.

Richard Musgrave, Esq., D. L., J. P., Tourin, Cappoquin ; P. MacDowell, Esq., R. A., 74A, Cavendish-square, London ; Francis N. Lett, Esq., Dunaghy Glebe, Clough, Belfast ; Patrick Duffy, Esq., F. C. S., Patrick-street, Kilkenny ; and Mr. Edward Callanan, Victoria Hotel, Kilkenny : proposed by the Rev. J. Graves.

Hercules St. George, Esq., J. P., Balief, Johnstown : proposed by Mr. Daniel M'Evoy.

The Rev. William Irwin, 83, Marlborough-street, Dublin ; and Rev. Walter Murphy, 83, Marlborough-street, Dublin : proposed by the Rev. Paul Smithwick, P. P.

Surgeon William Peterson Bernard, Ballintemple, county of Cork : proposed by Nicholas Peterson, Esq.

The Rev. James Freke, B. A., Durrow Glebe, Carrigbue, Bantry, county of Cork : proposed by the Rev. John Kingston.

The Rev. John Butler, P. P., Kilcooly, Thurles : proposed by J. R. Butler, Esq.

William A. Rushton, Esq., M. A., Professor of English History and Literature, Queen's College, Cork : proposed by R. R. Brash, Esq.

Jeremiah Merrick, Esq., 83, North Main-street, Youghal: proposed by the Rev. Samuel Hayman.

The following Report of the Committee, for the year 1858, was read by the Honorary Secretary:—

The commencement of the *Eleventh* Session of the Society must afford subject of congratulation to all its friends, especially as the work of the last year affords a proof that the sterling ore of historic matter is as abundant as ever, and that there are many true and stalwart workmen amongst the Members of the Association who do not grudge their toil in the cause of Irish Archæology. The Journal of the Society for the year 1858 is in the hands of Members up to its September Number. The concluding part is all in type, and shall shortly be published. A further portion of the "Annuary" is also in type, and shall soon be issued. It will contain a full account of the social state of the county of Kilkenny in the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII., as placed on record by the formal Presentments, made to a Royal Commission, by the gentry, corporations, and commons of the county and city. These Presentments being in continuation of those of Wexford, already published, and to be followed by similar documents from the other south-eastern counties of Ireland, will, when completed, form a most important volume, throwing a broad light on the social condition of the district at a most interesting period. Your Committee trust that more ample support than has been hitherto afforded will enable the Society to complete this desirable contribution to Irish history.

The strength of the Society has been fully maintained by the election of *ninety* new Members during the year.

Your Committee regret that the dilatoriness of many Members, with regard to the payment of their subscriptions, has caused the accounts for 1857 to exhibit a balance against the Society. This in many cases, no doubt, arose from carelessness or forgetfulness; but it is not the less to be deplored, and a continuance of the evil must eventually injure the usefulness of the Society. The custom hitherto has been to allow Members to run two years in arrear before their names are removed from the Society's books. Your Committee recommend that more stringent measures should for the future be taken, and that the names of all Members in arrear on the 31st of December in each year be at once removed from the Publishers' list,—with the understanding that they shall be replaced on payment of all arrears, together with a small fine, to defray the postage of applications.

Your Committee, fully agreeing with the unanimous resolution of regret for the death of Dr. Robert Cane, adopted at the September Meeting, cannot avoid expressing their sense of the great loss inflicted on the Society by his untimely removal from amongst us. His exertions in the cause of Irish Archæology were, as far as the engagements of a busy professional life allowed, most untiring and judicious; and they feel that his place as Treasurer and ex-officio Member of the Committee of this Society cannot be easily filled.

The Report was unanimously adopted, and ordered to be printed; and all Members one year and upwards in arrear ordered to be removed from the Publishers' list for the issue of the "Journal."

On the motion of Patrick Aylward, Esq., the Committee and Officers for the year 1859 were elected, as follows:—

PRESIDENT :

THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF OSSORY.

VICE-PRESIDENTS :

THE WORSHIPFUL THE MAYOR OF KILKENNY.
THE HIGH SHERIFF OF THE COUNTY OF KILKENNY.
THE HIGH SHERIFF OF THE CITY OF KILKENNY.

TREASURER :

REV. JAMES GRAVES, A. B.

HONORARY SECRETARIES :

REV. JAMES GRAVES, A. B.
JOHN G. AUGUSTUS PRIM.

COMMITTEE :

JAMES S. BLAKE, Esq., J. P., Barrister-at-Law.
REV. JOHN BROWNE, LL. D.
SAMSON CARTER, Esq., C. E., M. R. I. A.
BARRY DELANY, Esq., M. D.
REV. LUKE FOWLER, A. M.
JOHN JAMES, Esq., L. R. C. S. I.
THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF LEIGHLIN.
REV. PHILIP MOORE, R. C. C.
MATTHEW O'DONNELL, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.
REV. JOHN O'HANLON, R. C. C.
JAMES G. ROBERTSON, Esq., Architect.
JOHN WINDELE, Esq.

Mr. J. G. Robertson and Mr. P. Aylward were elected Auditors of the accounts for the year 1858.

The following presentations were received, and thanks voted to the donors:—

By the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne: "Archæologia Æliana," new series, parts 1-11, inclusive.

By the Publisher: "The Dublin Builder," No. 1.

By the Royal Dublin Society: their "Journal," Nos. 9-11, inclusive.

By the Cambrian Archæological Association: "Archæologia Cambrensis," No. 16, and Supplement to Vol. IV.

By the Publisher: "The Gentleman's Magazine," December, 1858.

By the Architectural, Archæological, and Historic Society for the County, City, and Neighbourhood of Chester: their "Journal," part 5.

By Robert Mac Adam, Esq.: "The Ulster Journal of Archæology, No. 24.

By the Cambrian Institute: "The Cambrian Journal," second series, No. 3.

By Alfred John Dunkin, Esq.: "The Archæological Mine," parts 40 and 41.

By the Publisher: "The Builder," Nos. 22-29, inclusive.

By Dr. Keating: a richly ornamented candlestick, cast in lead, apparently French work of the period of Louis XIV. It was found on the site of the old building formerly called "Callan Castle," and sometimes "the Palace,"—the seat of the Candler family, the death of the last of whom (Admiral Count Candler, of the Russian service) was announced within the last few years in the public press, wherein he was described as of "Callan Castle, Ireland."

Coins presented:—By Mr. John Dunne: a St. Patrick's farthing, and two other coins. By Mr. John Carroll: a Dublin halfpenny token. By Mr. T. May: a shilling of William III. By the Rev. John Kingston: a silver penny of Edward I., one of a find of eighty discovered at Shahanaleera, three miles from Ballydehob, county of Cork. By John L. Conn, Esq.: a Waterford token, dug up on his property in that county: *Ob.*, JOHN T . . . ; *Rev.*, CITY OF WATERFORD, 1st, 1657.

John Rowe, Esq., Ballycross, county of Wexford, sent for exhibition a massive plain gold ring, found in the year 1844, in the townland of Ballyhorty, barony of Bargy, county of Wexford. It was a signet ring; the device was a shield bearing a ragged staff, between two swords erect, but without any inscription or initials. The workmanship was of about the middle of the seventeenth century. The armorial bearings, probably foreign, were well engraved.

Mrs. Power, Waterford, sent for exhibition, through her nephew, J. A. Blake, Esq., M. P., a bronze signet ring, found in the course of excavations at the Court House, Waterford, which was the site of one of the ancient abbeys of that city. The workmen having uncovered a small vault, or grave of masonry, discovered the remains of an ecclesiastic in full vestments. The figure, when first uncovered, seemed quite perfect, but shortly after being exposed to the action of the air, it had fallen into dust. On the finger this ring had been found. It was extremely rude in its workmanship; the device was a shield, bearing a saltier between four indistinctly marked charges, three of which (those on the fess and base points) appeared to be fleurs-de-lis.

The Rev. James Graves exhibited a magnificent ancient Irish

fibula of extraordinary size and rare type, which had been discovered in the course of the summer. It was found, he said, by a labourer in the parish of Killamory, county of Kilkenny, and evidently had not been deposited in the earth in connexion with any burial, as it rested, without being enclosed in any cist, or connected with any other remains, on the yellow-clay subsoil beneath the vegetable mould of the field. For size, beauty of ornamentation, and bold, yet elegant design, this brooch was, perhaps, the finest of the rare class to which it belonged. The material was white metal, parcel-gilt on the ornamental portions. It was much tarnished from oxidation. It was irregularly circular, the diameters being $4\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{5}{16}$ inches. The lower, or ornamental portion, was crescent-shaped and flat, measuring $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches across its broadest part. The annular portion was $\frac{7}{16}$ ths of an inch in thickness. The flat, or lower part, was bordered by four monstrous couchant animals, such as are often figured in ancient Irish monuments and sculpture; of these, the two which form the external border had birds' beaks. The fibula was pseudo-penannular, the artist having the type so designated in his mind's eye, but allowing the ends to be connected by two bosses, embraced by the jaws of the monsters just described, and by a band, with interlaced ornament, leaving two perforations across the broadest part of the crescent. On each side were two sunk, or panelled ornaments, measuring respectively $\frac{9}{16}$ ths and $\frac{19}{16}$ ths of an inch square, and set lozenge-wise, from the sides of which the metal was slightly bevelled off in four facets. These depressions were filled up with delicate filigree-work in gold wire, or silver wire heavily gilt. The filigree ornaments consisted of a boss in the centre, surrounded by eight small coiled knobs within a circle of twisted wire, outside of which was also a square of twisted wire, with coiled knobs in the angles. Where the ring joined into the crescent-portion of the fibula were two large bosses set with glass, the latter inlaid with white metal. The bosses measured $\frac{11}{16}$ ths of an inch in diameter, and projected $\frac{7}{16}$ ths of an inch. On the back, the ring of the fibula ended in two monsters' heads in low relief; and on the flattened portion were two irregularly formed rectangular ornaments in low relief, each bearing, within a border ornamented by dots, a monster having a strong resemblance to those which are to be found in such numbers in the illuminations of the "Book of Kells." At the base of the crescent was a small but strong loop, probably serving to hold some contrivance to fasten the pin, which was wanting in the security attaching to the pins of penannular brooches. The pin was of very unusual form: it measured 12 inches from head to point; the head was flat and rectangular, the breadth at top $\frac{11}{16}$ ths of an inch, at bottom $\frac{10}{16}$ ths of an inch, and the height $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches. It was attached to the fibula, at the back, by a strong loop. This loop was disengaged at its lower

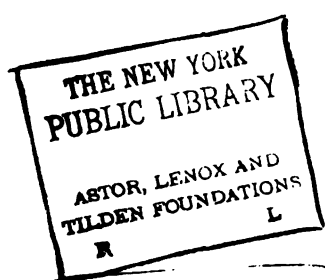
end, seemingly to allow of its being bent back to remove the pin from the fibula at pleasure. In a socket, which was of one piece with the head, and finished with a beaded ornament, was fixed, by two rivets, an acus, $10\frac{1}{4}$ inches long. Where joined to the head, the acus was $\frac{1}{4}$ th of an inch thick; in the middle it swelled out to a diameter of $\frac{1}{5}$ ths of an inch, and tapered to a blunt point. The metal of the acus seemed to consist of a core of pewter, covered with white metal. The head of the pin was ornamented by a border, consisting of two monsters, with heads at each extremity, the jaws embracing bosses. At the insertion of the acus was a boss set with glass, the latter inlaid with white metal. In the centre was a sunk panel, with filigree-work, similar to those on the fibula; it was $\frac{1}{2}$ an inch square, and set lozenge-wise, the metal bevelled off in four facets from its sides. The fibula weighed 11 oz. 3 dwts., and the pin 4 oz. 9 dwts. troy weight. The acus of the fibula had been broken by the spade of the finder. The annexed Plates (drawn and engraved on wood by Mr. Oldham) gave a faithful representation of this most valuable antique. He should add that on the back of the fibula there was incised an Irish inscription, apparently to the following effect:—*Op an Ochirmac*—"A prayer for O'Chirmac." These characters were inscribed with a pointed tool or graver, and, although partially concealed by oxidation, showed quite clear and sharp when examined by the aid of a magnifying-glass, with the exception of the last three letters, the back of the brooch being there much filed or scratched. Subjoined is a fac-simile, the indistinct portions

Op an Ochirmac

being dotted. Both the character of the letters and the formula of the inscription would be seen to be as old, at all events, as the year 1050, and the occurrence of the legend proved also that the brooch was in the possession of some person *after* the use of hereditary surnames became prevalent in Ireland,—thus establishing the fact that the brooch was *in use* about the middle of the eleventh century. But this was not the most interesting point connected with the legend. Dr. Petrie ("Inquiry into the Origin, &c., of the Round Towers," pp. 280–82), had proved that the beautiful and highly ornamented doorway of the parish church of Achad-ur or Freshford, in the north of the county of Kilkenny, must have belonged to the period alluded to, from the fact of its bearing two ancient inscriptions running round the inner arch, both containing patronymics. One of these legends commemorated the names of the chieftain and his wife by whose munificence the sacred structure was erected. Now, it was

¹ This interesting fact was discovered by Mr. Clibborn, Curator of the Museum of the

Royal Irish Academy, whilst examining the antique with a magnifying-glass.





THE KILKENNY BROOCH.

Front View.

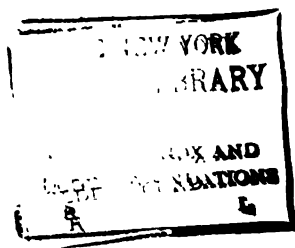
Largest Diameters of Original, $5\frac{5}{16}$ ths, and $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches.



THE KILKENNY BROOCH.

Back View.

Showing incised Inscription.



a most important fact that the same name occurred on the Kilkenny brooch also. *mathgmain u chiarmeic* caused the church to be built, and *ochirmac* seemed to be the name on the brooch—both identical with the modern form Keerwick, a surname still common amongst the peasantry near Freshford, and also in other parts of the county of Kilkenny under the form Kirby, and the patronymic of one of the Leinster clans descended from Fergus Luascan, son of Cathair More, monarch of Ireland in the second century (“Book of Lecan,” fol. 96 *b*). Both the church and the brooch were excellent specimens of Irish art, and Kilkenny might be proud of them. He (Mr. Graves) thought it extremely probable that the workmanship of the latter might be assigned to the same period as the architecture of the church; and he hoped it was not going very far into the realms of conjecture to suppose that this brooch might have secured the mantle of the chieftain, Mahon O’Keerwick, when he stood by and saw Moholmoc O’Cencucain carving the quaint monsters which, as on the brooch, served as ornaments to the western portal of the church. It should not be concealed, however, that the legend on the brooch might have been *graved* on the metal of which it was composed long subsequently to the actual period of the manufacture of the antique; or that it might be intended to commemorate the name, not of the owner, but of the maker. In any case he believed the occurrence of such a record was unique. Mr. Graves stated that he trusted this fibula would ultimately be secured for the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy. The pattern had already been “registered” for reproduction by a Dublin jeweller, and by his (Mr. Graves’s) suggestion had been named the “Kilkenny Brooch.”

The following letter, addressed by Mr. Edward Clibborn, Curator of the Royal Irish Academy’s Museum, to the Rev. James Graves, with reference to the antique in question, was then read:—

“24th December, 1858.

“DEAR SIR,—In reply to your query as to the material composing the exterior of the large brooch in your hands, I beg to say that it has all the external characters of the substance which composes the surface as well as the substance of several other brooches in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy.

“At first sight these brooches appear from their colour to be made of silver; they are generally found quite or nearly bright; while, on the contrary, white silver things are generally discovered in the earth nearly black in colour, and they often find their way to Dublin with scrap metal, as old copper or dirty brass, so very unlike are they to modern silver in colour and condition.

“An experienced eye will detect a difference in the surface of brooches. &c., made of this metal or alloy, and of silver, though the latter may be clean, or nearly clear of oxidation; indeed, most of the antiques made

of silver have a dull, leaden, *dusty-bluish* tint, as if they were made of an alloy of silver and lead. An exception should, however, be made in favour of the colour of those silver brooches with the arbutus berry or prickly nobs, such as the brooch in the Academy's collection, procured from the neighbourhood of Kilkenny, through the instrumentality of Mr. Bindon, and the gigantic top knob of the acus or pin of another brooch, which yourself secured for this Museum, and which was also found in your neighbourhood; so that Kilkenny has become rather famous of late for discovery in this brooch department of Irish archæology.

"I find from Mr. Henry Johnson, of Dublin, who has had great experience in the manufacture of modern Irish ornaments of antique fashion, and who has carefully examined the composition of most of the ornamental antique brooches in this Museum, so far as superficial tests would enable him, that the surface metal of the more highly ornamented brooches found in Ireland is not silver, but a kind of brass. He would call it '*white brass*,' considering it an alloy of copper and tin, very nearly related in composition to the speculum metal used by Lord Rosse and other practical opticians, with this difference, however, that the alloy he calls, for want of a better name, '*white brass*,' must have been extremely malleable, and very easy of being melted and worked, and afterwards ornamented with hammers and dies, &c.—a perfectly tractable metal, and not the almost incorrigible material which the speculum metal now in use really is.

"Hitherto, no actual analysis, that I know of, has been made of any fragment of this metal, which *actually* composes one or more of these brooches; but Mr. J. W. Mallet analyzed a portion of a fragment of a peculiarly and elegantly formed chisel-shaped article, apparently composed of the same alloy, found, as described in Mr. Wilde's '*Catalogue*,' p. 158, in the townland of Ballyvadden, parish of Kilmukridge, in the lower part of an old earthen vessel, *along* with fragments of common pocket celts, a gouge, a few rings, and other fragments, all made of the *antique yellow bronze*, in a state of great corrosion. This article Mr. Mallet describes ('*Trans. R. I. A.*,' *Science*, vol. xxii., p. 333), as '*a bit of white metal of considerable lustre, and exhibiting a somewhat lamellar structure*. This latter was hard and very brittle, so as to be easily reduced to powder in a mortar. There were no traces of corrosion on the surface. Specific gravity, 8·107. On analysis, it gave in 100 parts:—

Copper,	66·12
Tin,	30·62
Silver,	0·13
Antimony,	1·91
Sulphur,	0·11

98·89

He then proceeds to say:—"Thus, though an alloy of copper and tin, it differs totally from bronze in the proportion of its ingredients. The only analysis I [Mr. Mallet] have seen which comes near this, is that of an antique Roman mirror by Klaproth."

"Mr. Mallet then argues:—"Whether the Irish alloy was intentionally

made to be used [*originally*] for a similar purpose [*a speculum*]*—*a supposition in some degree countenanced by the presence of a little antimony—is not easy to decide.’ How he could put this question to himself, I cannot imagine, unless he suspected that the article in question had been made out of the mirror or speculum metal of antiquity, a case which the fact of the peculiar and elegant form of the thing itself, and its accessories, did not indicate.

“Had a fragment of an ancient mirror, or even a perfect specimen of one, composed of the same alloy, been found with or near the old broken pot and its contents, or had mirrors, or their fragments, made of the same alloy, been found frequently in Ireland, the consideration of his problematical case would have been reasonable, that this little article had been made, by accident or design, of a portion of the alloy used specifically for mirrors by the ancients. Whether it was, or was not, is nothing to us. His statement, however, implies that the alloy composing it, if used for mirrors, may have been the most lustrous combination of the metals known, and of all others, probably, the best calculated to maintain its polish, as many of the brooches have done, against the united influences of oxidation and attrition, like the fragment in the collection of bronzes; and it is likely that a composition or alloy, having such excellent qualities, would have been preferred as much for brooches and other ornamental purposes, as for mirrors, the looking-glasses of antiquity. Indeed, it looks as if the recovery of the composition of these ancient brooches would be a great desideratum in the arts in our own time, and much superior to aluminum, for it appears to possess several qualities which would give it a preference to that metal, and silver also, and all the modern substitutions and representations of it that I know of. The bronze things found with the fragment of metal analyzed by Mr. Mallet, in some degree may be taken as indicating an equivalent antiquity for it.

“I say, under correction, ‘*in some degree*,’ for it is quite possible that the collection of things found in the pot with it may have belonged to a different age; and even the remains of the pot may have been comparatively modern; and the things, one and all, in it, antiquated and out of use, when condemned as scrap metal to be melted down, like too many lots of curious and valuable antiquities, by our own country smiths, in our own times, so that we may guess or hope almost anything as to the relative or actual dates of the real bronzes, the white metal fragment, and the old pot itself.

“If we fix the date of the old earthen pot itself, it would help greatly in giving an approximate date to the things in it; but here we are at fault, as hitherto nothing of the kind, that I know of, has been preserved. It is not like any of the typical forms of the ancient cinerary urns, and we have none other in this Museum; it looks more like the remains of an earthen vessel, which might have been used for some domestic purpose—a milk-pan, for example. In this respect it has a modern character about it, which may, however, be perfectly accidental, for many specimens of ancient domestic pottery found abroad have all the characters of modern manufacture, yet they are genuine antiquities. Indeed, if this piece of the old earthen pot were intended for domestic uses, it is as rare a specimen in Ireland, as the little fragment of white metal found in it, for I know

of nothing of the kind elsewhere, though I have often heard of Roman, Saxon, and Danish coins found in Ireland, in perfect or broken earthen vessels, not cinerary urns. Unfortunately, none of these have been preserved, so that we might compare them with this remnant of antiquity.

"We want more facts to bear us out in an approximate date for the scrap of white metal; *and in its original shape*, it is decidedly *different* to every metallic article that I have seen in the Academy's or any other collection of antiques. I feel satisfied that we must reject Mr. Mallet's inference as to its having been made, either of fragments of mirror metal, as such, or as a failure in point of composition, any more than it was a failure in its shape, which was beautifully symmetrical, and its core or hollow for a handle was formed with such art that it was a masterpiece of casting, and in its way as exquisite in point of finish and form as any brooch made of what appears to our eyes to have been the *same* material. The hands and art which made the brooches of the white brass might have made the little chisel, and conversely it is probable that those who did make it might have formed the others also. The substance of this little fragment is so hard that a steel penknife will just scratch it, and when first found, many intelligent people who saw it thought it might be a specimen of that kind of bronze which the ancients are thought to have made so hard, somehow, by composition, or by tempering, that it would cut stone, wood, &c., as well, or perhaps better, than modern steel.

"Whether the composition of this scrap of old metal may be taken to verify the old opinion, that such brass or bronze actually existed, I will not undertake to say, for it appears to me that, though the surface is but little tarnished, the process of oxidation of some one or other of its ingredients has been, in the course of time, completed all through its substance, for the colour of the fracture is not nearly so metallic as that of the surface. Its original temper may be entirely changed by time, so that its present brittleness is not evidence of its original unfitness for those purposes to which the bronze of antiquity was occasionally applicable.

"In its present fracture it resembles some ancient bronze articles, which superficially appear to be perfectly metallic, but, breaking readily, they exhibit internal molecular oxidation, which entirely changes their original ductility, &c., and so I would infer that the excessive friability of the metal in the white fragment was in a degree owing to a sort of internal oxidation, which had gone on probably for many hundred years. In the case of a brooch in the Museum composed superficially, apparently, of the same metal, the surface is very hard, like the fragment analyzed, but it is at the same time so elastic, where the surface covering parts from its leaden foundation, that it springs more like a plate of thin steel than if it were made of well-hammered common brass, so much used for watch-making, &c., and hence I think we may infer that originally this white alloy was not so brittle as it appears to be in the piece examined by Mr. Mallet.

"In relation to the view here taken of the similitude in composition of these brooches and the white metal fragment, it is much to be desired that we could have an actual analysis made of one of them, and that we might be permitted to compare that with an analysis of the speculum or metallic mirror found covering a beautiful glass urn, discovered on the

property of Mr. Perry, situated, I believe, within the limits of the county of Kilkenny. If this were found to agree, we should give Mr. Mallet great credit for his inference.

"This mirror is, beyond doubt, of the Roman period in Great Britain, and may indicate *one* date in Ireland for the use of a mirror alloy, probably equivalent to that composing the little implement we have been talking about. This would bring its date up to the times of Virgil and Pliny, and raise a chance that it might be a specimen of that composition known to the Latins as 'orichalcum album,' and to the Greeks as λευκον κραμα, or white bronze. I do not think we can stop here, for the designs on those brooches under consideration are neither Latin nor Greek of the classic period, and hence it might be said, this composition was not known to either, unless we can produce some Latin or Greek antiques made of it. This we cannot do, but as the designs of some of the brooches are probably of late Jewish and early Christian art, we may, perhaps, claim for it a Jewish association, and liken it to, or identify it, with the 'copper,' so called, used by the Jews for mirrors, and also with the material of the 'two vessels of fine copper, precious as gold,' mentioned in Ezra, viii. 27, —for this material appears, from the way it is economized in the brooches, by means of internal leaden cones introduced with great skill, to have been as precious as, or even more precious than, gold. Indeed, the care that was taken to economize this material, as well as the extra work put upon it to increase its beauty, indicates that it was the pet metal or material of the jewellers of antiquity, or at least that period of the good old times to which those brooches, at any rate, belonged.

"In India and China I understand that a substance, called white brass by Europeans, is still in use, but whether ornamental things like our Irish brooches are made of it, in preference to silver, I am not at this moment able to say. It is quite clear that the metal composing the surface of this Kilkenny brooch was preferred, when and where it was made, to silver, and, I suspect, to gold itself; placing its material, probably, before either metal, and on a par, perhaps, with the old Corinthian brass, which was at one time the most valuable metallic compound known to the ancients. The composition of that alloy has been lost to the arts for a long time, and may we not hope that if these things are made either of white brass, Corinthian brass, or its equivalent, that their composition may be recovered, and the arts of our time benefited accordingly?

"In the absence of any exact or direct evidence as to this pin being really made of the white brass, &c., of the ancients, we may, I think, adopt the designation 'white bronze' for the material of that and other brooches like it, until some further evidence is produced to prove the name misapplied,' though Mr. Mallet's remarks would, at least in the case of the fragment of the little implement, remove them, if they are the same with it, from the category of *bronzes* altogether.

"I have to apologize for the hurried character of this communication. If it have the effect of drawing the attention of our chemists and manufac-

¹ "We have got an Irish name, which we may, at least till we get better, give to the material of which it is composed. I have just found it in the 'Atlantis,' No. III., p. 118, where Mr. Curry in a note suggests that the

metal Findruine, of which the rim of Cuchulainn's shield was made, might 'have been a species of white bronze,' just the sort of thing I believe this and other brooches to have been composed of."

turing jewellers to the composition of these brooches, and its re-discovery, it may prove a further benefit to our native artisans, who, I rejoice to say, have already reaped a good harvest by the revival of the patterns of the antique brooches, which, it is hoped, may be much improved upon, when we are enabled to make them of their original material, now imitated imperfectly in silver.

“ Most truly yours,
“ E. CLIBBORN.”

The Hon. Secretary stated that, with reference to the signet rings with the device of a crowned W, lately found in the county of Wexford (see p. 95, *supra*), he had received the following note from Albert Way, Esq., whose opinion on this and kindred subjects was of the highest authority :—

“Crowned letters are, I believe, mere devices. From 1380 or so, for 80 or 100 years, anybody or everybody put a crown on his initial, however ignoble he was. This is abundantly proved by seals of men of no note, on deeds. I have several alphabets of impressions of crowned initials from deeds, &c., and several crowned W's, being my own initial. Such may have been assigned to the Conqueror, to William Rufus, and others, but I believe my story is the true one. I will seal with the best I know—found in Scotland—and possibly a relic of a person of some better note, but the common seal rings of this class were certainly only caprices, as regarded the crown.”

An impression of a crowned W, from a large ring in his possession, was also sent by E. Pretty, Esq., Chillington House, Maidstone, Kent.

A communication from James Carruthers, Esq., was read as follows :—

“A few months ago a very curious antique Greek finger ring of fine gold was discovered near Lisburn, county of Antrim, and is now in my possession. It is composed of seven circular pieces, each a quarter of an inch in diameter, joined by small knobs. On the circular pieces are represented, in relief, a lyre—Venus rising out of the sea—a trident—head of Ulysses—a tripod—a sixteen-oared galley—and a seated figure such as is found on many ancient coins; on six of them are Greek characters, an explanation of which I subjoin :—

- | | |
|---------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. KYΘ, (KYΘEPA) CYTHERA. | 4. AYA, (AYAIE) AULIS. |
| 2. ΠA, (HAPΘE) PAROS. | 5. Obliterated. |
| 3. IΘA, (IΘAKH) ITHACA. | 6. XIO, (XIOΣ) CHIOS. |

The following annotated transcript¹ from the original letter in his possession was forwarded by George Bish Webb, Esq. :—

¹ The writer of the letter of which the transcript is annexed was Robert Fitzgerald, second son of George, sixteenth Earl of Kildare, by his marriage with Lady Jane Boyle, daughter of the first Earl of Cork. The following is from Burke's "Peerage:"—"This

gentleman having taken an active part in effecting the Restoration, was appointed by Charles the Second Comptroller of the musters and cheques of the army, in 1661, with the fee of 21*s.* per day, and was sworn at the same time of the Privy Council. He

Letter of COLONEL ROBERT FITZGERALD.

9, December, Dublin.

"SIR—My Lord Chancellor Porter¹ had been ill of a Cholicke or paine in his stomach aboute 3 weekes, most of which he went abroad. Yesterday sate in his court for 5 houres despatching causes till he was told there were no more on the list, upon w^h he went home, dined, and was very merry and well, entertaining all the company w^h came, and despatching papers till 4 o'clocke, when he went to his chamber to write letters for England—the very moment after he began to write he was taken ill and rung a bell twice to call his servants to him, but before any could come in less than a minutes time he was found dead, leaning backe in his chaire, and tho' an excellent surgeon was in the House, and all y^e proper remedys used, he made not one signe of life, and has dyed I feare in a very ill time, considering how sickly my Lord Drogheda² is & we doubt not all arts and endeavors will be used to get Woosley [?] into his place of Justice, and if that should happen this Kingdom will be totally ruined, and he would be followed by a traine of clamours and impeachments from hence wh^a will be most uneasy to the King's affaires both in England and Ireland. I hope you who love the King and us will be active to get us an acceptable person. My Lord Meath³ who came with me fell ill as it is generally sayd of an apoplecktike fitt, at the same time I pretend not to anything knowing it is in vaine tho' I have had lately fayre assurances from Lord Coningsby⁴ and y^r interest, that if you would step to my Lord Presy- dent he would advise you if it were possible to do me a service. It has been observed by many, that ever since Mr. Deane and one Major Deane went hence, who some say carried articles against his L^p, he has been very melancholy, and within this month he has told me 3 or 4 times that he was very unhappy that he could do nothing to give this country satisfaction, and used some such melancholy expressions as made me say I was

was subsequently appointed Governor and Custos Rotulorum of the county of Kildare, in which shire he resided at Grangemellan. Upon the accession of King James, however, he was stripped of all his employments and estate, to the value of £8300 per annum, and imprisoned in Newgate for twenty-one weeks, but afterwards, in consequence of the state of his health, removed to his own house, where he remained guarded for five months. On the landing of William in Ireland, Captain Fitzgerald was placed in close durance within the College of Dublin, and so restrained until the defeat of James, at the Boyne, when he broke from his prison, and by his courage and prudence preserved Dublin from being sacked. When William entered the metropolis, Captain Fitzgerald had the honour of presenting to his Majesty the keys of the city. He was afterwards sworn of the Privy Council. He married Mary, daughter and heiress of James Clotworthy, Esq., of Monimore, county of Londonderry,

and had, with several daughters, a son Robert, who succeeded as nineteenth Earl of Kildare, and was an eminent statesman in the reigns of Queen Anne, George I., and George II. His only son was created, 26th November, 1766, Duke of Leinster.

¹ Sir Charles Porter was appointed Lord Chancellor Jan. 9, 1686 (reign of James II.), and held the office one year. He was again appointed December 29, 1690. His successor was John Methuen, Esq., appointed March 11, 1697.

² Henry Hamilton, third Earl of Drogheda, whose son John married subsequently Elizabeth, youngest daughter of Sir Charles Porter.

³ Edward, fourth Earl of Meath, who died in 1704. He commanded a regiment at the Boyne, and was a Ranger of the Phoenix Park, Dublin, and one of the Keepers of the Great Seal in 1697.

⁴ Thomas Lord Coningsby was Vice-Treasurer of Ireland in 1693 and in 1698.

afrayde he was worse than he appeared, of w^h many mind me now and say I have an unlucky guesse.

"If my Lord Meath dyes I should thinke it not impossible to come into his place & he y^e can gett nothing for actings and sufferings would be glad to be ye [*illegible*] in a hospitall. I know not how my Lord Presy- dent stands, but I am sure if he could do it he would willingly, and if you would make a visit to him on my account it would never be forgotten by yours R. F."

Endorsed :—" 9, Dec^r, 1696, Dublin,
from Col. Ffitz Gerald, R' [Received] 23."

Mr. W. J. O'Donovan sent the following communication :—

"In the summer of 1848, George Woods, of Milverton House, county of Dublin, Esq., began to drain a swamp in his demesne, through which ran a water-course, which was usually dry at that season, the whole breadth being about half an acre; when the turfy loam which formed the surface was removed, it was found to be intersected at right angles to the course of the stream by several dams of yellow clay, which must have been brought from a distance, and which rested on the natural subsoil, a strong lime-stone gravel. On this subsoil was found a water-mill made of oak, the ends of the shaft of which were perfectly round and smooth, as if turned in a lathe, evidently showing that it had lost nothing of its original length, about four feet, or rather more. Into this shaft were morticed eight large wooden spoons, each about 2 feet by 14 inches, scooped out of a solid piece of oak rounded at the end, and capable of containing about a quart of water; the handles or parts let into the shaft were perfectly square. With the mill were found two small grindstones, one 8, the other 5 inches in diameter, of the fine sandstone of the neighbourhood, called 'kent-stone,' and still used for scythe-stones. Resting on the subsoil, and not intermixed with the loam, were found large heaps of bones, boars' teeth, skulls of the *Bos longifrons*; and, covering the top of a kistvaen in a Pagan cemetery hard by, and adjoining the church (in ruins), grave-yard, and well of St. Mavee, were found, by the same gentleman, in 1851, two mill-stones, one broken, the other tolerably perfect; the broken one measured about 3 feet 6 inches across, the other about 2 feet 8 inches. The water-wheel, &c., of the mill, have unfortunately not been preserved; the stones, four in number, some skulls, and seven teeth, were, in 1852, given to me by Mr. Woods, and by me presented, in his name, to the Royal Irish Academy, where, I suppose, they are still in the Museum.

"I wish to draw attention to the fact of the discovery of a *water-wheel*, to the dams, the grindstones, and, above all, to the extraordinary place where the millstones were found, forming part of the covering of a Pagan grave. I offer no observations, leaving them for better antiquaries than I can boast to be; but I hope such a unique discovery may elicit curious deductions as to the probable date of the mill.

"My authority for the facts are conversations with, and letters from, Mr. Woods, on whose land the remains were found."

The following papers were then submitted to the Meeting :—

THE ANTIQUITIES OF CLOYNE.

BY RICHARD ROLT BRASH, ESQ., ARCHITECT.

THE ancient and interesting town of Cloyne is situated in the barony of Imokilly, and county of Cork, from the city of which it is distant nineteen miles; it is seated in the heart of a rich and highly cultivated country, being embosomed in gently rising hills, and does credit to the choice of the ancient fathers who here took up their abode in very remote times.

Cloyne is known in our annals as Cluain-umha, or Cluain-vania, the latter being a Latinizing of the former; Dr. O'Brien¹ describes *cluain* as signifying "a plain, a lawn, a remote or retired situation," and *umha*, "a cave, den, grave." Thus it is often styled "Cluain of the Caves," as there are in the immediate neighbourhood caves of remarkable extent and beauty.

The barony of Imokilly is the ancient Aoibh-mac-cuille; it was a portion of the great district of Uibh Liathan, which comprised the present barony of Barrymore, and a portion of Imokilly.

The earliest notice we have of Cloyne is connected with its ecclesiastical foundations, as we find that in the sixth century a bishopric was founded here by St. Colman, son of Lenine.

Smith says that it is uncertain whether this person was the same with the founder of the See of Cloyne. Ware makes Colman a disciple or pupil of St. Fin-barr of Cork, from which Lanigan dissents, stating that he believes Colman of Cloyne to have been older than Fin-barr.²

The notice of St. Colman in O'Cleary's Calendar at November 24th is brief, and devoid of incident. It says:—Colman-Mac-Lenine of Cluain-Uamahd in Ui Leathan, in Munster, of the race of Oilioll Olum, son of Mogha Nuadhat, or of the race of Lughaidh Lagha; his brother was this Colman.

His pedigree in the Book of Leacan is:—Colman, son of Lenine; son of Gandue, Sonola, Conamail, Colui, Crunnmael Ailt, Oengus Carrach, Mogha Nuadhat.

In the Life of St. Senan is quoted a metrical life of that saint, written in Irish by Colman-Mac-Lenine; Colgan quotes this metrical Life in these words:—"Hujus vitæ fragmentum stylo vetusto et pereleganti Patrie sermone conscriptæ habitur in predicto Codice Vitæ S. Sinani Domini Gulielmi Derodani in Lagenia."³

St. Colman is said to have been of the royal blood of Munster,

¹ O'Brien's "Irish Dictionary."

² O'Halloran (vol. iii. p. 76) states, from the Psalter of Cashel, that Eochaidh, monarch

of Ireland in 560, founded the Bishopric of Cloyne for St. Colman.

³ Stowe Catal., 163, v. 15.

by his father Lenine, and brother to one of the St. Bridgets; he is sometimes surnamed Mitine, it being supposed that he was a native of Muskerry Mitine. The date of his birth cannot be ascertained accurately, but it is stated to have been about A.D. 522; he is said to have been in early life addicted to the study of poetry, and that he was domestic poet to Aodh Caomh, who became King of Cashel in the middle of the sixth century. His festival is on the 24th of November, and the year of his death is variously stated,¹ by some at 601, by others at 604. Ware assigns his festival to November 4th, but he is manifestly in error.

Smith says that an abbey of Augustinian Nuns was founded in this place by St. Itae in the sixth century. I should think this to be an error of Smith's, as I have not been able to ascertain upon what grounds he makes this statement. Ware, in his List of Augustinian Nunneries, does not mention it, nor have I been able to trace its foundation in any of our annals, nor is there any local tradition to countenance it. Lanigan, in his observations on the life of this saint, makes no mention of it. I find that St. Itae founded a Nunnery of Canonesses Regular of St. Augustine at Cluain Credhail, in the barony of Connelloe, county of Limerick, which I dare say Smith confounded with our Cluain.

It is remarkable what a number of places in Ireland, particularly religious establishments and bishoprics, were called "Cluain:" such as Cluain-mac-nish (Clonmacnoise); Cluain-fert (Clonfert); Cluain-iraird (Clonard); Cluain-credhail (Clonncach); Cluain-shan-vil, (Clonshavoil); Cluain-meen (Clonmine). In all probability they were so called either from the caves or retreats of the Pagan priesthood, or from the anchorite cells of the early Christian missionaries who supplanted them. It is certain that, at a very remote age, Cloyne was a remarkable locality; the great caves in its immediate neighbourhood, the relics of well-worship, the great Cromleac of Carriga-croith, remains of other cromleacs in the neighbourhood, to which a numerous and erudite section of our native antiquaries will add the hoary and mysterious Round Tower, point significantly to its sacred character in Pagan times. It is also a singular fact, that here, as at Kildare, in the immediate vicinity of a Round Tower, are the remains of one of those buildings traditionally known as fire-houses. Without committing myself to any theory upon the "*vexata quæstio*," I cannot help remarking, as the result of my own personal investigation, that I know of very few localities where one of these ancient enigmas exist, or have existed, that does exhibit monuments of a known Pagan character, and whose traditions are not unmisstakably of that class.

¹ The "*Annals of the Four Masters*" assign his death to A.D. 600.—O'Donovan's Edition.

In the "*Leabhar-na-g Ceart*,"¹ Cluain-uamha is mentioned as one of the seats or palaces of the Kings of Caiseal; and in the enumeration of the Eric of Fearghus Scannal it is called "*The Noble Fort*."

"Of the right of Caiseal in its power
Are Brugh-righ and the great Muilthead;
Seanchua the beautiful, Ros Raeda, the bright.
And to it belongs the noble [fort of] Cluain-Uamha."

The "*Annals of the Four Masters*" have the following notices of Cloyne:—

- "A. D. 821. Cucaech, Abbot of Cluain-uamha (died).
- " 857. Mael-cobha Ua Failain, Abbot of Cluain-uamha (died).
- " 885. Fearghail, son of Finnachta, Abbot of Cluain-uamha, and Uamanain, son of Ceren, Prior of Cluain-uamha, were slain by the Norsemen.
- " 884. Rechtaid, learned Bishop of Cluain-uamha (died).
- " 1099. Uamnachan Ua Mictire, successor of Colman, son of Lenin (died).
- " 1137. Cluain-uamha and Ard-achadh of Bishop Mel were burned, both houses and churches.
- " 1162. Diarmid Ua Laighnen, Lector of Cluain-uamha, was killed by the Ui-Ciarmhaic.
- " 1167. Ua Flannain, Bishop of Cluain-uamha (died).
- " 1579. Colman O'Scanlan, Erenagh of Cloyne (died).
- " 1500. Barry More was slain by his own kinsman, David Barry, Archdeacon of Cloyne and Cork. David was slain by Thomas Barry and Muintir O'Callaghan. The Earl of Desmond disinterred the body of David in twenty days, and afterwards burned it."

Keating states that Cormac Mac Cullenan, the King and Bishop of Cashel, directed in his will that his body should be interred at Cluain-uamha, because it was the burial-place of Colman Mac Leimhin; if that could not be accomplished, he was to be buried at Disert Diarmuda.

The "*Annals of Innisfallen*" mention, at A. D. 97, that "the people of Ossory burned Lismore and plundered Cloyne."

"A. D. 1071. A fleet with Dermot O'Brien round Ireland, with which he devastates Cluain-huama, and takes away the relics of Barre from Cill-na-Clerich."

"A. D. 1075. O'Carrain Archinnech Cluanna huama quievit in Christo."

CROMLEAC AT CASTLE MARY.—This remarkable megalithic monument is situated in the demense of Castle Mary, a short distance from Cloyne. The cromleac stands in the centre of a circu-

¹ Celtic Society's Edition, page 87.

² Ibid., p. 89.

lar depression of the earth, evidently artificial. It consists of two parts: the greater monument lies E. and W., and consists of a huge slab 15 feet in length, 11 feet in breadth at east end, and 7 feet in breadth at the west; and its greatest thickness is $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet.

This huge mass of rock is supported at the west end by two stones, which give its upper surface an elevation of 10 feet from the ground; the other end rests upon the earth. The lesser monument is about 6 yards from the greater; like it, the covering slab rests on the ground at one end, the other being also supported by two upright stones; the covering slab is rather oval in shape; its greatest length, $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet; its greatest breadth, $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet; its average thickness, $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet; its greatest elevation from the ground, 6 feet.

It is said that this monument was surrounded by a circle of pillar-stones, which have been removed.

Smith, who was, I believe, the first who called attention to this monument, says that the name of it in Irish is "Carig-croith," i. e. the Sun's Rock, and corrupted to "Carig-cot".¹ By reference to O'Reilly's "Irish Dictionary," we find *gríoth*, s., the sun; we have also *gríth*, s. f., the sun; and *gríth*, s. f., knowledge, skill; from which we may derive the rock of the sun, or the rock of knowledge, of incantation, or divination; for we know that the Druids pretended to derive auguries from the dying throes of the sacrificial victims.

Again we have from the same authority *croit*, s. f., a hump on the back; *croit*, s. f., a small eminence. Those who are curious in such matters may speculate on these two last as descriptive of the form or configuration of the monuments, and may derive the name therefrom.

Vallancey considers Carrig-a-Cot, or Cotta, to be the Rock of the Coti, indicating the name of the ancient inhabitants of Ireland—the Aire-Coti, descended from the southern Scythians, whom he believes were the Cathai of Persia, the Pelasgi of Greece and Etruria, and the Scots of Ireland. I may here remark, in connexion with the common name of this monument, Cot or Cotta, that there is a cromleac in Caernarvonshire in Wales; its local name is "Coiten Arthur," and the tradition is that Arthur Gawr (giant) cast this stone from a mountain some miles distant; hence they anglicise the name into Arthur's Quoit.² There are also three cromleacs in Cornwall, who have also this Coiten or Quoit derivation: they are called "Lanyon Quoit," "Molfra Quoit," and "Chun Quoit." This stone-throwing tradition is quite common in Ireland; there is scarcely a barony in the country in which you will not have one or more of Fion MacCumhal's finger-stones pointed out.

¹ The neighbouring fishing-village of Ballycotton was anciently Ballycotin; and in a different direction is a well called Tobercotin.

² At Staunton Drew is a large stone, "10 feet long, 6 broad, and 2 thick, called Hakims Coit." Camden, vol. i., p. 81.

I may here remark that the cromleac and the pillar-stone are still used in India. The following extract from Hooker's "Himalayan Journal" will be read with interest:—

"Nurtiung contains a most remarkable collection of those sepulchral and other monuments which form so curious a feature in the scenery of these mountains, and in the habits of their savage population. They are all placed in a fine grove of trees, occupying a hollow, where several acres are covered with gigantic, generally circular, slabs of stone, from ten to twenty-five feet broad, supported five feet above the ground upon other blocks. For the most part they are buried in brushwood, nettles, and shrubs, but in one place there is an open area of fifty yards encircled by them, each with a gigantic headstone behind it; of the latter, the tallest was near thirty feet high, six broad, and two feet eight inches in thickness, and must have been sunk at least five feet, and perhaps more, in the ground.

"The Nurtiung Stonehenge is, no doubt, in part religious, as the grove suggests, and also designed for cremation, the bodies being burnt on the altars."

A very remarkable paper was read before the Royal Institution of Cornwall on the 16th of November last, relative to Celtic remains found in Northern India, consisting of cromleacs of various forms, rock-basins, logan-stones, pillar-stones, cairns, sacred wells,—from which I take the following extract relative to the cromleac:—

"The granite mountain of Deo (or Devi) Dhoora is about eighteen miles south-east of Almorah, the capital of Kumaon, and rises to about 6800 feet above the sea. It is much visited by Hindoo devotees, as the temples and objects of Pagan worship on its summit are considered of peculiar sanctity.

"Both before and behind an enclosure which contains the principal temples, facing opposite ways, as well as in front of a smaller place of worship, about a furlong south-east of them, are large granite rocks, affording tolerably level surfaces of several feet square, respectively about four feet, two feet and a half, and a foot above ground. Each of these rocks exhibit a group of five basins. They are generally about six or eight inches in diameter, and perhaps a foot in depth; their sides are perfectly smooth; no trace of disintegration appears in any of them, and they are evidently of artificial origin."

After describing logan-stones, cairns, &c., he goes on to notice the small place of worship above mentioned, which he describes as a rectangular temple, not more than twelve or fourteen feet long, by, perhaps, eight feet in breadth and height.

"In front of this edifice were two small cromleacs of slate: the larger is an oblong square, about five feet in length, and two feet and a half in width, is supported at a height of rather less than three feet, horizontally, on six stones; the smaller is triangular, and is, perhaps, two feet and a half wide; but instead of being flat, it is supported at an angle about thirty degrees from the horizon, in such a manner that one corner is the lowest part, and one edge, the highest, is level; the props, being applied to the inclined

sides only, shelter the interior for about two-thirds of its circumference, but leave the rest open. The flat-topped cromleachs are used indifferently as altars or as seats, for I have observed rice and flowers, as offerings, laid on them, and just as frequently I have seen the natives sitting and resting their burdens on them. The inclined ones are employed only as receptacles for small, rudely made iron lamps, which are always lighted when religious rites are about being celebrated. Level-topped cromleachs are frequently found alone; but I do not recollect an instance, among the scores I have seen, of an inclined one without a flat one in its neighbourhood."

There is surely something more than a mere coincidence in the above description with the fact of the greater and less cromleac at Carrig-a-Cotta.

THE CAVES which have given this interesting locality a name are situated in the demesne attached to the See-house of the diocese. Bishop Bennet thus alludes to them in one of his letters to Dr. Parr:¹—

"At the end of the garden is what we call the rock shrubbery, a walk leading under young trees, among sequestered crags of limestone, which hang many feet above our heads, and, ending at the mouth of a cave of unknown length and depth, branches to a great distance under the earth, and sanctified by a thousand wild traditions."

These caves cannot now be penetrated to any depth: they contain a subterranean river, which in its passage divides into two streams, each pursuing its mysterious course in different directions: one emerges from the earth near Carrig-a-Cotta, in Castle Mary desmeane. It is generally believed that the caves at Cloyne, and the great stalactical caves at Carrig-a-Crump, about two miles distant, are connected, which is not improbable. The latter caves have never been thoroughly explored, though penetrated to a distance of one mile. It is stated that a trumpeter who entered the Cloyne caves lost his way, wandered for a whole night through its mazes, and would in all probability have perished there, had he not be-thought himself of his bugle, the tones of which having been heard by the quarrymen at Carrig-a-Crump, they after some hesitation descended, and rescued him from his perilous position.

It is more than probable that these mysterious caves have been connected with the religious rites and belief of the primeval inhabitants of Cloyne. It is a significant fact that the locality has been named from them, Cluain of the Caves; thus we have Cashel of Kings, Lismore of Mochuda, Clonfert of Brendan, Arran of the Saints.

In the early ages of the world, and amongst most primeval races, caves were held in peculiar reverence;² it is a leading feature in

¹ Windele's "Cork," &c., p. 184.

² See "Bryant's Mythology," Harcourt's

"Doctrine of the Deluge," Higgins' "Celtic Druids."

Arkite mythology; caves, both natural and artificial, being revered as representations of the Baris or Ark, in which the family of Noah was preserved.

THE ROUND TOWER.—It is a matter of surprise and regret that we know comparatively little of these puzzling and singular structures. Start not, reader! I admit that volumes have been written on them, that lives have been spent in poring over the dusty tomes of antiquity, to ascertain their history, their builders, and their uses; that much acerbity of feeling has been created, and much intolerance exhibited, in the pursuit of these investigations; but I still maintain that those learned and dogmatic Pundits have begun at the wrong end, and are, in consequence, no nearer the truth than when they commenced. As contributions to our general stock of antiquarian knowledge, their labours are not without their uses, but as attempts to set at rest the origin and uses of these structures, they have signally failed. It has always appeared to me that the true key to the mystery existed in the Towers themselves, and that, until a careful examination and measurement of all or a great number of them were taken, and a critical analysis and comparison of them prepared in reference to their exact forms, proportions, details, and material characteristics, and a thorough exploration and examination of their contents, collecting all the traditions connected with them; I repeat, until this has been done, we are not in a position to form a sound and credible opinion upon them.

The best practical account that we have of them is from the pen of Mr. Wilkinson, in his "Practical Geology and Ancient Architecture of Ireland." In the section of the work devoted to Architecture, he gives a tabular account of the principal towers, yet this is deficient in many respects. In several of the Towers he gives no measurements; in others they are only conjectural; much of the detailed information is valuable as being the result of his own personal observation, particularly his descriptions of the materials and masonry, for which branches of the subject he was eminently qualified. It would, however, be utterly impossible for any one individual (unless he devoted a life and a fortune to it), to make a thorough examination of these structures, such as I have described.

Dr. Petrie, in his "Treatise on the Round Towers," has given drawings and accurate descriptions of the doors and windows, of several of them; but his work is very deficient in plans, elevations, and sections, and in that practical criticism which, after all, is the safest and most rational foundation upon which to erect a credible theory.

Ledwich sacrifices everything to his Danish theory; he gives a very incorrect list of them; his engravings are incorrect; he gives no details.

Miss Beaufort's Essay is eminently clear, practical, and argumen-

tative; her opinions are worth serious consideration; her delineations of these structures are few, but faithfully executed.

To bear out the assertion I have already advanced, and to show the necessity for more careful descriptions and delineations of our Round Towers, I will give all that has been set before us by various writers who have mentioned Cloyne Tower.

Smith's "History of Cork," vol. i., p. 139 :—"Near the church stands a Round Tower, 92 feet high, and 10 feet in diameter. The door is about 13 feet from the ground, which faces the west entrance of the church, as all the doors of these kind of buildings do, that I have seen."

Ledwich merely mentions it in his list as being in height 92 feet; circumference, 50 feet; thickness of wall, 3 feet 8 inches; height of door from ground, 13 feet.

Beaufort's "Essay," "Royal Irish Academy Transactions," vol. xv., p. 214 :—"Near the Cathedral of Cloyne stands a Tower, now 92 feet high; it is built of round stones from the sea-shore, which were prepared with the greatest accuracy to about half the height of the Tower; from thence to the top a different stone is apparent, and the manner of laying them also changes. When this Tower was struck by lightning in 1749, and very much damaged, some stones forced out of the sides were found to be admirably well fitted and jointed into each other."

Gough's "Camden," vol. iii., p. 480 :—"There is one, however, now standing at *Cloyne*, 92 feet high, and 10 feet in diameter; the door about 13 feet from the ground, facing the west entrance of the church."

Townsend's "Survey of the County of Cork," vol. i., p. 154 :—"Near this is a Round Tower, 90 feet high, the only one now remaining in this county, except that of Kinneah."

Wilkinson's "Ancient Architecture, &c., of Ireland," p. 71 :—"Material, reddish-coloured sandstone of the country, in good preservation; much of it is very carefully worked to the curvature of the Tower with a chisel-pointed hammer; the masonry of the doorway is put together in a laboured manner, and finely chiselled, each stone apparently worked as it was required; the stones are flat-bedded, and of considerable size." He says, at p. 91, the masonry of the door of this Tower "is so carefully put together that a file alone would produce such careful work in the present day."

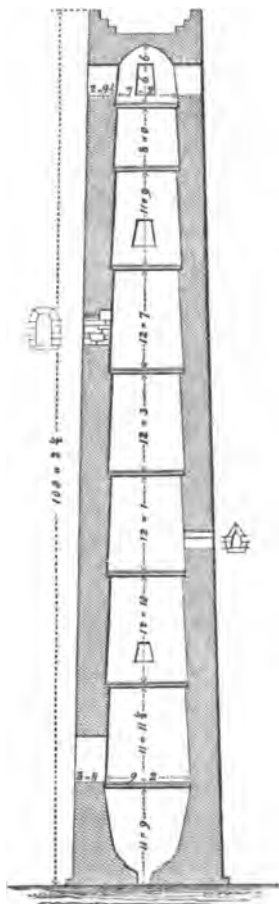
Dr. Petrie, in his work, professedly on the Round Towers, has given us no description whatsoever of the Cloyne specimen; his only allusion to it is an unsuccessful attempt to invalidate and turn into ridicule the researches of the South Munster Society of Antiquaries, who in the year 1841 excavated the base of the Tower, and discovered traces of interments therein.

Mr. Crofton Croker, in his "Researches in the South of Ireland,"

thus disposes of Cloyne Tower:—"The stones of which this Tower is composed have been mostly brought from the sea-shore, and were prepared with much care, though about half-way up the building there is an evident difference in the stones themselves, as well as in the mode of placing them. The steps to the door are modern, like the embattlement; for these Towers, whatever may have been their uses, were entered by means of a rope or ladder, the door being generally 8 or 9 feet from the ground. In this at Cloyne it is about 13. . . . The height of the Round Tower of Cloyne is stated to be 92 feet, and the thickness of the wall 43 inches. The first story has project- ing stones for the joists of a floor to rest upon."

Mr. Windele, in his very valuable and interesting work on "Cork, Killarney," &c., has given by far the best description of this Tower; it is evidently the result of careful personal examination, and not of the wholesale copying system indulged in by most of the writers who have preceded him on the subject, as is evidenced by the above extracts.

The Tower stands nearly opposite the west end of the present Cathedral, from which it is distant 30 yards; its dimensions are as follows:—Diameter of Tower at sill of doorway, 9 feet 2 inches; thickness of wall at same, 3 feet 7½ inches; diameter of Tower at upper floor, 7 feet 2 inches; thickness of wall at sills of upper window opes, 2 feet 9 inches; height of Tower to top of modern battlement, 100 feet 2½ inches; the ratio of batter in the external face of Tower is about 1 in 44; height of sill of doorway over plinth, 11 feet 2 inches; height of plinth, 7 inches; projection of plinth, 5 inches. The doorway is perfectly cyclopean in character; it is quadrangular, with converging jambs, and massive lintel; its dimensions are: width at sill, 2 feet 1 inch; at lintell, 1 foot 10½ inches; height, 5 feet; its massive dressings are of red sandstone, and on its left-hand jamb are several deeply indented scores, to which I shall hereafter allude.



Section of Tower.

The Tower internally is divided into stories by seven offsets taken from the thickness of wall, the inside face of which is built in a curious manner: from each offset the wall batters outwardly to about half the height of the story, when it batters in again as it approaches the next; so that, drawn in section, the internal line of wall would show a zig-zag outline. At present there are wooden lofts resting on these offsets, communicating by ladders. The masonry is of a yellowish brown sandstone, in spawled rubble work, not built in courses; the stones large, and dressed to curve of Tower; the workmanship is good; a small portion of limestone is used at the north side, a good way up; and a few blocks of red sandstone are used through the facing.

Height to first offset from sill of dooway, 11 feet 11½ inches; to second offset, 12 feet 10 inches; to third, 12 feet 1 inch; to fourth, 12 feet 3 inches; to fifth, 12 feet 7 inches; to sixth, 11 feet 9 inches; to seventh, 6 feet.

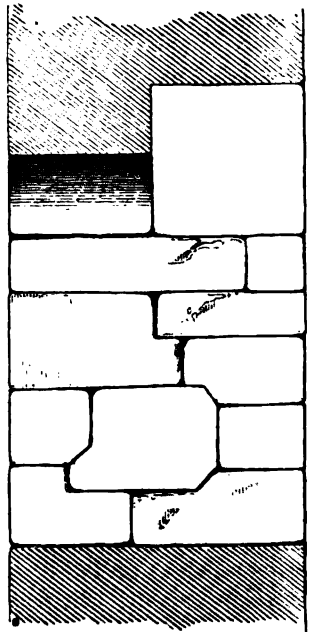
In the second story is one window ope, facing south, quadrangular; width at sill, 1 foot 1 inch; at lintel, 1 foot; height, 1 foot 9½ inches. In the third story is an ope, angular-headed; width at sill, 11½ inches; at springing of angular head, 10½ inches; height from sill to apex, 2 feet 3½ inches; this ope faces the west.

In the fourth story, one ope, quadrangular, 1 foot 3½ inches wide at sill; 1 foot 1 inch at lintel; height, 1 foot 10½ inches, this ope faces north.

In the fifth story is a remarkable ope; it is angular-headed externally, but semicircular-headed internally; its dimensions are: width at sill, 1 foot 9 inches; at spring of arch, 1 foot 7¼ inches; height from sill to soffit of arch, 3 feet 10 inches.

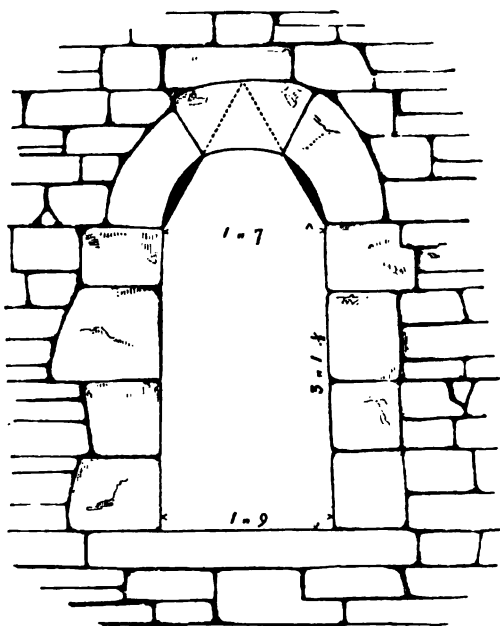
Its dressings are of red sandstone, so beautifully wrought and so closely fitted that the joints are scarcely perceptible; such beauty and accuracy of finish I have never seen in any of those early churches supposed by some to be coeval with the Round Towers; indeed, as a general rule, the masonic construction of these Towers is infinitely superior to that of those early churches, where such exist in their neighbourhood.

The comparatively large size of this window ope, compared to



Section of Window in Fifth Story.

the others, is remarkable. Dr. Petrie refers to several examples of large window opes immediately over the doorways,¹ as is the case in this instance; his opinion seems to be, that they were intended as second doorways, which opinion he advances in support of his theory of the keep or stronghold character of the Towers; but this



Elevation of Window in Fifth Story.

surmise will not hold good in this, as in many other instances, as the ope in question is 60 feet from the ground, and would, therefore, be out of the question as a "second entrance."

In the sixth story, and facing the south, is another quadrangular ope, 1 foot $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide at sill; 1 foot 2 inches at lintel; and 2 feet 4 inches in height; in all these opes the sides converge. The upper story is fitted up as a belfry.

There are, as usual, four window opes in the upper story; these opes are all quadrangular, and face very nearly the cardinal points; their dimensions are: width at sill, 1 foot 6 inches; at lintel, 1 foot 2 inches; height, 3 feet 8 inches.

This Tower was originally crowned by the usual conical stone roof, which is stated to have been destroyed on the night of the 10th

¹ Pp. 358, 510.

of January, 1749. The circumstance is thus given by Mr. Crofton Croker, in his "Researches in the South of Ireland," p. 243 :—

"A thunder-storm with lightning passed through the county of Cork on the night of the 10th January, 1749, in a line from west to east, and, after killing some cows in a field south of Cork, struck the Round Tower of Cloyne, used as a belfry to its Cathedral. The electric matter first rent the vaulted arch at the top, threw down the great bell presented by Dean Davies, together with the three lofts, and, descending perpendicularly to the lowest floor, forced its way, with a violent explosion, through one side of the Tower, and drove some of the stones, *which were admirably well jointed, and locked into each other*, through the roof of a neighbouring stable. . . . The conical stone roof destroyed by this accident was never replaced, but the height of the Tower was lowered more than 6 feet, and an embattlement substituted."

I find, however, that this version of the destruction of the original roof of the Tower must be wrong, as by reference to Ware's "Antiquities" we find a plate of "Cloyne" Cathedral and Tower, which exhibits the latter with a battlemented parapet, as at present; the date of this edition is 1739, that is, ten years before the above recited accident; it is, therefore, quite evident that the destruction of the original roof must have taken place previously to 1739.

It is stated that, in 1736, the Tower was struck by lightning, the conical roof shattered, and the bell dismounted, falling through three of the floors; it must have been immediately after this that the Tower was repaired, as shown in Ware, 1739.

"A. D. 1683. The Tower was repaired, and a bell hung in it for the first time; it has the following inscription: 'Rowland Davis, Dean of Ross x WV x JC x 1683, PW x RW x HW x'"

The Tower was one time used as a prison; a man named Colbert, being confined therein, got out on the roof, and descended outside by means of the bell-rope—a daring feat.

I have before made allusion to the scores or lintel cuts on the left-hand jamb of the doorway of this Tower, and I cannot be entirely persuaded but that there is some signification in these marks. I am confirmed in this opinion by the recurrence of similar marks under various circumstances. Thus the very ancient church at Britway, county of Cork, is surrounded by the remnant of an ancient wall; the entrance to the graveyard is between some ancient massive stones, upon one of which is inscribed similar scores as at Cloyne; such are also found on a dallan at Carrignavar; on the Cloch-fadha, near Whitechurch; on a stone in the ancient church of Inniscarra; on a dallan at Bara-chawrin, Donoughmorgall, in the county of Cork; and on a stone in the old church of Kenmare, county of Kerry. I find also by reference to the March Transactions, 1857,

of your Society, that similar marks are exhibited on an engraving of the Kilnasagart stone, evidently a Pagan dallan, consecrated to Christianity by the inscribing of crosses thereon, as indeed the consecration is plainly commemorated by the inscription. At page 315 the opinion of the late Mr. Richard Hitchcock is quoted, that these marks "were formed in the process of sharpening the tools with which the inscription and crosses were sculptured." This mode of accounting for them is puerile. In the first place, the sculptor of the crosses and mediæval inscription would not dare to disfigure the stone upon which he was inscribing hallowed emblems by sharpening his tools thereon; in the second place, these marks could not have been made in the process named, as any stone-cutter or mason well knows; in the third place, the stone is not suitable for sharpening; and in the fourth place, how will this surmise apply to all the other examples, most of them on rude dallans, which never bore the mark of a tool? I think that, instead of ascribing these marks to so ignoble a motive and origin, it would be well to leave them to the patient research of the antiquary. I believe these marks to be as plentiful as the genuine Ogham; and I have no doubt that, now the attention of the Society is called to them, a great many of them will turn up.

The Round Tower at Cloyne is locally known by the Irish-speaking people as Giol-cach; the same term is locally applied at Ardmore, at Kineth, and at Ratto, in Kerry. I was never more struck with the poetic applicability of this term to our Round Towers than at the latter place, when I stood on the ancient causeway opposite the Tower, and heard the same name applied to the tall, slender, symmetrical pillar, with its perfect conical spire, as to the tall graceful reeds, with their spiral feathered caps, which lined the banks of the Brick; and of the canal which runs up nearly to the base of the Tower. Dr. Petrie (p. 397 of his work) says that by "Giolcach is understood a bell-house, and which is obviously a local corruption of Cloigtheach, or Cloichtheach." Now, I am strongly inclined to think that no one understands Giolcach to be a bell-house saving the Doctor himself; the Irish-speaking people at Ratto do not so understand it; they call it a Giolcach; neither do they so understand it at Cloyne, or Ardmore. As to its being a corruption of the Doctor's favourite term, Cloigtheach, or Cloichtheach, it is obviously no corruption of any word, but a pure, simple, and very illustrative Celtic term, as the Doctor will see by reference to O'Reilly's "Irish Dictionary:" "Giolcach, a reed,¹ cane, broom;" and I would further intimate that the way in which the word is pronounced is quite opposed to Dr. Petrie's corruption of the term, being thus, "Quill-cagh," which is far removed from either "Cloig-

¹ Obeliscus, a javelin.

theach," or "Cill-teach,"—another reading advanced by Mr. E. Fitzgerald in your *Transactions* for March, 1857, p. 293.

The ancient Irish are not singular in their illustrative mode of nomenclature. Thus the Romans derived the name of a similar class of structures, the obelisk, from *Obeliscus*, a javelin.

THE RENTAL BOOK OF GERALD FITZGERALD, NINTH EARL
OF KILDARE. BEGUN IN THE YEAR 1518.

EDITED BY HERBERT FRANCIS HORE, ESQ.

THE original of the curious Manuscript about to be published is in the Harleian Collection in the British Museum, numbered 3756; but we shall lay the document in a printed form before our readers from an accurate transcript in the possession of the Duke of Leinster; and we are principally enabled to do so by the liberality of his Grace's eldest son, the Marquis of Kildare, who has also recently obliged the public by permitting his interesting Memoir of his ancestors, the Earls of his House, to be published. With respect to the archæologic value of the volume about to be given, our researches enable us to say, unhesitatingly, that it may challenge any other, whether in print or manuscript, for the interest and curiosity of its contents in illustrating the mediæval, social, and domestic history of Ireland. Our readers are well aware that no similar publication has as yet appeared, to throw such light on life in the past of our country as is so vividly cast on courtly and noble life in old England by "The Household Book of the Earls of Northumberland," and other rich works of the same character. We fear this singular compilation is almost unique, so far as old Ireland is concerned; yet will not descant upon its merits prior to publishing it, but let them speak for themselves, as they appear in our necessarily disjointed pages, accompanied by some brief annotations. Some prefatory remarks are certainly also required, by way of introduction, in order that the reader may comprehend the object for which Gerald, ninth Earl of Kildare, caused the book to be commenced.

In the year 1503, his father, the eighth peer, Lord Deputy of Ireland and K. G., caused the volume called "The Earl of Kildare's Red Book" to be compiled. This ancient manuscript tome contains copies of title-deeds, grants, agreements, and other documents, resembling, in fact, a Chartulary. It is now in the possession of the Duke of Leinster.

Fifteen years subsequently, the ninth Earl, then Lord Deputy,

determining to have a complete summary of his rents and other sources of income, commenced this large volume, the numerous and various entries in which are under sufficiently explanatory heads. Besides that object, some of the blank pages of this great manuscript leger were afterwards used to catalogue the books in his Lordship's library, to enter lists of his plate, and to chronicle the war-horses, hackneys, and pieces of armour he was accustomed to present to his friends and relations. On the last page we find an entry of "The Obytt of dyv'ce Lordys and Gentyllmen of the Geraldys." This record leads to our immediate purpose, viz., to preface this edition of "The Kildare Rental Book," with a short account of the first Geraldines, whose early pedigree in peerage-books is notoriously faulty, but appears to be correctly set forth in the recent publication referred to. A few points worthy of notice have, however, been omitted; and these we supply, with, as well, some original documents, because they are of local interest; though, indeed, no excuse is needed for endeavouring to further illustrate the genealogy of an illustrious family, whose story and fortunes are closely interwoven with the history of their country. The motives for such labours do not require any explanation to archæologists, who do not regard history as a mere "old almanac," and who know that—besides how many an agreeable hour may be employed in investigations into the past—very serviceable morals can be pointed from them. But the circumstance that our noble families, and our archives and historic papers, offer a fair and fertile field for such labours, is not so generally well known. Nobility of descent has been narrowly defined to arise from ancient possession of riches. Whether the ancient peers of Ireland were wealthy, in the present sense of the word, is a question; but there is no doubt that they were so, in their command of the hearts and hands of brave and numerous followers; and they do not yield, so far as regards the antiquity of the respective dates of their nobilitation, to the proudest *noblesse* of the Continent. Setting apart that the ancestors of the Lord Inchiquin, of O'Neill, O'Connor, and Kavanagh, were kings of provinces anterior to the time of the Capets of France, and Plantagenets of England, the Irish peerage can claim, for many of its members, an earlier nobilitation than can, as we believe, most of the nobility of any other country. The Fitz Gerald, Burghs, Butlers, Nugents, Fitz Maurices, Talbots, Courcys, St. Lawrences, Wellesleys, Plunketts, and Powers can, at the least, prove descents of venerable antiquity. The house under consideration boasts, moreover, be it declared, far higher claims to our regard, in the fact that its story surpasses that of any other family in Ireland in varied interest, in the eminent instances it affords of ancient energy, valour, and patriotism, and of modern worth, virtues, and attention to home duties. These points, however important, are somewhat apart from

our archæologic department; yet we will not pass over the morals to be deduced from the compilation we are about to publish, viz., that, while it contains notable proofs of the ambition of its compiler, the property it catalogues was swept from him and his by their own acts; and that, while we find that his house, purified, as it were, by calamity, subsequently rose again to honour and wealth, at a period offering less political temptations, we can better understand the perils which surrounded all ranks in lawless ages, and better appreciate the inestimable advantage of having the good destiny to live in times of law and liberty.

The obits of the Geraldines entered in this memorandum book differ in some instances from those printed at the end of Grace's Annals, which seem to have been transcribed from a Mortilege of Youghal Friary, since there are two notices that the Countesses of Desmond were benefactors to "this convent." Taking them in conjunction with passages in Clyn, the apparently correct pedigree in Lord Kildare's work, and other authorities, we offer the ensuing account of the first Geraldines.

Of MAURICE Fitz Gerald, son of that Gerald *à quo* the Geraldines, or, *Hibernice*, "Clanna Garoitt,"—the record of obits in the MS. "Kildare Rental Book" saith:—"Qui primus venit in Hiberniam, nullum post se in Hib' constancia fide firmiorē relinquens." Earl Strongbow, Lord of Leinster, gave him the barony of Naas, for the service of five knights (printed "Chartæ," p. 5). The Norman poem on the Conquest states that the Earl gave him Naas, Offelan, and Wicklow:—

" A Moriz le fiz Geroud,
Le Nas donat le bon cuntur
Al fiz Geroud od tut le onur:
Ço est la terre de Ofelan
Ki fud al traitur Mac Kelan;
Si li donat Winkinlo
Entre Brée e Arklo."

The "Gormanston Registry" (copied in Lansdowne MS., 418) says, Naas and Wicklow. The country of Offaly, whence this family take their baronial title, was originally granted by Strongbow to the De Birminghams:—

" A Robert de Burmegam
Offali al west de Osfelan."

How it came about that Offaly fell to the Fitz Gerald's does not appear, unless the family Chartulary contains copies of explanatory documents. The family Rental Book begun in 1518 mentions that "Offale was then holdin by Thomas ffitz John, Erle of Kyldare, and John Bremingeame, Erle of Lowth, by the service of xxiiij". Itm

Wykinglo, alias Wicklo, which John Lawles in Edward the thurde ys days did holde of theril of Kyldare, by xx'." Maurice Fitz Gerald died in 1177, leaving, among others—

Gerald, of whom hereafter.

William.

Thomas.

The second son—

William Fitz Maurice, Baron of Naas, is styled "*filius et hæres*" in the "*Gormanston Register*;" but the Earls of Kildare, as lords of the fee, seem to have been of senior line, since their Rental Book has an entry, among the royal services due to them, as "*doth apiere by olde feodories of Kyng Edward the Secund^d dayes*," of payments for the barony of Naas, by the tenants, Preston, Brune, &c. This Baron was granted right of market, &c., in Naas, by Henry II. ("*Chartæ*," p. 5). He married Mahaut de Pontearth ("*Gormanston Register*"), and had issue—

William, Baron of Naas, who was living, married to Eva, widow of Philip de Braosa, in 1220 ("*Rot. Finium*"), and had a grant of fairs in his town in 1226 ("*Carew MS.*," 610, p. 25).

David and Maurice.

The second son—

David, Baron of Naas,¹ married, first, Matilda, daughter of Hugh Lacy, Earl of Ulster; and, secondly, Ceciline, sister of Thomas Verdon. In 1226 he gave his mother Tullaghtipper Castle, in dowry. By his second wife he had a son and daughter—

1. William, Baron of Naas, who left three sons, William, Hugh, and Robert, who died without issue, whereupon the estate was divided among the five daughters of their aunt ("*Gormanston Register*").

2. Matilda, who, by John le Butler, had—1. Matilda, married to William de Loundres, ancestor of Elizabeth, married to Sir Christopher Preston, Lord Gormanston; and Margaret, married to John Brune. 2. Margaret, married to Richard de Loundres. 3. Joan, married to Walter Lenfaunt. 4. Rosa, married to Gerald Roche. 5. Ceciline, married to Geoffrey Brett.

From the line of Naas would seem to have sprung the knight mentioned in the following original document, given from the Exchequer Rolls:—

"Henricus, maj' et balliv' civ' Dub.' Cum p' quand' supplic' nob' p' dilec' et fidel' h'm ROLAND FITZ MORICE, militem, legitim' hered' a Mauricio Fitz Gerod, milite, rectâ lineâ descensum, qui in conquestu Hib' labor' accessim qualiter ipse et omnes antecessores sui heredes p'd'ci Mauricii semper a tempore conquestus p'd'ci de quinque feod' milit', jacent in ma-

¹ The Marquis of Kildare's work gives no account of these Barons of the Naas, a distinguished branch, the ramifications of whose

property, through heiresses, would, if known, serve largely to develop the history of the Lords of the Pale.

ner' de Morice Castell, in tenur' de Othoyghfynglas, in ter' nost' p'd'ca videl' in longitudine a mari usque ad cacumen montis de Croghan, et in latitudine a terra comitis de Weyford usque Botiller's land quousque feoda p'd'ca in man'io p'd'ca ac alia diversa ter' p'd'ci Rolandi in diversis partib' tre' nre' p'd'ic p' inimicos n'ros Hibernicos ibidem vastata et destructa fuerint. Ita quod habet unde vivere potest nisi duodecim libras annuas tre' quas ipse habet p' termin' vit' sue ex concessione Domini Henrici IV. nuper Reg' Angl', carissim' d'n'm' et av' nost', p' let' pat' p' r' n' reg' defunct' et nob' confirm' de feod' firm' civitat' nost' Dub'." &c.

The writ concludes by confirming this pension to him for life. In the tenth year of Henry IV. this Roland Fitz Morice was one of the custodiers of the peace in the county of Kilkenny.¹ He was, probably, ancestor of the Barons of Burnchurch in this county, and of the numerous family of "Barron." We are curious as to the descent of Sir Roland, and as to his possessions, and request any one who may be able to assist in further elucidation of them.

The third son of MAURICE the Conqueror, namely, Thomas, is considered in the Marquis's work as ancestor of the Desmond line. Lynch, in his "Feudal Baronies," gives the early pedigree of this line, illustrated by records. From this Thomas *More* the chiefs of Desmond seem to have obtained their Gaelic clan title of "Mac Thomas." His son, John, was granted in wardship to Thomas Fitz Anthony de St. Leger, one of whose five coheiressees, namely, Margaret, he married before 1232 ("Compotus Waterfordii"). Their issue, Maurice, married Matilda Barry ("Inq., 28 Ed. I."), and had Thomas, who, by "Inquis. 28, Ed. I., No. 34," held Dungarvan Castle. By "Inquis. 10 Ed. I., No. 10," John fil' Thomas held a cantred in Decies, and other lands, the tenants of which form a curious list.

Lord Kildare's work makes "William, ancestor of the families of Carew, Grace, Fitz Maurice, and Gerard," a younger brother of Maurice the Conqueror. Certainly the Fitz Maurices held eight knights' fees of the Carews ("Rot. Pat.," 4 Ed. II.). It may also be added that these Fitz Maurices, Barons of Lixnawe, or of Kerry, paid a chief rent of 240 marcs and six score beeves out of Clan Maurice to the Earls of Kildare,² who, as receiving this seignior, must have been of senior line.

The eldest son of the celebrated invader (Maurice), was—

GERALD, summoned to Parliament as Baron of Offaly, who is thus recorded in the Obits:—"Obiit Geraldus, filius ejusdem Maricii, Just' Hibn'. a° Dñi M°. cc°. v°." His son—

MAURICE, second Baron of Offaly, was ward, in 1205, to William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke and Lord of Leinster, whose vassal he was; and the grant of wardship includes the custody of

¹ Printed Rot. Pat.

² State Paper Office, 1576, vol. xl.

Geashill and Leix Castles (Lynch's "Feudal Baronies," pp. 10 and 152). He was, by mandamus dated 1216, put in possession of Maynooth, and all other his father's lands.¹ He is named as "Maurice fil' Gerald," as one of the magnates present at the taking of an important inquest at Limerick, in 1224.² In 1232 he was made Justiciary, or Chief Governor, of the kingdom; and in the following year, when Richard Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, having rebelled in England, came over to take possession of Leinster, he assembled the Englishry of the province on behalf of the Crown, whereupon the rebel Earl was slain on the Curragh of Kildare "per," as the chronicler Clyn states, "Geraldinos, locum et partem regis tenentes." This mention of the Geraldines as a family shows that they had already become a clan, or "nation," as the chronicler subsequently styles them. So famous was the fall of this great nobleman, that verses were repeated in Clyn's time, to retain the date of the event in memory. Matthew Paris describes the Geraldine Viceroy as "a valiant knight, a very pleasant man, inferior to none in the land he swayed with the sword of justiceship." He died in 1257. The record of obits follows the entry of his death by no more than one of his sons, Thomas; but he had three sons by Juliana, daughter of John de Cogan. There is some confusion, it is to be suspected, between the marriages with the Lords de Cogan, which cannot yet be cleared up.

Maurice, of whom presently.

Gerald.

Thomas, "filius dicti Maricii" [obiit] "xxviii^o die mens' Maii, anno Dñi." the rest is torn off, and next follows, as if of the son of this man, "Obierū felicis recordacionis dñs Johaāus filius Thome," and then follow all the line of Desmond, excepting a notice of the first Earl of Kildare.

The eldest son—

SIR MAURICE OGE, was third Baron of Offaly. In 1264 a dangerous war broke out between him and Sir Walter de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, in which "the greater part of Ireland was destroyed." It was this wide-spread feud between these "two mighty lords, Sir Morice and Sir Wauter," that caused New Ross to be walled, as stated in the curious contemporary ballad describing this work of safeguard. During this contest he took the Lord Justiciary prisoner, in Castledermot Church. He died in New Ross, in 1277. His wife was Emmeline, heiress of Sir Stephen de Longespée, by Emmeline, heiress of Riddlesford, Baron of Bray, to whom King John had granted the territory of O'Murthy, in which are Kilkea and Castledermot. Longespée was grandson of "Fair Rosamond." By his heiress, who died in 1290, the Baron had—

¹ Note to "Four Masters," p. 217.

² Hib. Bag. Chapter House.

Gerald, fourth Baron, of whom presently.

Mabel, who died unmarried, having settled her property on her cousin John, afterwards first Earl of Kildare.

Juliana, who, in 1216, married Thomas de Clare, son of Richard, Earl of Gloucester. Inquisitions in the Tower, taken after the death of De Clare (14 Ed. II., No. 37; 35 Ed. I., No. 72), mention Emmeline de Longespée as wife of Maurice fil' Maur'. Another of 29 Ed. I., No. 154, mentions Juliana as mother of Gilbert fil' Tho' De Clare. Published transcripts of these curious inquests would prove a useful addition to our archæological knowledge of the times.

The eldest son—

SIR GERALD, became fourth Baron; he is witness to Thomas Fitz Maurice's surrender to Edward I. of the barony of Ocassin, half barony of Oblyt, and thirteen townlands in Corcumroth, county of Clare (printed "Rot. Antiquiss."). In 1285 this King granted him and his heirs a weekly market in his manor of Maynooth.

His almost contemporary, chronicler Clyn, of Kilkenny, states that, in 1285, this nobleman, who was distinguished by the Gaelic soubriquet of "Roch falyaht," was taken prisoner in Offaly by his own Irishmen; and writes, under the year 1287, "*mortuus est Geraldus filius Mauricii, capitaneus Geraldinorum;*" adding, "*hereditatem suam dedit domino Johanni filio advunculi sui; hic Johannes primus de hac natione factus est comes Kildariæ.*" This mention of him as chieftain, and the statement that he bequeathed his heirship, are evidence that the question between succession by tanistry or by feudality was then ripe in this family. He died in 1287.

The second son of the second Baron, viz.—

Gerald, married Joan, daughter of Sir Geoffrey de Joinville, Lord of Trim, and was drowned in 1277, leaving a son and daughter, namely—

Maurice, fifth Baron, of whom presently.

Juliana, who married John, Lord de Cogan, by whom she had a son, John. She granted her cousin, John Fitz Thomas (first Earl) the manors of Crom, Adare, Castlerobert, and Geashill, to which she succeeded as heiress of her brother, on condition that she should have the manor of Maynooth for her life, and the dower to which she was entitled on the death of her sister-in-law, Agnes, and her mother, Joan ("Earl of Kildare's Red Book"). This grant evidences the determination of the clan to sustain a male succession. John de Cogan sold lands in Maynooth to John Fitz Thomas (printed "Pat. Antiquiss.," p. 4).

Maurice, fifth Baron. In 1281, he married Agnes de Valence, daughter of William, Earl of Pembroke. Upon this occasion John Butler, Lord Verdon, conveyed to him, in frank marriage with this lady, the manors of Adare, Castlerobert, &c. (Lynch's "Feudal Baronies," p. 68). She married, secondly, Hugh Balliol, and was

styled *Domina de Offalie et Ballioli* ("Harl. MS.," 1425). This distinguished lady's possessions became the grounds of a wide-spread feud, which was of so absorbing a character as to have interfered with the prosecution of the great war of the time against the Scots, as appears by the ensuing original record, a royal writ dated 6th July, 3 Ed. II., 1310, to the Treasurer of Ireland, which concludes:—

"Whereas we have heard that there is war and contest between Monsieur Jean fitz Thomas and Jean de Bermingham on one side, and the Lacys and the people of Meath on the other side; and between the said Monsieur Jean Fitz Thomas and his allies on the one side, and Monsieur Jean de Cogan and Monsieur Eustache le Poer, the Barrys, the Rocheyns, and their allies on the other side, for the lands which belonged to *Agnes de Valence*,—the which wars and contests, unless they be appeased, may turn to the great disturbance of our said business" (the war in Scotland), "We command you, that you take pains and counsel with the Earl of Ulster, and with our Justiciary of Ireland, that these wars and contests be appeased, or, at least, be deferred until our said war be finished, that we may do right and justice between the said parties in their aforesaid quarrels."

On the death, without issue, of the fifth Baron, the date of which is unknown, but material, the chieftaincy seems to have been accorded to the celebrated knight, Sir John Fitz Thomas, son of the third son of the second Baron, namely—

THOMAS FITZ MAURICE, who, having built Geashill Castle, was styled Baron of this place. The Four Masters styled him "a baron of the Geraldines, commonly called the Crooked Heir." This soubriquet may have arisen from his being deformed, and, therefore, incapacitated from being chieftain, which seems hinted at by the heirship having been bestowed, during his lifetime, on his son. According to "Harl. MS.," 258, Thomas of Geashill married a co-heir of Gerald Fitz Maurice, and sister of the wife of John, Lord Cogan. Marlborough says that he was Lord Justiciary, and that he died in 1298. His son—

JOHN, was first EARL OF KILDARE. The genealogy ascribed to him in the printed volume under review, and which differs from that given in the peerage books, is warranted by an entry in the obits, that "Rycardus de Burgo, comes Ulton', fuit capt' per Johan' fiiu Thome, filii' Mauricii, filii' Mauricii, anno Dni M°. cc° lxxxiiij." In that year, and, as observed by Clyn, on the same day, forty years subsequent to the slaying of the Lord of Leinster by Maurice, grandfather of this Earl, he, as John Fitz Thomas, "*dedit vadum pro duello*" with William, Lord de Vesci. These two events, indeed, seem to form two origins of the rise of the Leinster Geral-

¹ Mem. Roll, 3 Ed. II., m. 43, dorso.

dines, since the shires of Kildare and Carlow fell under their sway by the absenteeism of the slain lord's heirs, and the Kildare estates of Vesci were granted to his opponent. The title of Lord of Kildare had accrued, by Isabella Marshall, to Lord Vesci of Alnwick, who is said to have been created Lord of Kildare in 1254. Sir George Carew states that William, Justiciary of Ireland in 1290, had a natural son by Devorgoil, an Irishwoman, called "The Master of Kildare," and slain at the battle of Stirling. It seems that the father, on the death of his only legitimate son in the Welsh wars, granted his lands in Ireland to the King, in order that his natural son, the Master of Kildare, might be allowed to succeed to the Northumberland property, and appointed the Bishop of Durham trustee for his son. The prelate, however, sold the estate to Lord Percy. The writ "De adjornatione duelli inter W. de Vesci et Joh' fil' Thomæ" is dated 1294. The whole record is set forth in Reilly's "Placita Parl." Stanihurst's version of the story, which is one of the legendary romances invented to flatter the lords of the Pale, is false, as is proved by the particulars published by the Marquis of Kildare.

This distinguished chief of the eastern Geraldines was, in 1299, summoned to the Scottish war, with his cousins, Sir Thomas Fitz Maurice, of Desmond, and Sir Maurice Fitz Thomas, of Kerry. In 1312 he held a "great, rich, and peaceable" Christmas feast at Adare.¹ From this town, be it mentioned, a branch of this family took their surname, and, migrating to Scotland, founded the house of "Adair." In 1310 the Earl obtained the royal permission to wall his towns of Adare and Cromoth ("Printed Chartæ," p. 42). From the castle of the latter town, called Crom, the eastern Geraldines took their slogan, or tryst summons, of Crom-a-boo. The question, how far this great clan adopted succession by tanistry is a curious one. Why was "the crooked heir" passed over, to the benefit of his son? The latter seems to have taken possession of Offaly in 1294, when, as Clyn states, he despatched many horses and horseboys into this territory. This question, which is elucidatory of the ancient feudal claim of an uncle in preference to that of his nephew, if a minor, illustrated in the murder of Prince Arthur by King John, might, perhaps, be illumined by means of the chartulary called "The Red Book of Kildare."

From this first Earl we must pass rapidly to his successors in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The active cause of the great rise of power in the Earls of Kildare seems to have been their imitation of the custom by which the Irish kings imposed the maintenance of soldiers, called *Bonnachta*, on their people, under the usage called "coigne and livery." An Earl of Desmond had, at the close of the fifteenth century, raised his family to their exorbitant

¹ Clyn.

power by similar means.¹ "Our house," writes the eighth peer, to the Gherardini of Florence, anno 1507, "has increased beyond measure, in a multitude of barons, knights, and noble persons, holding many possessions, and having under their command many persons."

This Earl Gerald was the first who imposed the quartering of galloglasses on the English Pale. About the close of the fifteenth century, one Barrett, an exile from Connaught, offered the services of himself and his band, amounting to but twenty-four "spars," or men bearing battle-axes, who were then put at *coyne*, or quarters, upon the county of Kildare.² In elucidation of this marked turning-point in history, one from whence the inordinate and perilous independence of the houses of Kildare and Desmond dated, we give transcripts of original documents in the State Paper Office and Dublin Exchequer:—

(*Rot. Mem.*, 3 and 4 Ph. & Mary, m. 41.).

Corā of Trinity Term.

"Memorandū quod Thomas, Comes Sussex, Deputatus dñi Philippi, Regis, et dñi Marie, Regine, Regni suorū Hibernie, misit coram Baronib⁹ hic xxvto die Junij hoc termino p—— Calshile, secretariū suū, quasdam examinacōnes Testiū captas apud Kylmaynañ xiiiio die Maij Anno dñi millimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo septimo coram p̄fato Thoma, Comite Sussex, Hugone Archiep̄o Dublyn, Geraldo Aylmer, militi, Henrico Sydney, militi Jacobo Bathe, Armiḡo, Johe Plunkett Armiḡo, & Thoma Lockewood clero, Consiliarijs dñi dñi Regis & dñe Regine in Regno suo p̄dñō. Et jussit examinacōnes illas coram Baronib⁹ hic p̄ comodo dicti dñi Regis & dñe Regine hic irrotlari. Et Barones illas irrotlari p̄ceperunt Quazquid examinacioniū tenor sequit' in hec verba ss. Att Dublyn the xiiijth of Maye 1557, Memoz d̄ thatt Donyll M'Ony of thage of lxx yeres, or thereabouts, Capytayn of his sept, examyned before us whose name be underwritten, and chardged upon his duetye of Allegaunce to declare the trouthe whether thatt such Bonaughts as were putt apon the Irishmen by therles of Kildare were putt apon them in the tyme thatt thei were deputies or otherwyse, sayeth thatt he never knewe eny Earle of Kyldare putt eny bonaught apon eny Irish man butt when he was deputie. And this he affirmeth to be true. Beyng demaunded wether thatt Bonaughts were putt apon the Irishmen for the Kyngs use, or for therls of Kildare. And wether thatt the Kyng or therle of Kildare, ought to have them, he sayeth thatt they were putt apon the Irishmen when therle of Kyldare was Deputie, and to the Kyng's use. And therefore, he thynketh ought to be the Kyng's for thatt he knowyth nott whose they shold be elles. And further, thatt he, his father, and grandfather, have served ever the Kyng & goon with the Deputye.

"T. SUSSEX.

"HUGH DUBLYN, Cancell.

"GERARD AYLMEY. HENRY SYDNEY. JAMES BATHE.

"JOHN PLUNKETT. THOMAS LOCKEWOOD."

¹ Finglas.

² It is to be remembered that this word then implied all gentry of free birth, known,

i. e. noble, by cognizances.

³ "Published State Papers," vol. ii., part ii. 502.

"The like Memorandum as above, and then thus:—

"Att Kylmaynam the xxijth of Maye 1557, Shane Burge, Marshall to Alexander M'Tyrlagh (M'Donnell), of the age of lx yerres & upwarde beyng examyned before us whose names be underwritten & chardged upon his duetye of Allegeaunce to declare the trouthe wether such bonaughts as were putt upon the Irishmen by therles of Kyldare were putt upon them in the tyme thatt thei were Deputies, or otherwise, sayeth thatt he never knewe eny Earle of Kyldare putt eny bonaught upon eny Irishman butt when he was deputye. And this he affirmeth to be true. And for the better declaracion herof he sayeth thatt he knewe no moe Earles to putt any bonaught upon Irishmen butt only this Earle's father. And thatt he dyd att suche tyme as he was Deputye.

"T. SUSSEX,

"HUGH DUBLYN, Can^c.

"HENRY SYDNEY. HENRY RADCLYF.

"JAMES BATHE. JAMES STANYHURST. S^r. PETER LEWYS, Prist.

"S^r. XPÖFER GAFFNEY, Prist."

"Like Memorandum, and then thus:—

"Att Kylmaynam the xxiiith of Maye 1557, Js. Phelym M'Neyll boye, chief of his sept, & one of the Captaynes of their Matie's Galloglasses, of thage of fyfitye yerres or therabouts, sworne & examyned, depothy and sayeth that he remembreth well this Earle of Kyldare's father to have putt Bonaught upon M'Mahon Oreyly and others. And herd saye thatt this Earles Grandfather dyd the lyke upon the Amalye & the Countie of Kyldare, butt wether thei were Deputies then or nott he is in doubte, for he in his youth served Oneyll in the North, and was nott prevye to these doynge, butt as he herd of others. And sayeth thatt he doth nott knowe thatt therle of Kyldare dyd att eny tyme putt eny first bonaught upon eny Irishman when he was nott Deputye. And beyng demanded wether those bonaughts were first sett to the Kyng's use, or to the Erles of Kyldare his use. Sayeth thatt he never knewe eny bonaught sett or levved butt to the Kyng's use and by the Deputye for the tyme beyng. And thatt they went allwayes in the Kyng's servyce.

"T. SUSSEX.

"HENRY RADCLYF."

"These psons whose names are underwritten were p'sent when this examynacion was taken, and have putto their hands as wyttnes whatt they herd.

"JAQUES WYNGFELD. HENRY STAFFORD. GEORGES DELVES.

"FFRANCIS COSBY. S^r. PETER LEWYS, Chappleyn.

"A similar Memorandum, and then thus:—

"Att Kylmaynan the xxiiith of Maye 1557. SS. Memor'd that Alexander M'Tyrlagh of thage of lxx yerres or therabouts, Captayne of his septe, beyng examyned before us whose names be underwritten and chardged upon his duetye of Allegeaunce to declare the truthe wether thatt suche Bonaughts as were putt upon the Irishmen by therles of Kyldare were putt upon them in the tyme thatt they were Deputyes or otherwyse.

Sayeth that he never knewe eny Earle of Kyldare putt eny bonaught upon eny Irishman butt when he was Deputye. And this he affirmeth to be true.

"T. SUSSEX.

"HUGH DUBLYN, Canc."

The ancient Earls of Kildare, as lords of most of the midland and richest champaigns of Ireland, confident in their castellated strongholds, and in the attachment and valour of their clan and connexion (whether of their own blood, or partaking of it through female descent), and supported by nearly all the Gaelic chiefs from the Leinster hills to the Tyrone mountains, who rose at their slogan and ranged under their banner—these mighty Earls stood, during two centuries prior to the culmination and temporary fall of their house, in a political position closely resembling that of the ancient Kings of Tara, whose sovereignty was similarly owing to their possession of the fertile central plain of Erin. EARL GAROITT, perpetual viceroy, and, as such, ruler and leader of the Anglo-Irish, when standing, with his banner planted on this hill (the usual rendezvous of great hostings), begirt by the gyrons of all the eastern Geraldines, and by the ensigns of numerous barons and chiefs sprung from ladies of his house, was far more potent and formidable than any *Ard Righ* that had ever mustered his rude battalions on the same ground. The famous battle he fought, in 1504, on the Hill of the Battle-axes, near Galway, was undertaken without either warrant from the Crown, or upon the King's charges, but merely upon a private quarrel. A notable proof of the impression generally entertained during the fifteenth century, and the earliest half of the next age, that the House of Kildare was the only power capable of coping with the native clans, is to be found in the dispatch first in date among the Irish correspondence in the State Paper Office, an unpublished letter of 1509, from the Lords of the Council in Dublin, to Henry VIII., stating that the Earl having purposed to repair, on the occasion of the King's accession, to his noble presence, they have entreated him to abide and protect them from the Irishmen, and have elected him Lord Justice. We pass on to this great nobleman's son and successor, whose story, as of the originator of the manuscript "*Rental Boke*," we are about to edit, we are bound to give a sketch of.

Gerald Fitz Gerald, ninth Earl of Kildare, the author of these interesting family memoranda, was the only son of the eighth peer by his first wife, Alison, co-heiress of Sir Rowland Eustace, first Baron of Portlester, a lady of ancient Norman-Irish descent, and who is stated to have died, in 1494, of grief at her husband's incarceration in the Tower of London. Gerald the younger, or *Garoitt Oge*, as he was styled by the Irish, was long detained, during the lifetime of his father, as a hostage at the English Court, where he

was brought up in the King's service. Some curious particulars as to the wardrobe provided for him, whilst a mere boy, are to be found in the present Marquis's publication. In his seventeenth year he married a daughter of Sir John Zouch, and, being soon after permitted to return to his native country, was appointed, in 1504, though but some seventeen years of age, to the high office of Treasurer of Ireland, which he subsequently resigned, yet perhaps not before he had acquired the useful financial knowledge this important station gave him. To his tenure of this office, it is indeed probably owing that we have the advantage of perusing the careful ledger which he afterwards caused to be kept.

On the decease of his father in 1513, he was elected Lord Justice, and speedily distinguished himself by subduing the Irishry, and extending his dominion. It is to this time that the tradition may perhaps be referred, which ascribes the first possession of the large estate owned in eastern Ulster by his house to the assistance given by an Earl of Kildare to the native clans of the district, who, being oppressed by Lord Savage of Lecale, obtained the Earl's potent aid, on promising him one or two townlands, according to the extent of the lands of each clan.¹ Upon the Earl marching into the country, at the head of his forces, the oppressor submitted, and, the quarrel being ended, the powerful peacemaker received his wide guerdon. His zeal and services were well received by Henry VIII., and, on going over to Court the next year, he was constituted Lord Deputy. Besides obtaining this honourable gratification of his natural ambition, he received another substantial proof of favour, namely, a grant of the customs of Ardglass and Strangford, two port-towns in Lecale. The duties leviable under this irregular exercise of royal bounty are detailed in the Rental Book about to be printed, and they continued to be received by his descendants until the government of Strafford, when this satrap recovered the customs of the latter town to the benefit of the Crown.² The grant is dated 1514, and, three years subsequently, the Earl invaded Ulster, and, after a bloody engagement, took, by storm, Dundrum Castle, the strong key to Lecale, the fertile tract in which, as appears by his Rental, he obtained possessions. The rich fisheries of the north were, manifestly, the special objects of his cupidity, since he received a grant of the fishing of Strangford Lough, and possession of the valuable salmon fishery of the Bann, which he leased to English merchants. Other acquisitions were also made by him in the same province, under circumstances evidencing its extreme decay and poverty.

Referring for some other of his exploits at this period to Archdall's peerage-book, we find that, in 1516, this youthful Lord Deputy attacked the clan O'Toole in the valley of Imale, and having

¹ Harris's Down, p. 22.

² Letters, ii. p. 91.

slain their chief, placed his head as a trophy on the gates of the metropolis, the inland trade of which was impeded by robbers from the Wicklow hills. In the same year, the Viceroy—whose life was that of a leader of loose troops in an enemy's country, living often in bivouac on the hill-side, rather than the life of a governor of a peaceful province—demolished several castles in Irish regions, and then, marching against the walled and English town of Clonmel, in the heart of the realm of his hereditary foe, the Butler, compelled its factious burghers to submission. From these particulars we may turn to the strong light thrown on the history of the period under review by the printed State correspondence.

The first of these documents, dated 1515, describes the King's Deputy as attended no longer, as of old, by a guard on horseback of spearmen and archers, well appointed, after the English manner, but as accompanied by a multitude of Irish galloglasses, kerne, and pikemen, with an infinite number of horse-lads; and as ever moving from one place to another, and with extortion of coyne and livery consuming all the common people's substance. In the year 1518 this Earl caused the curious compilation about to be laid before our readers to be commenced, a work probably suggested by the usefulness of the older volume, which his father had caused to be compiled in 1503, now called the "Red Book of the Earls of Kildare."

In 1518 he was summoned to England to answer the following charges:—1st. That he enriched himself and his followers by seizing the Crown revenue and lands; and 2ndly, that he had formed alliance with divers Irish enemies of the State. To rebut these accusations, he sailed for London, and, while residing there, awaiting inquiry into his conduct, he married, being now a widower, his second wife, Lady Elizabeth Grey, fourth daughter of Thomas Marquis of Dorset, a marriage by which he gained much influence at Court, the lady being first cousin to the King. In the year 1520, however, he was superseded in the viceroyalty by Lord Surrey, the father of the illustrious poet, whose muse afterwards immortalised the Earl's beautiful daughter, the Fair Geraldine. In the month of June he accompanied the King to France, and was present at the celebrated meeting with Francis I., on the "Field of the Cloth of Gold," where he was distinguished for his appearance, being accounted one of the handsomest men in that brilliant assembly. Soon afterwards, Cardinal Wolsey was directed to examine the charges against him, and in July his superseder sent over information respecting his practices in inciting the native chiefs to keep Ireland in a disturbed state. It seems that he had written to O'Neill and O'Carroll, desiring them to make war upon the Anglo-Irish, excepting such as were his friends, so long as an Englishman was governor, hoping by this means to bring about his own reinstatement, as of the only man who could keep the country quiet.

The latter chief, "the most esteemed captain of the land," was searchingly examined as to the reason why he had made war, and was informed that the Government were aware of his having received a letter to that import. "It was that letter," said Surrey to him, "that led you to levy war." The Irishman smiled: but, when urged to disclose the contents of the treasonable epistle, chivalrously replied that the Lord Lieutenant's pavilion full of gold would not bribe him to stain his honour. He had carefully burnt the letter, yet afterwards incautiously acknowledged to some of his brother chiefs that he would have continued at peace, had not Kildare sent to desire him to act on the opposite policy, and that he durst not disobey the mandate, lest he should incur this powerful Earl's displeasure, on his probable return as Lord Deputy. Preceding lords of this puissant house had, verily, been *de facto* sovereigns of Ireland. Their numerous and wealthy half-feudal, half-clannish adherents hardly knew any other political authority, for, although they heard of a King in London, they felt that *Iarl Garoitt* was *Righ* of Kildare, and *Ard Righ*, or supreme King of Erin. The Geraldine dynasty, however, was about to be overturned, and, strangely enough, received the first blow from the hand of him whose poetic son has, by his love for a daughter of this house, endowed the name of Geraldine with imperishable fame. "Thanked be God!" wrote Lord Lieutenant Surrey, "this country is now comparatively at peace, notwithstanding the malicious practices to the contrary of Kildare's servants." Among these allied servitors was the King of the North, the great O'Neill, who still held out in rebellion, and declared he would never cease war, for so had his kinsman the Earl instructed him, until Kildare should be reinstated on the viceregal throne. "If ever Henry of England send *Iarl Garoitt* here again in authority," observed a loyal native chief, "his grace may as well make over this realm by indenture to him and his heirs for ever!" Apart from the readiness all native leaders exhibited to break into open war at a signal from their exiled but hereditary governor, it seems that the hold he retained on the state purse as Lord Treasurer was more serviceable to him than his intermittent grasp of the state sword. His officers were in receipt of the revenue, but, when the exchequer opened, in August, for the receipt of custom, every debtor defalked "because of the wars." As a consequence, Surrey's sturdy English men-at-arms were more inclined to mutiny than to march against rebels. Their noble leader "continued," says Hall the chronicler, "in great hardness two yere and more, in which space he had many battailes and skirmishes with the wilde Irishe."

(To be continued.)

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

GENERAL MEETING, held in the Assembly Rooms, Kilkenny, on
Wednesday, March 2nd, 1859,

THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF OSSORY, President of the Society,
in the Chair.

The following new Members were elected :—

Howard St. George, Esq., J.P., Kilrush House, Freshford :
proposed by Mr. Prim.

Frederick Lindesay, Esq., D.L., J.P., High Sheriff of the Co.
of Tyrone, Loughry, Dungannon : proposed by Charles Stanley,
Esq.

Thomas J. Tenison, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, J.P., Portneligan,
Tynan ; and the Rev. Richard Burgh Byam, M.A., Vicar of Kew
and Petersham, Petersham, Richmond : proposed by the Rev.
James Graves.

James Rolleston, Esq., J.P., St. Kilda, Parsonstown ; and John
Quain, Esq., Manager of the Provincial Bank, Parsonstown : pro-
posed by the Rev. J. Rogers.

The Rev. Thomas Wilson, Manor Shed, Waterford ; and John
C. Walshe, Esq., 74, Quay, Waterford : proposed by John G.
Davis, Esq.

The Rev. John MacCarthy, R.C.C., Mallow ; and Andrew
Jervise, Esq., Registration Examiner, Brechin, Scotland : proposed
by R. R. Brash, Esq.

William Skehan, Esq., Clonmel : proposed by Mr. Michael
Kearney.

Mr. P. Aylward, on behalf of himself and his brother Auditor
(Mr. J. G. Robertson), laid the following statement of the accounts
for the year 1858 before the Meeting, observing that they had found
for the last year an improvement in the Society's financial position,
as compared with the previous year. At the end of 1857 there was
a balance of £25 10s. 2d. due to the Treasurer ; at the close of

1858, the debt was paid off, the current expenses were cleared, and a balance, although not a large one, in the Treasurer's hands :—

CHARGE.

		£	s.	d.
1858.				
Dec. 31.	To Members' Subscriptions, at 6s. each, received this year,	193	6	0
	„ six Life Compositions, at £5 each,	30	0	0
	„ Subscriptions, at 10s., for "Annuary," received this year,	5	10	0
	„ Donations,	3	9	0
	„ Sale of books,	6	11	10
	„ Cash received for advertisements,	3	14	6
	„ Cash received for woodcuts,	4	12	6
		<hr/>		
		£247	3	10

DISCHARGE.

		£	s.	d.
Jan. 1.	By balance due Treasurer (see p. 34, <i>supra</i>), . . .	25	10	2
	„ Postages of “ Journal,”	10	0	0
	„ „ circulars and correspondence, . . .	7	7	5
	„ Cost of illustrations for “ Journal,”	32	14	6
	„ Cost of printing, paper, and binding of “ Journal” for one year, ending June 21, 1858, .	124	13	2
	„ Cost of general printing and stationery, . . .	7	14	9
	„ „ Commission and interest on deferred payments,	3	15	4
	„ „ Sundries, as per ledger,	6	3	4
	„ „ Carriage of parcels,	0	9	6
	„ „ Purchase of copies of Vol. I., first series, and other books,	8	0	6
	„ „ Indexing Vol. I., new series,	3	0	0
	„ „ Rent of Museum for year ending September 25, 1858,	15	0	0
	„ „ Gratuity to housekeeper of Tholsel, . . .	0	10	0
	„ „ Caretaker of Jerpoint Abbey,	2	0	0
	„ Balance in Treasurer’s hands,	0	5	2
		<hr/>		
		£247	3	10

We have examined this Account, and find that there is a balance of 5s. 2d. in the Treasurer's hands.

2nd March, 1859.

J. G. ROBERTSON, } **Auditors.**
P. A. AYLWARD, }

The Chairman remarked that he understood the balance appearing against the Society for the year 1857 was caused by outstanding arrears on the part of subscribers; he asked had all the subscriptions for the past year been paid up?

The Treasurer said he was sorry to be obliged to answer in the ne-

gative. Instead of the small balance shown by the accounts, there should have been about £40 to the credit of the Society if every Member had duly paid in the subscriptions due for the past and previous years. As the feeling of honour did not, in many cases, suffice to induce the discharge of debts due to the Society, it was evident that more stringency was required with regard to the payment of subscriptions. It was absolutely necessary that all defaulters should for the future be removed at the end of each year; and then, although the nominal list of Members might be reduced, yet he hoped that a more healthy state of the Society would be the result.

The Secretary called the attention of the Meeting to the movement at present going forward for obtaining the legislative abolition of the duty on paper, and pointed out the prejudicial influence of this tax on the operations of the Kilkenny Archæological Society, as the paper used in the publication of their Transactions paid a large duty to Government. He submitted to the Meeting a petition to Parliament praying for the abolition of the tax, on the ground that "it prevented cheap literature from being good, operated to the serious injury of the progress of the people in intelligence and morality, and cramped the operations of this and all other publishing Societies."

The Meeting unanimously adopted the Memorial, ordering that it should be signed by the Chairman and Honorary Secretaries, on behalf of the Society, and sent for presentation to John Greene, Esq., M. P., he being a Member of the Society.

The following presentations were received, and thanks voted to the donors:—

By the Rev. Beaver H. Blacker, M. A.: "The Life and Death of the Most Reverend and Learned Father of Our Church, Dr. James Usher, &c." London: 1656.

By the Publisher: "The Gentleman's Magazine," for January and February, 1859.

By the Cambrian Archæological Association: "Archæologia Cambrensis," third series, No. 17.

By the Archæological Institute: their "Journal," No. 59.

By the Cambridge Antiquarian Society: "A History of the Parish of Waterbeach, in the County of Cambridge," by William Keating Clay, B. D.

By the Cambrian Institute: "The Cambrian Journal," for December, 1858.

By the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne: "Archæologia Æliana," new series, No. 12.

By the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire: their "Transactions," Vol. X.

By the Publisher: "The Builder," Nos. 830-834, inclusive.

By the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History : "The East Anglian; or Notes and Queries on subjects connected with the Counties Suffolk, Cambridge, and Essex," No. 2.

By the Geological and Polytechnic Society of the West Riding of Yorkshire: their "Report" for 1857-8.

By the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society: their "Report" for 1857-8; also, "Sensorial Vision," by Sir J. F. W. Herschel, Bart.; and "China and its Trade," by John Crawford, F.R.S.; printed by order of the Society.

By J. Richardson Smith, Esq.: "The Sound of Iona," including a map of that island, surveyed by Commander E. J. Bedford, R.N., 1857; also, Lithographs of St. Martin's Cross (both sides), Iona; of a Cross at Oronsay Island; and of a Cross at Inverary.

By Robert Stephenson, Esq., Grimsby, Lincolnshire: the original document to which was affixed the seal of Dillon's Regiment, in the Irish Brigade in the service of France, of which he had recently sent a gutta percha impression to the Museum. The document was a certificate that the Sergeant Major attached to the company of Captain William Moore was unfit for service, and bore date at Avesnes, the 13th August, 1784. Colonel Arthur Dillon, whose signature as "Le Ch^e Dillon" was appended to the certificate, was grandson of Arthur, Count Dillon, who followed the fortunes of James II. into France. Colonel Dillon was born in 1750, was Governor of Tobago, and employed in other important services by the French Government. Being strongly attached to the Royal cause, he became obnoxious to the revolutionary party, and was guillotined in April, 1794. His brother Theobald was also a distinguished officer, and known at the court of Marie Antoinette as Le Beau Dillon; he was murdered in the streets of Lille, during the Revolution. Colonel Arthur Dillon had married a cousin of the Empress Josephine, and their daughter was the Countess of Bertrand, who with her husband, followed the fortunes of Napoleon to St. Helena.

By James S. Blake, Esq., J. P., Ballynamona: a curious leaden bulla or seal, of the history of which he was not aware, an old standard guinea weight, and a number of Irish halfpenny tokens of the end of the last century.

By Mr. William May, Kilkenny: a brass half-crown of James II., of March, 1688, in good preservation.

By Mr. Prim: a silver coin of Edward IV., Calais mint.

By Francis N. Lett, Esq., of Clough, near Belfast: a shilling of James I.

By P. J. Dillon, Esq., Kilkenny: a note of Hearn's Bank, Callan, for 3s. 9½d., dated 10th September, 1804.

By J. H. Browne, Esq., Manager of the Provincial Bank, Athlone: two other notes of a similar description, one of the Bank of

French and Company, Dublin, for £3 3s., dated 19th May, 1814; the other of Carr's Bank, Castlebar, value 2s. 2d., dated 4th December, 1801. Mr. Browne also sent a halfpenny token of Ennis-corthy, and two impressions of a pewter matrix in his collection—an ecclesiastical seal, but the legend was so much injured as to be illegible; likewise drawings of an iron military axe of a rare type, and several iron spear-heads, the former found in Ballinderry Lake, near Moate, and the latter in the neighbourhood of Athlone.

The Rev. P. Moore, Local Secretary for the Piltown district, reported that a good work had been carried out in the re-erection of the two broken ancient crosses at the churchyard of Kilkryan, near Castletown demesne. The work, he considered, was done admirably, and, singular to say, was executed by a blind man, named Lawrence, who, before he lost his sight, had worked at the new Houses of Parliament, Westminster. The heads were secured to the shafts by having strong iron bars let into them, and the joints leaded. The funds for doing this good work were supplied by the lady of John Walsh, Esq., J. P., Fanningtown, and the operations were carefully superintended by the Rev. Matthew Brennan, R.C.C., a Member of the Society, by whom the re-erection of these interesting relics of ancient Celtic art was suggested. Mr. Moore remarked that all that was now requisite was to enclose the cemetery with a wall, which he hoped would soon be done. The Rev. P. Power, R.C.C., Carrick, had recently got the neighbouring burying-ground of Kiklispeen walled in so as to be likely to secure from injury the fine crosses there for centuries to come.

The Rev. James Graves reported that he had investigated the circumstances attending the discovery of several ancient cinerary urns by workmen engaged in raising sand, on the property of Colonel Wemys at Danesfort. He hoped to be able at a subsequent meeting to lay before the Society a detailed report of this interesting and important discovery, and, by the permission of Colonel Wemys, to exhibit the very fine urns found on the occasion.

The Venerable Archdeacon Rowan sent the following communication:—

“Referring to the articles printed at pp. 65 and 203, *supra*, I must call ‘question’ on some points which these articles seem to treat as settled, ‘nearly beyond all doubt,’ respecting the authorship of the ‘Flores Doctorum’ of Thomas Palmeranus, or Thomas Hybernicus, as he is more popularly called.

“I purchased a copy of this work (at the sale of the library of the late President of Maynooth, Dr. Benahan), printed at Antwerp, A. D. 1563; and it is not uninteresting to remark that, as well as I can decipher an obliterated line of writing on the title-page, it would seem to have belonged to Sir James Ware the elder. I read the line thus:—‘D: Jacobus me usitor. An. 1604;’ so that this very copy probably belonged to his son, whose opinion on this work we shall have occasion to consider presently.

"The Table of Subject-matter in my copy seems to correspond exactly with that of the MSS. seen by Mr. Way at Nice.

"The Tables of Writers are headed 'Sacri' et 'Prophani.' In the latter the only one of those mentioned by Mr. Way, and omitted in my copy, is 'Macrobius;' but the identification of the works enumerated by quoting the first and last lines, is not observed in my edition at all.

"I must now notice a difficulty in reconciling Mr. Way's suggestions and the Colophon of Quarritich's MSS. with the account of the work given by Ware, as derived from Wading and other authorities.

"Mr. Way suggests that the date at the close of the Index in the Nice MSS. (A. D. 1300), was '*probably the autograph of Thomas Hybernicus himself*;' and from the Quarritich Colophon he concludes (as the grammatical construction *might* allow him to do) that while Thomas Hybernicus compiled the 'Flores,' Johannes Gallensis (or Walesius) '*only made the Tabula*.'

"The words of Ware are: 'John Walleis, a Minorite, began the first work ("Flores Doctorum") under the title of "A Handful of Flowers," but, prevented by death, he left the same imperfect, which one Thomas finished under the former title.' For this he refers to the authority of Wading's Annals, under the date A. D. 1269-70, where he is called '*our Thomas*,' and spoken of as then flourishing, and Wading further quotes Marianus of Florence as describing '*Thomas of Ireland, who lived A. D. 1270, in great esteem for his learning in the Monastery of D'Aquila, on the frontier of Naples, where he died, and was buried*.'

"I confess I cannot reconcile these accounts with Mr. Way's suggestion, nor arrive at the conclusion that 'all doubt' as to the authorship of the 'Flores' is removed, so as to give the body of the work to Thomas, and the Index to John.

"If we take book and index as distinct, the Colophon is not very intelligibly worded. A work is *first* written, and *then* indexed; but it would appear as if '*ista tabula*' was *begun* by John, and *finished* by Thomas, which is more in accordance with Ware's account of the book itself; so that it seems to me necessary to take '*Tabula*' (which has all the significations of '*List*,' '*Catalogue*,' '*Book*') in the latter and larger sense of the three; and I submit that the evidence rather inclines to the conclusion that the gathering of the Flores of this interesting little volume was commenced by Johannes Walesius, and completed by 'Thomas Hybernicus.'

"For the supposed autograph date, it would seem to have been written thirty years after that assigned for Thomas's *last* abode in D'Aquila monastery.

"As to Thomas's agnomen of 'Palmerston,' my edition of Ware does not say that he was *born* at Palmerston; and it seems to me that he may more probably have been a member of a religious community there. It is now many years since I walked in Palmerston demesne; but as memory serves, I think there are the remains of a religious house not very far from the present mansion, Lord Naas's residence."

Mr. Edward Fitzgerald, Architect, of Youghal, sent the following, accompanied by a drawing and rubbing of the Ogham:—

"As our Irish Oghams occupy so large an amount of interest and attention just now, any discovery of the kind, especially in the south of

Ireland, should, in my mind, be duly registered in the Kilkenny Archaeological Journal, as the most suitable depository to bring those remarkable inscriptions together for proper examination, as, no doubt, important results will yet turn up in connexion with early Irish history from faithful and unprejudiced decipherings and readings of them.

"I regret my friend Mr. Williams has not yet given us an account of those Ogham discoveries which he made some months ago, and which were at the time mentioned in this 'Journal.' I find also that the Venerable Archdeacon Rowan has made a most interesting discovery in Kerry on an ancient battle-field, of an Ogham inscription which it is considered will bear out what was hitherto looked on as a legendary myth of the historian Keating, relating to a battle of the Milesians with the Tuatha de Danaans on their first landing in Ireland. The excellent account of this remarkable discovery has appeared in the 'Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy,' just published.

"About a month ago, in some of my rural perambulations, I alighted on a remarkable stone, in a field about five miles south-west of Youghal, with what I considered Ogham scores inscribed on it. A sketch of the stone and inscription I enclose for inspection. On inquiry, I found that the peasantry connected this relic with the mythic age of Irish giants, as they said it was a lifting or pitching stone of those early gentry, 'for sure the signs of their five fingers are still on it'—referring to the indented scores, which are deeply cut, and appearing in groups. This relic is of compact limestone, a very unusual material, I am given to understand, for Ogham inscriptions to be inscribed on, but it is the stone of the district. It measures four feet six inches long; about three feet eight inches above the surface of the ground; and about two feet in thickness.

"I forwarded drawings to Messrs. Windele and Williams for their opinion on it, but have not as yet received a satisfactory interpretation; though, as usual, expecting something very important, from the fact of this relic standing in a most remarkable historic locality,—for it is on the lands of Inchiquin, i. e. the Inch, or Island of O'Quin, or Conn. We have within a couple of miles of it Lisquinlan, i. e. the fort or lias of O'Quin; and we have also on the Blackwater here, the town of Cappoquin, i. e. Conn's or Quin's district,—evidently relics of this formidable early Irish tribe. The stone also stands about six or eight hundred yards from Inchiquin Castle, a most interesting early relic of a ruined Round Tower, not of the Irish type, but a real old Danish structure of the Reginald-tower type in Waterford. The remains still standing of this piratical stronghold are from thirty to forty feet in height; thirty feet diameter inside walls; thickness of walls, about twelve feet. It was evidently constructed by a master-mind for the purpose it was designed for, being placed on the edge of the river Finiske [i. e. the fair water], winding up about four miles from the sea, and at its navigable termination, where vessels of deep draught of water could not possibly follow those formidable plunderers."

Mr. Francis N. Lett, of Clough, near Belfast, contributed the following paper on "The last Lord of Slane:"—

"Among the first English knights who accompanied the English invasion was one named De Fleming, who, in A. D. 1181, was created Lord

Fleming, and Baron of Slane. The early Lords of Slane resided at Slane Castle, county of Meath, on their own possessions, which they retained till the year 1641. The then Lord Slane was attainted for being connected with the transactions of that year. Notwithstanding this attainder, the De Flemings still held amongst themselves their ancient lineage and title unbroken till a late period.

"In the last century, the last Lord Slane resided in the townland of Anticur, and parish of Rasharkin, where his mansion may still be seen (in tolerable good order, being tenanted by John Wallace, a farmer). At the balls given in the village of Clough, at that period, Lord Slane used to attend. His only daughter, Mary de Fleming, married a person of the name of Felix O'Connor (whose family came from the county of Donegal), cousin to Lord Slane's valet (Donald O'Connor, who died about the year 1835). After the death of her father and husband, her eldest son having gone abroad, Mrs. O'Connor disposed of the family residence, took up her dwelling at Craigs, parish of Finvoy, whence she and her family removed to America, where they died. Lord Slane is interred in the vault of the Antrim family, at Bonamairge Abbey (what connexion there was between the Mac Donnells and De Flemings, I am incapable of saying). Many of the descendants and connexions of the O'Connors remain about Dunboy (in Finvoy parish, and near Anticur).

"The above short notes of the last Lord Slane have been principally collected from the accounts given by persons of the O'Connor connexion, residing on the spot, and, it is hoped, may be found of some use."

John W. Busteed, M.D., forwarded the following communication on Corkaguiny, in the county of Kerry:—

"The origin of this name has never been very clear. The Irish annalists and historians have almost invariably spelled it with a *d*,—'Corkadhínbue.' Smith, nevertheless, in his 'History of Kerry,' deduces it from 'geinadh,' a word signifying increase, or generation, and which he must have intended to combine with 'corcagh,' a marsh; but as it is *not* fertile, in relation to its extent, or when compared with other baronies in the same county, and as it is not a marsh, taken as a whole, but a mountain, Smith's derivation may, without much of presumption or of ceremony, be set aside as inconsistent with itself and with facts. However, there would have been no literary or archæological *necessity* for rejecting it, if the following legend had not come down to us:—

"When Cormac Ulfada was King of Ireland, A.D. 213, his cousin-german, Cairbre Muirg, was a prince of odious reputation, which was not improved when he publicly confessed that twin sons had been born to him, under circumstances unutterably base. The vengeance of Heaven, then manifesting itself by a famine in the land, was popularly ascribed to his infamous crime, and the wrath of the people was aroused, but, undiscriminating, as usual, it descended, unjustly, on the innocent offspring.

"They were not, and they could not come to good; so one of the twins, named Cormac, was abandoned as a sacrifice to popular indignation or Druidical superstition, while the other, named 'Corc,' or 'Corcadhúin' (from his mother, *Duibhin*), was barely saved from a similar fate by the benevolent intervention of 'Dionach,' a Druid, who persuaded the

people to consign the child to his charge, solemnly promising that forthwith it should be sent out of Ireland; in accordance with which pledge the Druid secretly took him to a small island called '*Inisbaoi*,' from an old woman named *Baoi*, who lived there. To her care he entrusted the infant; and, through many difficulties, she nursed it for a year, till the famine had passed away, or the wrath of the people had subsided, and then the good old Druid, who in his truth and devotion had remained through that year in the neighbourhood, rewarded the woman for her fidelity, and, bringing back his little charge to the mainland, surrendered him to his grandmother (the parent of both his parents), like a 'good man and true,' charging her to educate him well, but with all possible privacy,—counsel which we may suppose to have been congenial to her taste; for, though daughter to 'Con of the Hundred Battles,' her spirit must have been sorely subdued within her.

"To this story, which has been taken from Keating (though not given in his '*ipsissima verba*') it is now necessary to annex a brief sketch of the topography of Corkaguiny, a name which for many ages has been applied to the most western barony of the county of Kerry. This district is a long and narrow promontory, having the bays of Tralee and Brandon and the Atlantic Ocean to the north, and on the south the harbour of Castlemain and the bay of Dingle. Mountainous everywhere, except at the verge, and even there, for miles together, overhanging the ocean in stupendous cliffs, its area of cultivation is comparatively small, and it is naturally divided by lofty ranges into several minor districts. One of these, on the northern side of the peninsula, and lying east of the Brandon chain, is called 'Letteragh;' while another subdivision, situate at the west of that magnificent barrier, and of Dingle, is known as 'Dionach,' within which are comprised the village of Ventry, a spot of peculiar interest, seated on a noble harbour of the same name; the Celtic habitations, and fortifications of Fahan; ecclesiastical ruins at Kilmelkedar; Fort del Ore, memorable for the massacre, in cold blood, of six hundred unfortunate, though guilty foreigners; a line of peaks and precipices culminating at Sybil Head into perfect grandeur; and many other objects of natural and antiquarian interest. Here, also, is the headland of Dunmore, the most westerly point on the mainland of Ireland, adjacent to which, and separated from it by only a narrow sound, is the 'Great Blasket Island,' chief of a group which, placed in waters generally tumultuous, might well afford to the afflicted a refuge from all but the most implacable persecutors; and, close to this great island, yet rarely visited save by the storm petrel, or some bird as ocean-loving, is a smaller island, well known in the county, and inscribed on maps as 'Ilaunbuoy,' and 'Inis,' and 'Ilaun,' or 'Oilean,' all signifying an island.

"Now, if these three names of places, 'Corkaguiny' (or Corcadhuibne, as the word is more correctly), 'Dionach,' and 'Ilaunbuoy' (or Inisbaoi), be not absolutely derived from the personages who figure in the legend, and if this identity in names be only a series of coincidences (for it cannot be a Bardic contrivance), then is Archæology merely a dream, and many of its patient and beautiful inductions must be rejected as unwarranted and vain; but if, on the contrary, the places and the persons are in strict and intimate connexion (as they appear to be), then we have strong additional

testimony to the large amount of truth contained in our Celtic legends, too long despised, and still too little studied."

The following papers were submitted to the Meeting.

NOTES ON SCULPTURES AND AN INSCRIPTION CARVED
ON A CHIMNEY-PIECE PRESERVED IN THE BUILDING
ATTACHED TO DUNKERRON CASTLE.

BY GEORGE V. DU NOYER, ESQ., M.R.I.A.

IN reading those valuable and interesting papers published in the Number of the "Journal" for July, 1857 (vol. i., new series, pp. 364, 370), entitled, "Notes on the Irish Dresses, Armour, &c., of the Sixteenth Century," by Daniel Mac Carthy, Esq.; and "The Book of Mac Carty Reagh," by John Windele, Esq.; I was reminded that I had sketches bearing on the former subject, taken from a carved chimney-piece preserved in a building attached to the old castle of Dunkerron, near Kenmare, in the county of Cork. It occurred to me that the gentlemen to whom I have alluded will feel an interest in the sketches, and that they might not be unacceptable to the Society in general.

The descriptive notes which I append may serve to illustrate the plates which accompany this paper.

PLATE I., Fig. 1.—In dexter and sinister chief points, and in dexter and sinister base points, a star-fish. In middle chief a che-rub, with oriole surrounding the head. In honour point a hand and arm coupé close below the elbow, and crossing the shield per bend. In fess point a wild boar. In nombril point a water-newt or lizard. In middle base a Romanesque galley, with human figure on board, of which the bust and head only are visible. Supporters: on the dexter side a nondescript-winged animal, with the head and neck of an eagle, but horned like a bull; legs clawed like those of a bird, and spurred from the heel and elbow joints; body and tail of a lion. On sinister side an animal resembling a maned lion, with an unusually long tail; the head prolonged into a lengthened snout, and a deep, grinning mouth, armed with a double row of formidable teeth, and having a long, sharply-barbed tongue projecting. Under both supporters a fleur-de-lis, and below the shield, on the dexter base, a graceful sprig of shamrock. On the stone over the armorial bearings, just described, are carved the letters, O S M. S: these I take to be the beginning of the names O'Sullivan More, and his wife, Sily Mac Carthy; but the rest of Mac

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Fig. 2.



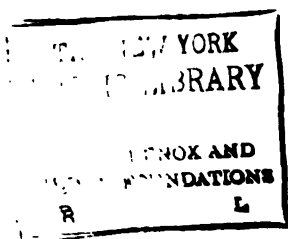
Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 1.



Carthy's name has been omitted. Can this be a joint coat of arms, a blending of the bearings of the two great families'?

PLATE II., Fig. 2.—On the left-hand side of the chimney-piece we have a spirited representation of an Irish gentleman performing on a hunting-horn, and probably calling his hounds around him, preparatory to the chase; his favourite dog, covered with curling hair, and in that respect resembling the Irish liver-coloured water spaniel, is seen trotting up to him. His dress is a close-fitting tunic, belted round the waist, and extending to a short way above the knees; his legs appear bare; his cap very closely resembles a Glengarry bonnet, with a twisted band surrounding the lower part over the forehead; what appears to be a small feather hangs gracefully drooping from the back part of the cap. The hunting-horn is held in the right hand, and appears to be a simple cow's horn, without the least decoration; the left hand of the figure grasps a long double corkscrew scroll, which divides the field of the stone into two compartments, the lower one of which is filled with the chestnut flower ornament so common in carvings of the sixteenth century, and in the upper is the dog before described; below, and to the rear of the dog, are two animals which more nearly resemble water-newts than lizards; they have their tails looped together, in front of the human figure. Above and below the scroll-work are three Tudor roses, two only of which are complete in their carving.

PLATE II., Fig. 1.—On the right-hand end of the chimney-piece, and on the stone corresponding to the one last described, is a figure of a female—a lady, her right arm extended, and the hand grasping the stem, as it were, of a double corkscrew ornament which extends along the top of the stone and down its centre. This lady is dressed in a long, close-fitting gown, the feet not visible; a kind of narrow collar round the neck, and a loose belt round the waist, buckled by a circular fibula in front, but much lower than the waist itself; her head-dress is something "stunning." First, a whimple and a plain fillet across the forehead; over that a cap of straight plaits: a circular ornament decorates the right side of the cap, while on the left is a rosette, with drooping ends hanging over the ear. The orna-

¹ "It would be fair to presume that Sir Owen and his wife, Shilie, would quarter their respective arms in the shield over the Dunkerron mantle-piece. What were the O'Sullivan arms *in extenso* I do not know. The galley and the lizard, I believe, were part of them; but I cannot see anything in the Dunkerron shield which has to do with Shilie's paternal coat. The Mac Carthys (every branch of them alike) bore the red deer of Kerry alone in the shield, and the arm and hand grasping a lizard or newt, (but not a legless water-newt) for crest.

Mr. Petrie's famous seal—the seal of Donall Ruad (of the Muskerry branch)—was, indeed, very different; but this, too, has nothing in common with the Dunkerron shield. I hope I may be pardoned for these suggestions. It is a long time since anything literary has interested me more than the drawings and description of Mr. Du Noyer; and it is with great reluctance that I pack them up and send them back to you. Your notes at foot of page 870 and 875 are working well; and I thank you again for them."—*Note communicated by D. Mac Carthy, Esq.*

ment in the field of the stone is very similar to that described on the other side of the chimney-piece, the upper compartment commencing with a large Tudor rose of seven petals, followed by a zig-zag-raised line having ivy-leaves sculptured in high relief in each of the triangular compartments.

I strongly incline to the belief that in the two figures we have the O'Sullivan More and his lady, the daughter of Mac Carthy Reagh¹; and, if so, the example of costume thus afforded to us is of great interest. Certainly, the lady had not donned the female dress of the court of Queen Elizabeth, and evidently had not been honoured with one of those costly robes bestowed by Elizabeth on those "well-bred ladies," the Countess of Desmond and the wife of Turlogh Lynogh, so admirably written upon by your learned correspondent, Mr. Daniel Mac Carthy. The dress, too, of the male figure is plain enough to be "mere Irish," and the cap has an undoubted Celtic look about it. At all events, if we dare not *identify* the figures from the Dunkerron chimney-piece, we must regard them as affording evidence of the male and female costume of the gentry in the county of Kerry in the year 1596.

PLATE I., Fig. 2.—This inscription, which is carved in raised Roman capitals, occurs on a separate stone, and does not appear to have originally formed any part of the chimney-piece; on the contrary, it is highly probable that it was placed in the wall over the principal entrance to the castle. The mantle-piece exhibits an example of what is termed by architects the joggled arch.

DUNKERRON CASTLE.

BY JOHN WINDELE, ESQ.

NEAR the head of the estuary or bay of Kenmare (Hibernice, *Ceann Mara*), in the county of Kerry, stand all that remains of this once important fortalice.

The few ancient notices which we possess, supposed to refer to this great inlet, are subjects of doubt and conjecture. By some it is believed to have been the *Inbher Sgeine* of our native writers, and either the *Iernus* or *Iuvernina*, or the *Dur* of the geographer Ptolemy. But Camden supposes that the *Dur* was the rivulet flowing into the

¹ The grandson of Finin an Duna Mac Carthy Reagh (for whom O'Callagh transcribed the "Book of Lismore,") was Donell Mac Carthy, the 3d *Reagh*. This Donell was married twice; once, and firstly, to a daughter of Tég Mac Cormack, Lord of Muskerry; and, secondly, to Ellinor, daughter to

Gerald, Earl of Kildare. Donell was the father of Sir Donogh M'Carthy Reagh, Lord of Carbury. Sir Donogh was the father of the celebrated Florence Mac Carthy, and also of *Shilie*, who was married to Sir Owen O'Sullivan, both supposed to be represented by the *graceful* couple who support the shield.

bay of Tralee; whilst Dr. O'Connor, after Ware and the historian Smith, assigns it to the bays of Castlemain and Dingle. Dr. Graves gives it to the bay of Kenmare, at whose entrance lies the island of *Dur-sey*. Nevertheless, the opinion may be worthy of consideration which would identify the *Dur* with the *Cuan-dur*, or Glandore Harbour, in the south-west of the county of Cork. The name is certainly indicative of our early Iberian descent, and of the sunny regions watered by the Durius or Duero.

Be this, however, as it may, the first colony visiting Ireland after the deluge, that of Partholan, landed at Inbher-sgeine; and although Dr. Todd (in the "Irish Nennius") conjecturally assigns this name to the mouth of the River Corrane, in Ballinaskelligs Bay, in the immediate neighbourhood, we must, in the absence of his reasons for so doing, incline to the more generally received appropriation. The bay was again the scene of the invasion of the Milesians; and here was drowned on that occasion the Lady Scene Dulsaine, the wife of the Archdruid Amhergin, whence the *Inbher* derived its now time-honoured appellation.

Dunkerron Castle, a massive-vaulted structure of the "Tudor" era, occupies the site, as its name implies, of an ancient dun or fortress, constructed ere the introduction of castellation into Ireland. It is distant about two miles from the modern town of Kenmare. In its present condition it is a greatly shattered, but not unpicturesque ruin, standing close by the shore, within a small demesne, and environed by recent plantations. Its southern side has entirely fallen, carrying with it portions of the eastern and western walls. Originally a vaulted tower or keep, it was ascended by flights of stone stairs in the thickness of the walls. Its great arch, contrary to the usual practice, instead of being placed in the upper part of the building, formed a basement compartment, at about one-third of the whole elevation from the ground. The greater portion of this vault has also been destroyed, leaving only a mere fragment of it remaining.

At a short distance from its south-east angle stands the high-pitched end wall or gable of a more recent mansion, belonging to the Transition period, succeeding the reign of the first James. It retains its capacious fire-places and mantle-pieces, but no other feature worthy of notice. The whole structural group, although not without picturesque effect, has never yet found any published or engraved illustration, nor has it received the charitable vesture or drapery of mantling ivy, so seldom withheld from our old warrior or religious piles. No doubt, tradition and legend have been associated with its story, and reminiscences of its past days may still survive in the folk-lore of the neighbouring peasantry; for its ancient lords were of a stirring and daring race, who limited not their operations to the adjoining plains and mountains; their galleys tra-

versed in search of adventure, glory, or traffic on the open seas which lay around, frequently visiting the ports of the Saxon and the Gall, or those farther to the south, remembered as the original home of their distant forefathers; but of these recollections we have noted none, and must leave their collection for some future gleaner.

The O'Sullivan More, to whom this castle and the wide-spread domains which once appertained to it belonged, was the head of a powerful "*Eoganacht*," or "Eugenian" tribe of the same royal *Heberian* race with the Mac Carthies, the common ancestor of both families being Aedh dubh, King of Munster. This prince had two sons, Finghin and Failbhe Flan, who severally succeeded him in the provincial sovereignty. From Finghin descended, in the eighth generation, Eochy, son of Maol Ughra, who received the soubriquet of *Sullivan*; whilst Failbhe was the ancestor of *Cartha*, each of whom gave the family surname to his posterity.

The derivation of his denomination of Sullivan to Eochy is the subject of a pious but, nevertheless, rather improbable legend. It happened that an Albanian Druid, named *Labhan*, in the course of a speculative tour in Ireland, visited this prince, then residing at his ancestral moat of Knockgraffon, in the present county of Tipperary. Delighted with his poetical and musical art, Eochy desired him at his departure to name the reward which he chose to receive. "Your two eyes," said the rapacious and malevolent old pagan: and Eochy, holding in special regard his own good name, and fearing, beside, the poet's satire, gave them to him. St. Ruadhan of Lothra was at that time on a visit also at the royal moat; and, justly incensed at what had occurred, he prayed that the eyes of Labhan should be transferred to Eochy, instead of those he had lost. His supplication was heard, and the prince, thus "recouped," received thenceforth the name of *Suil-Labhan*, that is, the "eyes of Labhan." When patronymics came to be adopted in Ireland, in the reign of that "Star of the Field," Brien of the Tributes, at the close of the tenth century, Buadhach cro, the grandson of Eochy, assumed the soubriquet of his grandsire, and transmitted same to his descendants.

The O'Sullivans were driven from their Tipperary domains about the period of the Anglo-Norman invasion. They subsequently located themselves in West Munster, occupying the deeply-indented coasts lying between the Mizzen Head and the bay of Castlemain. Here they gradually increased and multiplied, branching out into various clans, but all owing fealty to their chief at Dunkerron, who again acknowledged the suzerainty of the Mac Carthy More, the elder representative of their original stock, and of whose military levies the O'Sullivan was the hereditary Marshal. The more prominent of the lesser septs of the name were the O'Sullivans of Beara, Bantry, Cappanacuss, Ardea, Tomies, and the Mac Gillicuddys.

The fate of the O'Sullivan Bere forms an interesting incident in the "Pacata," with the destruction of whose strong fastness at Dunboy, at the close of the reign of Elizabeth, the rebellion of Desmond was signalized. Then it was that the wild but magnificent estates of heath and mountain forming the peninsula of Ivera were forfeited and lost to them for ever. A younger branch of this house, the O'Sullivan of Cuolagh, retained, until a recent period, a respectable position near Berehaven. Its present representative is a son of the late John O'Sullivan of Coumatringane.

The O'Sullivan of Bantry, who resided at the Castle of Carriganass, suffered a similar penalty for unsuccessful resistance in the same hapless insurrection.

The Cappanacuss O'Sullivan was seated a few miles to the west of Dunkerron. His stronghold was a narrow "peel house" or castelet, most unpretentious in its architectural features. This building still braves the tempest and the breeze within the demesne of Dromore, near where the Kerry Blackwater joins the bay of Kenmare, after emerging from one of the most picturesque scenes to the south of Killarney, at Blackwater Bridge. The O'Sullivan of Cappanacuss, in default of male issue to the O'Sullivan More, succeeded to his inheritance as next in seniority. It is said that the O'Sullivan of Dunloe (Tomies), was in the last century the representative of these two houses, but no authority for this appears.

The O'Sullivans, who took the name of Mac Gillicuddy, are still represented. They assumed the latter appellation in honour of their patron saint, and the family still enjoy rank and position in their native county. The present "Mac Gillicuddy of the Reeks" resides in his paternal mansion at Whitefield, at the base of Carn-tuel, near Killarney, and traces his pedigree to *Giolla Mochuda caoch*, son of Donal More O'Sullivan of Carrigfinvoy. Connor, the son of Giolla Mochuda, is recorded by the Four Masters as having been slain by his own kinsman in 1411.

Other septs of power and consideration were the O'Sullivans of *Ardea*, at the Iveratha side of the estuary, and the Mac Fineen duff, whose descendant in the female line, Mrs. Peter M'Sweeny, has only recently removed from the vicinity of that chieftain's old homestead by the shore of Glenmore Lake.

A branch of the O'Sullivans has been for many years settled in the south of England, and is represented by Rear-Admiral Sir Charles Sullivan, Baronet, of Ditton, in Surrey, and George James Sullivan, of Willmington, in the Isle of Wight, Esq. Sir Bernard Burke states ("Peerage and Baronetage," p. 956), that the last-named gentleman is entitled to the title of O'Sullivan More, as the descendant of the eldest son of Benjamin Sullivan, Clerk of the Crown for Cork and Waterford, who resided on the South Mall, in the city of Cork, in the middle of the last century, and first discontinued the "O" from the name. On this head the genealogists may, however, differ.

The Castles of Carriganass, Dunboy, Reendeeshart, Ardea, Dunkerron, Cappanacuss, and Dunloe still survive in more or less preservation—the last alone now habitable, the others utterly ruinous—monuments, however decayed and fallen, yet attesting the former power and importance of a high and chivalrous race, whose proud boast was expressed in the well known—

“Nulla manus tam liberalis, et generalis atque
Universalis quam Sullivanus.”

A descent of many generations from Oilioll Olum, King of Munster in the third century, brings us to Muirheartach More O'Sullivan, who was living in 1376. He married Catherine, daughter of Mac Carthy More. Their son, Bernard, allied himself in marriage with another branch of the same race.

A. D. 1451. Dermot, son of Teige, son of Cormac Mac Carthy, was slain, and Dermot, the son of O'Sullivan More, was killed in revenge of him.

1550. Dermot O'Sullivan was burned by gunpowder in his castle.

Fourth in descent from the above-named Dermot was Donell na Sgreadhaigh (the Shouter), son of Rory (says the pedigree; son of Donnell, say the Four Masters). He married Mary, daughter of Cormac Mac Carthy, Lord of Muskerry. This Donell died in 1580; his wife had died previously in 1548; and his son, Owen, was installed in his place. This is the chieftain named in the accompanying inscription. In 1585, according to the Four Masters, he went to the Parliament summoned in that year to Dublin by the Lord Deputy, Sir John Perrott; but did not sit therein. He married, first, Mary, daughter of Cormac Oge, son of Teig Mac Carthy, who died in 1593; and secondly, Sily, daughter of Mac Carthy Riabhac, Prince of Carbery (Cork), named also in the inscription. This lady was living in 1603, and Owen died in 1623. Notwithstanding the frequency of these intermarriages with the Mac Carthies, a strong feeling of animosity existed between the Lords of Dunkerron and their feudal superiors, the Mac Carthys More. In 1597 we find Sir Nicholas Browne, an ancestor of the Earls of Kenmare, writing:—“First you must understand that in Desmond there are two great septs which are called O'Sullivans and O'Donoghues, which upon very most occasions have been enemies to the Mac Carthy More.” And again, the sept of the O'Sullivans is mentioned “as commonlie at warre with the Earle (Glancare) and seeking his weakeninge.”

The issue of Owen and Sily were Donel, Owen (living in 1640), Dermot, Mary, Elen, and Sile. The eldest son (Donel) married, first, Honora, daughter of Fitzgibbon the White Knight, who died issueless; and secondly, Joan, daughter of Patrick Fitzmaurice, Lord of Kerry. In 1632, during its occupancy by Donell, the Castle of O'Sullivan More, on the River of Kenmare, is described

by the Lord President of Munster, in a letter to the Lords Justices, as "a strong and defensible building." From this Donell descended Owen, who forfeited in the wars of 1641. In 1642 Owen O'Sullivan More, of Dunkerron, represented his sept on the Supreme Council of Kilkenny. He was the father of Daniel, who died in 1699. Eoghan Roe, son of this Daniel, died, in his father's lifetime, at Dublin, in 1687, "and all Leth Mogha," says the genealogist, "was filled with the glory and greatness of his benevolence, honour, generosity, poesy, and his every other noble and laudable quality."

Florence Soolevan of Nodden (Neddeen, the Irish name of Kenmare town), in the county of Kerry, was one of the attainted in 1691; and in 1696 Henry Lord Shelburne passed patent for the lands of O'Sullivan More, in the barony of Dunkerron, his widow, Mary, receiving jointure of part thereof.¹ Tradition states that, at the time of the Revolution, Dunkerron Castle was held by MacCarthy Reagh. The late Maurice O'Connell, son of the great Tribune, has left some spirited lines on the fall of the last chieftain of the MacCarthy race who held this structure, and who, with his nephew, was killed at Aughrim. This poem commences:—

"On high Dunkerron's battlements the slanting sunbeam falls," &c.

Eoghan, who died in 1687, left a son, Daniel O'Sullivan More, who married Heaster O'Sullivan. He died on April 16, 1754, without issue, and his widow survived him until 1796. Both were buried in the monastery of Oirbealigh, or Irrelough (Mucross), the ancient burial-place of the race, as well as of the O'Donoghues, &c.

Until within a few years the sculptured stones, of which Mr. Du Noyer has furnished the Society with the faithful and graphic drawings appended to his article,² lay in a boat-house attached to "Lansdowne Lodge," near Kenmare, during the occupancy of Mr. Pelham, a former agent of the Shelburne estates. They were subsequently removed to Dunkerron, where I saw and took rubbings of them; since then they have been placed, surrounded by mason-work, in the wall of the more recent ruin, near the original building, where they are now, it is hoped, safe from injury. They formed portions of a carved chimney-piece in the original structure, although not coeval with it. Crofton Croker has given copies of the arms and the inscription in his "Fairy Legends," and the latter was also published in "Notices of Cork and Killarney," and again in the "Transactions of this Society,"³ the late Mr. Hitchcock, in his fastidious love of minute accuracy, deeming a typographical error in the "Notices" sufficient justification for a republication!

The shield of arms suggests a few observations. The blazoning is totally different from that in use by the O'Sullivans for the last

¹ D'Alton's "Army List," p. 286.

² *Ante*, p. 290.

³ Vol. ii., p. 128.

two centuries, which is, according to the heralds, "Per pale, vert and ar. on the first a buck pass. ppr. on the second, a boar pass. per pale, sa. and ppr. On a chief or, two lions, ramp. combatant, gu. supporting with the fore paws a sword entwined with a serpent. Crest, on a ducal coronet a bird ppr.

Motto, "Lamh Foistenach an Uachtar." In Harris's "Ware," p. 164, their war-cry is given as "Fustina-Stelly-aboe," whatever that means.

To me the Dunkerron shield and its charges have a very Arkite expression, and seem quite a mythological composition. The latter appear more or less connected with the legendary lore of the family. Differing so entirely from all the recognised rules of heraldry in the sixteenth century, we may presume that in the blazoning the artist must have taken his instructions from the hereditary Boleaire or Seanachuidhe, full of traditional recollections of the race, or had used "emblems and devices, which had previously existed beyond the memory of man."¹

In the chief or upper part of the field occurs the Murghein, Muirgheilt, Murrnach, Merrow, or Mermaid, which may be explained by that legend of an O'Sullivan, who wooed and won, but only immediately to lose, one of those fabled sea nymphs, as we are informed in Crofton Croker's metrical version of the "Lord of Dunkerron."² It is almost unnecessary to say that a belief in these beings has been universal in all ages; Hesiod speaks of syrens in the early periods of Greece, and Erick Pontoppidan describes the *Mar Gyga* of Scandinavia. The Berugh is a prominent character in the folklore of Imokilly, according to Mr. Hackett. His Merrow is endowed with the gift of prophecy,³ and so is the mermaid of Resenius mentioned in the "Border Minstrelsy."⁴ Indeed the belief has not died out in the present day, as we had a recent instance of the capture of a so-called mermaid in the newspapers. That the O'Sullivans, a maritime tribe for the last six centuries, believed in their existence, may be fully credited, and the tradition regarding the love passage of one of their house may be received as an event of sufficient mark to be preserved or recorded amongst the achievements grouped in the armorial escutcheon.

The extended open hand is assuredly characteristic of the "Nulla manus tam liberalis," &c., of which this ancient sept boasted, and of which they also preserved a memorial in their motto, "Lamh Foistenach."

Of the boar, the only one of these symbols preserved in the modern heraldic charges, we have no indication in "tale, romance, or lay." It was very probably some lingering remnant of that old por-

¹ Burke's "Armory."

² "Fairy Legends," vol. ii., p. 59.

³ "Trans." of the Society, vol. ii., p. 318.

⁴ Vol. iii., p. 333.

cine worship noted by Mr. Hackett in his paper published in these "Transactions,"¹ akin to the superstition of the Hindoo Boar Varaha.

The fish, it may be suspected, also belongs to the same class of mythic beings; the *piast* is still, as of old, believed to haunt our lakes and rivers,—a vestige assuredly of that serpent-worship which we find in full vigour at this day in China. We have lately seen going "the rounds of the press" the following newspaper paragraph on this subject:—

"The intendent of Ningpo sends a deputy in the dry season of every year to sacrifice to the dragon, and to pray for rain. Besides this official service in times of drought, farming people also come at the same time, and, in order to move heaven to relieve the parched land, some even immolate themselves by drowning in the pool frequented by the dragon."

Many of our Irish saints had to contend with this form of paganism. Mochua of Balla overcame a horrid monster (Bellua) which infested one of the Connaught lakes.² Saints Senanus and Kevin struggled successfully with the *piasts* or dragons of Scattery and Glendalough. Unlike as the *piast* on the escutcheon is to a lizard, Mr. Du Noyer conjectures upon it that it might indicate a joint coat of arms, a blending of the bearings of the two great families of O'Sullivan and Mac Carthys, allied, as has been shown, more than once. But the Mac Carthys had not assumed the lizard at this date, if we can believe that the arms in the chancel at Mucross Abbey belong to them.³

The galley, of course, refers to the maritime pursuits of this sea-board sept. "In allusion to the galley," says Crofton Croker, "it may be mentioned that a favourite name of the O'Sullivans is Morty or Murty (correctly written Murchheartach), which literally means 'expert at sea,' or an old navigator."

These arms not being in accordance with Anglo-Irish blazoning, it becomes a question whether they belong to any recognised system peculiar to the native race. If this were so, the Dunkerron sculptures would possess a peculiar interest, as heraldic bearings of that description are particularly rare.

O'Halloran⁴ tells us that at Tara the esquires of the nobility presented themselves at the door of the grand hall (Míodhchuarta), and gave in the shields and ensigns of their different masters to the deputies of the great Marshal of the Crown, and, by direction of the King-at-Arms, they were ranged according to the quality of the different owners. Dermot O'Connor, the translator of Keating, had, several years before O'Halloran wrote, published a statement somewhat similar, an interpolation on the text of his author.⁵

¹ Vol. ii., p. 309.

² Colgan, "Acta Sanctorum," p. 780.

³ See Hall's "Ireland," vol. i., p. 217, and

Rowan's "Lake Lore," p. 49.

⁴ "History of Ireland," p. 180.

⁵ See Haliday's "Keating," p. 880.

But neither in the poem of Eochaidh O'Flinn, descriptive of this great banqueting-hall, nor in that of Keneth O'Hartigan, who was contemporary with O'Flinn in the tenth century, and to whom Dr. Petrie refers as the sole authority from which writers have drawn their accounts of the magnificence of Tara, is there the slightest reference to armorial insignia. But we have in Keating, and it is to be found in every copy of the original manuscript of that writer which I have seen, although his translator O'Connor has altogether omitted it, a passage since published by Dr. O'Donovan, informing us that the clans carried with them into battle distinctive military ensigns of various colours and textures. These were as necessary, certainly, to them, as rallying-points, as their characteristic war-cries or shouts. The evidence of this fact is drawn from the ancient account of the battle of Magh Rath, fought in A. D. 637 between Domhnall, King of Ireland, and Congal Claen, King of Uladh. Here we find the contending armies marshalled under ensigns of different colours, each king having his own standard (Meirge), "great symbol of plunder, floating from its staff," and charged with emblematic devices. Such was the banner of Congal, the King of Ulster:—

" A yellow lion on green satin
The insignia of the Craobh ruadh,
Such as the noble Conchobhar bore."

Keating, referring to this statement, derives the practice of distinguishing by banners, which prevailed from the earliest times, from the example of the Israelites, in their Exodus from Egypt, when each of the Twelve Tribes bore its blazoned standard, as the Tribe of Reuben, the Mandragora, &c. Indeed, we are expressly told in Numbers, ii. 2, that the Israelites carried with them standards "with the ensigns of their fathers' house" upon them.¹

But although the clans were thus distinguished, we have no evidence of armorial bearings or escutcheons in the sense of modern heraldry. O'Flaherty, in "Ogygia,"² citing Bartholemeus Cassaneus, describes the insignia of Ireland as a golden king enthroned in majesty, holding a lily on a black field, but no date is given. Dr. O'Donovan gives positive testimony against their use by any Milesian Irish family before the reign of Elizabeth,³ and avers that the Irish families "first obtained the complex coats of arms which they now bear from England, retaining on the shield, in many instances, those simple badges which their ancestors had on their standards, such as the red hand of O'Neill, the cat and salmon of O'Cathain, or

¹ The O'Sullivans had their standards of battle charged with a spear entwined by a serpent, as in the Rann:—

"I see mightily advancing in the plain
The banner of the race of Finghin,

His spear with a venomous adder (entwined),
His host all fiery champions."

But this was not a blazoned shield.

² Page 45.

³ "Magh Rath," p. 348.

O'Kane, &c. &c., with such additions as the King-at-Arms thought proper to introduce, in order to complete the escutcheon after the Anglo-Norman system of heraldry, according to the rank of the family for whom the coat was manufactured."¹

Elsewhere (p. 350) the learned Doctor says :—

"The armorial bearings of the old Irish families, as preserved on their tombs since the reign of Henry VIII., if carefully collected, would throw much light on the kind of badges they had borne on their standards, previously to their adoption of the Anglo-Norman system of heraldry."

In these opinions of this justly esteemed scholar and antiquary I fully concur. The few shields of arms belonging to the Milesian race which I have seen and examined at Inis Cailtre, Roscommon, Mucross, and elsewhere, are all blazoned in this Anglo-Irish style, and evidently belong to a recent age. Indeed, it is highly probable that before the entire submission of the native Irish, temp. Elizabeth, those proud chiefs, who had so long sought to maintain their independence, refused to accept or to imitate the herald's art, as organized in the English school.

THE RENTAL BOOK OF GERALD FITZGERALD, NINTH EARL OF KILDARE. BEGUN IN THE YEAR 1518.

EDITED BY HERBERT FRANCIS HORE, ESQ.

(Continued from p. 280.)

THE charges brought against Kildare not having been substantiated, he was, in January, 1523, permitted to return home. In the following month he writes from his "Manor of Maynooth" to Cardinal Wolsey, asking to nominate the new Bishop of Kildare, significantly observing that, as the profits of the see were mostly to be gathered from among the Irishry, they were not lightly to be come at without the aid of temporal power. In the month of May he describes a military expedition he had lately made to chastise an Irish enemy in the north, whose castle, Belfast, he broke down, and through whose country he carried a cloud of fire and smoke for some four and twenty miles. In the same despatch he complains that a severe raid had just been made upon him by the Lord Deputy, Piers Earl of Ormond, to the extent of carrying off no less than five hundred stud mares and colts. His Countess wrote by the same cou-

¹ "Magh Rath," p. 348.

rier to Wolsey:—"My lord," she says, "suffereth patiently, fearing the King's displeasure; were it not for that, little would he suffer such wrong!" The old feud between these two mighty Earls was endeavoured to be reconciled by an indenture drawn up at this time, which sets forth in the preamble how there "had been of long season, debate, unkindness, and variance betwixt the said Erles, for divers wrongs, burnings, robberies, and spoilings committed either of them to other." On this occasion Kildare remitted his claim to a fee of one hundred pounds yearly, promised him by Ormond, so long as the latter was Deputy, for his aid and good will.

Kildare was restored to the office of Viceroy in August, 1524. After taking the oath, he went in state to Thomascourt, his nephew, O'Neill, the semi-independent King of the North, being intrusted to carry the sword of state before him; and he there entertained, at a splendid banquet, some English commissioners, who had decided in his favour an inquiry into Ormond's charges against him. In the following year he was commanded by royal letters to arrest James Earl of Desmond, against whom there was a heavy charge of high treason.¹ This James, the eleventh peer, was twice engaged in a treaty with foreign powers against his King.² A copy of his treaty, dated June, 1523, with Francis I., wherein he is styled "Prince d'Irlande," may be seen in the *Bibliothèque Impériale*, Paris. By this compact he engaged to make war against Henry VIII., so soon as the French army should land in Ireland, and to bring into the field 400 horse and 10,000 foot. In order to arrest this traitor, Kildare assembled a large force, and marched into the south. But Desmond avoided any meeting, by the advice and warning, it was said, of Kildare, alleging his privilege not to come in to any governor unless he listed. Ormond, a mortal enemy to Desmond, now accused the Lord Deputy of having engaged the powerful clan O'Brien to assist the traitor, who had begun another plot, with the object that Charles V. should land a Spanish army in Ireland. His Lordship was ordered to London to answer this impeachment, and, on his arrival, was committed to the Tower. His appearance before the Council was the occasion of the violent speeches that passed between him and Wolsey, recorded by Staniburst. The Cardinal, among other accusations, charged him with negligence in arresting Desmond, "while," urged the accuser, "had you lost a cow or a horse of your own, two hundred of your retainers would have rescued the prey, had it reached the uttermost edge of Ulster. Earl! Nay, King of Kildare! for, when you are disposed, you reign more like than rule the land!"

In August, 1532, he was again installed Deputy, and, on landing, was received with great acclamation by the people.

¹ Published "State Papers," vol. ii., p. 123.

² *Id.*, p. 198.

Two incidents that had occurred previously mark the lawless character of the time, being no less than the illegal capture of Members of Parliament by Kildare's followers. Thus, it appears that the Baron of Burnchurch, Knight of the Shire for Kilkenny, was, whilst journeying up to attend Parliament, seized by a servant of the Earl's, and imprisoned in irons in Beardie's Castle, one of the Kildare fortresses. Similarly, the burgesses for the city of Kilkenny were, on their return homewards from Parliament, made captive, and carried off handlocked by another servant of the Earl's, who swore at the time he led them away that he wished he had Henry VIII. at one end of the handlock, and Viceroy Ormond at the other!

The State Papers of the time represent the universality of the popular belief that the Viceroyalty of Ireland was the "inheritance" of the Earls of Kildare. A report of 1533 observes:—"The Earl, by the continuance of the King's authority in him and his father, hath banded himself in such wise that if the King make any other Deputy than him, all the land shall be disordered; so as the King must depend upon his pleasure, and not he upon the King's." In consequence of reiterated complaints, Kildare was again summoned to England. On this occasion he took extraordinary measures both to show his power and increase it. By a curious letter, dated 3rd of September, from a priest in Dublin, it would seem that the Earl was then actually starving the metropolis. All the butchers in the city had not as much beef among them as would have made a basin of broth. "This," observes the letter writer, "is a very sore abstinence!" During this forced famine, Lord Deputy Kildare caused all the King's ordnance to be conveyed out of the Castle to his own country, and fortified his own fortresses with them.

Under the year 1534 the Gaelic annalists chronicle that "great complaints and accusations were transmitted from the chiefs of the English of Ireland, and from the Council, to Henry VIII., against the Lord Justice, i. e. the Earl of Kildare, *commander of the strength and power* of Ireland; and the Earl went over to the King, to vindicate his conduct before him; but it was of no avail, for he was taken and confined in the Tower, where he remained for one year; and they were exerting the rigours of the law against him."¹

The impartial historian, Ware, states that the enemies of the house of Kildare practised to effect the Earl's destruction deceitfully. The intriguing Cowleys of Kilkenny, the villanous William Cantwell, of the same county, and the adventurous and designing Allens, a family of English extraction, were the special instruments of the temporary downfall of this ancient family. If we turn to the writings of Campion, the ill-fated Jesuit, who at one time was an

¹ Dr. O'Donovan's "Four Masters."

inmate of these Earls' castles, we find a legend how a certain priest, and, afterwards, a certain gentleman retained by Thomas, Lord Of-faly, who had been left as Deputy Governor of the realm by his father, became possessed of a fabricated letter, which falsely announced that the Earl had been executed in the Tower. The lying missive was manifestly put in the way of the retainer, in order to produce the effect it did, namely, instant revolt on the part of the Earl's young and hasty son.

The several tragic incidents of Silken Thomas's famous rebellion are historic and well known. We may add, however, a note or two, from original sources.

The Allen family had contrived, it seems, to sow such seeds of enmity as made the powerful Earl of Desmond a formidable foe to the young heir of Kildare, who was so exasperated at the part taken by one of them, then Warden of Youghal College, in this matter, that he declared he would slay the Warden with his own hand.¹ His second act, his first being to declare his revolt from allegiance, was to cause John Allen, Archbishop of Dublin, and Lord Chancellor, a special friend of Wolsey, and one of his instruments in the dissolution of monasteries, to be foully murdered. A general confederacy was then entered into by all devoted to the Geraldine party, and the rebellion commenced in desperate earnest.

At this distracted period, the old feud between Butlers and Geraldines was aggravated by the different parts the lords of either race took on the newly raised and exceedingly important question of religion. The latter family remained attached to the old creed and establishment, while the former advocated and led the new politico-religious movement. Our space does not permit of entering into the history of this memorable epoch, and we have proposed no more than to give a sketch of the story of him who first owned the manuscript about to be published. The most interesting portions of this record are, undoubtedly, those which develop the politic methods employed by the ninth Earl of Kildare to insure his hold of viceregal power. During his contest with the Earl of Ormond for the sword of state, when success was expected to depend much on the comparative numbers of the men who would fight on either side, respectively shouting *Butler-abo*, and *Crom-abo!* the banded Englishry of both factions were diverted from the necessity of defending themselves against the common enemy, the Irishry, who, could they have combined, might as easily have swept the Saxon remnant opposed to them into the sea, as O'Brien and O'Melaghlin had done at Clontarf, where, some centuries previously, the Danish invaders were nearly exterminated. When it was known in England that Kildare's son, to whom the viceregal sword had been intrusted, had

¹ MS., State Paper Office, 1534.

cast it aside to draw his own in rebellion, troops were hurried over, but, landing on that same strand,¹ were attacked by Lord Offaly, and defeated with complete slaughter. The conduct of this rash young nobleman drew a cloud, as is well known, over the fortunes of his family. Upon receiving the news of his revolt, and, above all, a copy of the awful sentence of excommunication hurled against him, his father, still a prisoner in the Tower, expired of grief. This tragic event happened on the 12th December, 1534. The severity of the blow that broke the heart of this stout Earl may be better weighed when we state that he was but in his forty-seventh year, and had always been remarkable for vigour of mind and body. Many anecdotes of him will be found in the Marquis of Kildare's volume, to which we gladly refer the reader, merely quoting a single characteristic, viz., that even his enemies accorded him the high and unusual character of having been "the greatest improver of land in Ireland."

To revert to the Rental Book. It will be preferable to notice the various interesting subjects as they appear. For the present, we will therefore merely give a few unpublished notices respecting this manuscript, and some of the chattels and moveable property of the ninth Earl, which are inventoried in it.

It appears that, on the outbreak in 1534, "all Kildare's effects were carried away" by his revolted son to Lea Castle. In the month of March, 1535, Maynooth was besieged, and taken by the English army; but the sack of the place could have little rewarded the brave assailants, since it seems that Lord Thomas had providently delivered part of the plate, of which there are three different entries in the "Rental Boke," to a retainer, and to the White Friars of Kildare, besides placing a large quantity in charge of O'Brien of Thomond. He had given all the hangings or arras tapestry of Maynooth, and his parliamentary robes, to his sister. A mass of rich apparel was also sent in care to O'Brien. By royal order, dated 1547, Lady Cecilia Fitzgerald was allowed to retain certain plate which belonged to her father. The original inventory² of the apparel, plate, ordnance, and other articles of value so disposed of, would, if published, add to our small store of knowledge as to the domestic wealth of the Anglo-Irish nobility. A document in the State Paper Office, dated December, 1537, gives "an account of the lands of the late Earl of Kildare, forfeited for high treason."

Our protracted introduction to the ensuing publication may be well closed by quoting a paragraph from a state document, dated December, 1534, mentioning "the book of the Earl of Kildare's rents and tributes, which is with the Countess," and another in a letter,³ dated 1536, from Robert Cowley, the intelligent and inde-

¹ Dowling.

² MS., S. P. O., March, 1586.

³ MS., S. P. O.

fatigable enemy of the House of Kildare, who writes to the King's Secretary, informing him that "divers profitable lands, forfeited by the Earl, are concealed from his Majesty," and advising the Secretary to examine Thomas Fitz Gerald, the attainted heir, then a miserable captive in the Tower, in order to learn "*where the fair book REGISTRALL is, which was written on parchment by Philip Flattisbury, and contains all the evidences of the said Earl's inheritances.*" This coveted record we take to be "The Red Book" already mentioned as compiled for the Earl in 1503. Its writer is mentioned by Stanihurst, once an inmate of Kilkea Castle, as resident at Johnstown, near Naas, and as having, in the year 1517, written, at the request of the ninth peer, certain chronicles, which, however, Ware says, are but a transcript of those by Pembridge. If our suggested identification of the Red Book with the "Registrall" is correct, the publication of this curious MS. would be a boon to Irish archæologists.

The Rental commences with a Tabula, or table of contents, with reference to the folios of the MS. where the several items occur. We close our preliminary notice by giving this summary, merely observing that as the names of places and persons are nearly alike in both, the identifications and notes are chiefly reserved for the body of the document.

(*Harleian MS.*, 3756.)

TABULA.

THE CONTENTIS OF THIS BOKE, BEGON THE YERE OF O^r LORD GOD,
M^cV^oXVIII, by GERALD FITZ GERALD, Erll of KILDARE.

Such tethes and fermes as the said Erle hath to f^ome.¹

. Court	{ Furst, the half tythes of Lucan and Monemehannok. The tethes of Rathmore by Slane, Inchgorey, Rathdonnyll, & Moycon in the countie of Catherlagh. Bealaghmone, in the countie of Kildar. Cowlekin ² in Osserey.
. hus by Dublin.	{ The landes and tethes of Grange Clare. The tethes of Downarde, Kilbealae, Crehelp, Walshtown, Rathgole, Drougana, Clonen, Clohir, Cordonygyn, Kilshane, Ardbistil, Ruskagh, Tempulmore, & Rathtoo.

¹ The Earl farmed tithes and church lands in certain situations, because the spiritual

power was inadequate to levy the dues.

² A mistake, for Cowlkir, i. e. Coolkerry.

TABULA, *adhuc*.

S ^t Mary Abbay, by Dublin.	{ The two partes of the tethes of Catherlagh, and Churchtown Reban.
Cartmell, England.	{ The landes and tethes of Kilrush, Ballysax, & Balmadon.
Tymolinge.	{ Tethes of Crokiston, w th thappurtenaunc ^t ; halfe the tethes of Molaghmast & Burnchirch; the two partes of the tethis of the Norragh, Inchmaquidder, and Brounestown; the two parties of the tethis of Glashely, Kilmedy, Yongeston, Skeris, and Ballindromy.
Tulley.	{ The tethis of Eyrke and Glasare, in the diocessy of Ossly.
Th ^e Archdeacon of ffernea.	{ The fourth part of the tethis & prouffits of Marney, in the diocessie of ffernea.
The P ^{or} of Loghseudy.	{ The tethis of Toghsenny, in the diocessie of Ardagh.
Connall.	{ The oon half of Ponchardisland in Kildare. Boitonrath. The teythes of Kildare. The teithes of Kyllaconogane.
The P ^{or} of Kilmainon.	{ The Archdekinry of Myth. The lands & tethis of Moylagh & Kyllacongane in the countie of Myth, & the teth of Ballygill, Garrooke, Tymogho, Court Duff, Cowlgharogan, Clane, the Newton, Ballgappagh.
The P ^{or} of	{ The tethe of Taghsenny, in the dioc. of Ardagh.
Of the Bushop of Myth.	{ The fferm of Ballyespuck, Clare, & Clonofod.
Of the P ^{or} of Kilmainam.	{ Kilcock.

FFERMES SETT.

Payneston, to William Eustace; the More land to John Slo; the tol of the [Naas], Corbally in the King's lands; Wodton in Carbry; Moyndley in . . . ; Hethton by Cashell; the castel and island of Lym^{sik}; Corbyn, in the countie of Corke; Ballycathelan in Ryenry;¹ the castel of Lissardole, wth galloglas rising owt upon O'fferall; Aweleston, Grene Castell, Galbeggiston, & the Buncassell in Lecail ffolio

The Wair of Lawore, for xviii^m elys [eels] yerly. Robineston in Fertulagh. The tethis of Coulkir, Balligawin, Coulgad, Monnymok, Philipston, Castelton, & Corbally. Ferranycallagh in Kynaliagh. The Bishoppis Cōrt in West-Myth. The castelton of Kynnaleany. The millys of Maynoth & of Lexlep, Ballyngoolmor in Fertullagh ff. v^{1a}

¹ *Sic*; at folio v., the MS. reads "Lym^{sik}."

TABULA, *adhuc*.

Borecolyn & Balmalister. The tethis of Clan; the tethis of Clondehorke; the new castel Makarmyton; Dippys and Ballynslany in the countie of Wexford; Wernelston, Krove-martyn; the teythe of Clane; the castel and towne of Dippys and Ballynaslaney; the poundage of Ardglass and Strangford; the Differens in Ulster; Shanlys in Westmyth ff. vi¹²

The myll of Aghersketh. A messuage in Cromlyn. The demaynes of Rathmore. The custom toll of the Naace. The teth of Ballygyll. The lordship of Ballygarth. The flyshing of the Bann. The archdekinry of Myth. Dromyn in ffebolke. The millis of Old Rosse & Rossponde. Cowlekir in Ossere. The horsemyll of Kildare. The mill of Dromollyn. The castel and mill of Lexlip. Ballysallagh in Maghyghurke,¹ set to Dermot O'Coffy, Rymo². The manor of Ardmulghan, sett to John ffele.

FEES, *Folios viii^o. and ix^o.*

Of y^e P^{or} of Lanthony³, yerly xli. Of the Abbot of the Navan, yearly xls. Of the Archdekyn of Myth, viii. yerly. Of the Abbot of Grannard, yerly xls. Of Xp^ofer Plunket, of Donsaghly,³ yerly xls. Of ffer-rall O Gibne, yerely vis. viiij. Of Thomas Kannyn Vicar of Gyrlly, yerly vis. viiij. Of the Prio^r of Molynger, under the co^en seal yerly. Of James Plunket fitz Richard, yerly . . . Of David Wellesley, archdekin of Kildare, xiiis. iiiij. yerly. Of the P^{or} of St Thomas of Athy, ii. rudders yerly. Of George Drake, xxvis. viiij. Of Clanm⁴varde in Uriel, [Rymor⁵] to my lorde and his heyres, vi. rudders yerly, at hallontyde. Of . . . Had-sor and his heyres, unto my lorde and his heyres, xls. Of Cowle Amory Moybrekry, in Mith, unto my lord, yerly vis. viiij. yerly. Of thabbot of Stroughyr, iiiij. rudders to be at Hallontid. Of the Prest of Kilrush, for the s^{er}vise of the same, payable at Shroftide, x. gallons hony. Of Shan O'Mony, p^{er}son of Geisill, yerly vi. melsh kyne. Of Gerot Dalton of Moymor in Westmyth, yerly vis. viiij. Of Remond Dillon, captayn of his nacion, cccc. elys⁴ or iij. for ev^{er} eel unpaid. Of the Vicar of Yregane, yerly ij. rudders. Of Morish fitz Richard Delamare of Westmyth vis. viiij. to be paid in Rup. A Waer in the hawyn of Waterford, xxx. yerly. The di teths of Tymoege in Leys xls. yerly in Kenanston. xli. in Kylmaynonwood. xls. in Cradockiston & Ponchiston. viij. gallons hony upon James tharchdekins son. Upon William O'Senaght, c. ellia. Sir James-Shffielde, xxx. Upon thabbot of Kilbeagan, iiij. bevis. Upon Sir Alexandre Plunket, preste, and his brother Edward, xxli. yerly. Upon Cayr O'Doynne, yerly iij. rudd^{is}. From the P^{or} of Kilmaynam,

¹ Machaire-Cuirne, the barony of Killkenny West, in the county of Westmeath. The O'Coffy clan were hereditary poets, or rhymers.

² Llantoy Priory, in South Wales.

³ A large castellated mansion in Fingal.

⁴ Eels. The payer of this fee had probably been created "captain of his nation" by the Earl. He perhaps commanded the great eel fishery near Athlone.

TABULA, *adhuc*.

the town of Kylbride, with the teth, and the teth of Kilcock. Upon the Vicar of Dromranye, *iiij. m^{ks}*. Upon John Plunket fitz Ric. yerly in Crosskyle, *vis. viii^d*. Upon the Vikere of Olde Ross, yerly *xxa*. A rod-der yerly upon the P^{son} of Preston. Upon the P^{son} of Pierceton in Westmith, flour pound^f yerly. Upon the Bushop of Wat^lford, fyve pound^f yerly.

THE SAID ERLE IS DUTIES UPON IRISSEMEN.¹

TABULA.

ffurst, M ^c Morghe is contre. O ^c Morowis countre, called Ophelome. O ^c Nolane is countre, called foughert,	ff. xiii.
O ^c Byrne is countre.	
O ^c Ryanes countre. O ^c Thole is countre, called O ^c Mayle and in Gleancapp,	ff. xv.
Leysh, O ^c Mores countre. Ossery, M ^c Gillepatrikes countre, . .	ff. xvi.
Iregane, O ^c Donnes countre. Irre, M ^c Morish is countre, . .	ff. xvii.
Clanemalry, O ^c Dympsy is countre. O ^c Connors countre of Offaly,	ff. xviii.
Fferkeall, O ^c Molmoyes countre. Kynealeagh, Mageogheganes countre,	ff. xix.
Moynertaganes, the Shynnaghis countre. Clancolman, O ^c Mulalaghlynes countre,	ff. xx.
Calrye, Magawuleyes countre. Breavoyne, O ^c Braynes countre. The Anaile, O ^c fferalls countre,	ff. xxi.
The Breany, O ^c Realy is countre. Uriel, M ^c Mathona is countre, . .	ff. xxii.
Moylorg, M ^c Deramada is countre. Kylene mannagh, O ^c Dowir is countre,	ff. xxiii.

The Awowsyn of Benefsis longing to therll of Kildare,	ff. xxviii.
The Cess to the Werk,	ff. xxix.
Therll of Kildare is myllis,	ff. xxx.
The forme of doing ymmage and ffealtie,	ff. xxxi.

The Rentall of the Erll of Kyldare is Land ^f , begynning with the countie of Kyldare,	ff. xxxi.
The Riall s ^r vce of the said countie, longing to the said Erll.	
The Rentaill of the said Erll is land ^f , in the countie of Myth, . .	ff. xlii.

¹ These were "duties" or tributes rendered to the Earl of Kildare by various Gaelic

clans in consideration of the protection afforded them by that powerful noblesman.

TABULA, *adhuc*.

The said Erle is plate, beginning with gyllid plate,	ff. lvii.
Whyte plate,	ff. lix.
Landf in the countie of Uriel, of the said Erll,	ff. lxi.
The said Erlf is landf in the com' of Dublin, beginning in,	ff. lxv.
The said Erle is landf in the com' of Cathirlagh, beginning in,	ff. lxvi.
The said Erl is landf in the com' of Wexford, beginning in	ff. lxvii.
Hys lands in the com' of Kylkenny,	ff. lxviii.
The com' of Typpfary,	ff. lxix.
The countie of Watfforde,	ff. lxx.
The com' of Corke,	ff. lxxi.
The countie of Lymfike,	ff. lxxii.
Connaght,	ff. lxxiii.
Lecayll,	ff. lxxvi.
The Cesse of the Worke,	ff. xxix.
Th'erll of Kildaref Millf,	ff. xxx.
The Fo'me of doing homage and Foyaltie.	
The copie of the Rentall of the Erll of Kildaref landf in the countie of Kildare,	ff. xxxi.
The Riall s'vice longing to the said Erle in the said countie,	ff. xl.
The Rentale is of the said Erlf land in the countie of Myth, beginning	ff. xlii.
The Inventarie of the said Erlis Plate, beginning in	ff. lvii.
The Latyn Bokf in the said Erlis Library,	ff. lxxviii.
The ffrensh Bokf and Englishe Bokf in the said Librari,	ff. lxxix.
The Irish Bokf in the said Library,	ff. liii ^{ss} .

(To be continued.)

NOTICE OF A RARE BOOK, ENTITLED, "BEWARE THE CAT."

BY HERBERT F. HORE, ESQ.

ABOUT twenty-four years ago, a singularly curious and interesting volume, under this quaint title, was advertised for sale in Thorpe's Catalogue, at the price of seven guineas. The book, a duodecimo, was printed in black letter, in London, by Alde, in the year 1584. Thorpe believed it to be unique. It had belonged to, among other collectors, Richard Heber, whose enormous library of rare works so well served Sir Walter Scott. Heber considered it the most curious volume in all his vast collection, as illustrative of the times, and

wrote in it—"No other copy is known, I believe." It contains so much that all Irish archæologists must long to read, respecting our country, that I venture to draw attention to it, by the following extracts:—

"Grimalkin slain in Ireland."—I cannot give even a guess in solution of this myth. "Grimalkin," the common name for a witch's cat, means "little grey Molly," and may have been the Cat we are told to beware of, in the title of the work.¹

"Account of the Civil Wars in Ireland, by Mackmorro, and all the rest of the Wild Lords."—This would be very interesting, because Mac Morrough was Prince of the Leinster Irish, and the time referred to is, probably, that when Arte Kavanagh, the Mac Morrough of the day, successfully defended his country against two great expeditions, led by Richard II. Froissart's account of the Irish kings of that day quite supports the epithet of "wild lords."

"The Fashion of the Irish Wars at that time."—This must be a curious account, since Irish strategy was almost peculiar, excepting in its resemblance to the tactics of the Scottish Gael. The Irish fought flying, and their flight, like that of the Parthians, was considered more dangerous than even their fierce assault. Like other Celtic nations, they did not stand their ground steadily, but either ran the risk of a tumultuous onslaught, or endeavoured to draw the enemy into places where they could fight them at great advantage. In Elizabeth's time, service in this country was deemed far more severe than in the Scottish Borders.

"Fitz Harris, and the Prior and Convent of the Abbey of Tintern."—The story here told was a county Wexford one, since Fitz Harris, or Fitz Henry, was Baron of Kilcavan, a parish near this abbey. These Fitz Harris's are said to have descended illegitimately from Meyler Fitz Henry—

"Domitus indomitor totius gentis Hiberniæ."

But they became "as Irish as O'Hanlon's breech," and having "matched with the Kavanaghs," they held with them, and became involved in their endless feuds. This tale about Baron Fitz Harris and the neighbouring monastery was, no doubt, a merry one; and our readers would be glad to read it, if it could be rescued from oblivion.

"The Irish Churle's Tale."—Perhaps the basis of this story may be found, like those of other Irish stories, among the tradi-

¹ In the absence of information it may, perhaps, be allowable to guess that this effusion might give some clue to the origin of the story of the world-famous "Kilkenny

Cats," who ate each other to the tails! The first promulgator of this remarkable battle of the cats has never, that we are aware of, been traced.—ED.

tional stories still current in Brittany. Churle, a term of Teutonic origin, signified a labouring rustic; so that the story-teller was, doubtless, one of the Celtic betaghs, or serfs, of the English Pale.

"The Wild Irishmen were better than we in reverencing their Religion."—This assertion might open a highly interesting subject for investigation.

"The Old Irish Diet was to dine at night."—Anciently, the cuddy, or supper, the chief meal, was taken after nightfall.

The remainder of the contents of this exceedingly scarce book is not of Irish interest, merely relating to such general topics as tales of witches and women, and various other subjects, which, however, are declared, in Thorpe's Catalogue, to be treated of in an extremely curious manner. It was understood that this rare volume was purchased by a book collector in Cambridge, but all my inquiries, and even the medium of a notice in "Notes and Queries," have failed to obtain information as to who its present possessor is. Perhaps some of our readers may be pleased to take up the chase.

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

GENERAL MEETING, held in the Assembly Rooms, Kilkenny, on
Wednesday, May 25th (by adjournment from the 4th), 1859,

THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF OSSORY, President of the Society,
in the Chair.

The following new Members were elected :—

John Bagwell, Esq., D.L., J.P., M.P. : proposed by M.
Kearney, Esq.

Rev. James S. Franks, Rathkeale : proposed by James M'Loch-
lin, Esq.

Edward Atthill, Esq., J.P., Ardvarney, Kesh, Co. Fermanagh :
proposed by Thomas O'Gorman, Esq.

The following presentations were received, and thanks voted
to the donors :—

By the Author: "The Life of Saint Malachy O'Morgair,
Bishop of Down and Connor, Archbishop of Armagh, &c., and De-
legate Apostolic of the Holy See for the Kingdom of Ireland." By
the Rev. John O'Hanlon. Dublin, 1859.

By the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland :
their "Journal," Nos. 60, 61.

By Robert Mac Adam, Esq. : "The Ulster Journal of Archæo-
logy," No. 25.

By the Publisher: "The Builder," Nos. 835-49, inclusive.

By the Publisher: "The Dublin Builder," Nos. 1-3, inclusive.

By the Cambrian Archæological Association: "Archæologia
Cambrensis," third series, No. 18.

By the Cambrian Institute: "The Cambrian Journal," March,
1859.

By the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society: "Original
Papers," Vol. V., part 4.

By the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne: "*Archæologia Æliana*," new series, No. 13.

By the Suffolk Institute of Archæology and Natural History: "*East Anglian Notes and Queries*," No. 3.

By the Rev. Beaver H. Blacker, A. M.: "*Wayland Smith*," by W. S. Singer; London, 1847. "*An Inquiry into the Origin, Progress, and Material of Ancient Personal Ornaments*," by W. Acheson, M. R. D. S.; Dublin, 1856. "*Catalogue*" of the Library of Robert Daly, D. D., Lord Bishop of Cashel; sold by Sotheby and Wilkinson, in June, 1858. "*Bibliotheca illustris ac Præhonorabilis Domini Edvardi Vicecomitis de Kingsborough in Comitatu Corcagiensi apud Hibernos*," sold by Sharp, in November, 1842. "*Notices of Communications to the British Association for the Advancement of Science, at Dublin, in August, 1835*," London, 1836. "*The Queen v. Mills (Writ of Error): Notes on the opinions of Lord Brougham and Vaux, and Lord Campbell*," by George Miller, D. D., Vicar-General of Armagh; London, 1844.

By the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries at Copenhagen: "*Antiquarisk Tidsskrift*," 1852-4. "*Sur la Construction des Salles dites Géants, par S. M. le Roi Frédéric VII. de Danemark*," Copenhagen, 1857. "*Cabinet D'Antiquités Américaines a Copenhague, Rapport Ethnographique par C. C. Rafn*," Copenhagen, 1858. "*Saga Játvardar Konungs hins Helga, Udgiven efter Islandske, Oldbøger af det Kongelige Nordiske Oldskrift-Selskab*," Copenhagen, 1832. "*En Vandring Gjennem Jægersprills's Have og Lund*," Copenhagen, 1858. "*Leitfoden zur Nordischen Alterthumskunde*," Copenhagen, 1847. "*Antiquités de l'Orient, Monuments Runographiques interprétés par C. C. Rafn*," Copenhagen, 1856.

By W. T. Jones, Esq., Cork: a mass of blue vitreous matter, found on the sea-shore at Dunworley Bay, apparently of the same material as the beads found in such numbers in the same locality, already brought before the Society.

By Robert Stephenson, Esq., Grimsby: a beautifully executed gutta-percha cast of the seal of William Bishop of Kildare—apparently, from the style of the ornamentation and the form of the letters of the legend, that Bishop William who, having been Archdeacon of the same diocese, was raised to the episcopal chair in 1442, and died in 1446. The legend read: *Stigillum Will'mi dei gratia kildarens' epi*.

By Sir John Blunden, Bart.: a halfpenny of Charles II., dug up in a field at Castleblunden.

By Constable Joseph Crowe, Callan: a Kilkenny penny token, struck by Thomas Talbot in the seventeenth century, which was found in taking down an ancient building in the town of Callan.

By Mr. Prim: an ancient bronze globular bell, of the class

usually termed "hawks' bells," but of large size. He had bought it from a little boy whom he met in the street in Kilkenny, and who was using it as a play-thing, but could give no account of where or how it was found.

The Rev. J. Graves observed that the bell, which was composed of a very pale-coloured bronze, was probably ancient. Although large, it was not impossible that it might have been used for the larger kind of hawks.

Mr. J. G. Robertson exhibited a small copper matrix of a seal, about the size of a sixpenny piece. It bore for device a cock, surrounded by the legend 'INMUTABIL' SIGN' (*immutabile signum*). It was evidently a personal seal, the cock probably being the armorial cognisance of the owner, and the legend referring to its use as his signet. There was a small loop at the back, for suspension. It probably belonged to the latter part of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century. The legend was in Lombardic characters.

The Rev. Duncan Mac Callum, Arisaig, Fort William, sent the following communication :—

"'Scar nan Albanach,' 'Cnoc nan Sassenach:' these are names of hills in the district of Arisaig, county of Inverness, of which the oldest men in the country have no tradition. *Scar* is a descriptive name of a particular rocky hill of a peculiar form; but this one has an addition—*Albanach*, and the other, a lower and larger hill, *Sassenach*, which lead us to infer they have been occupied as camps by armies of both nations.

"The Romans never penetrated so far west; Prince E. Charles Stuart was in the district when he landed in Scotland, and when he escaped from Culloden, but these hills must have been camps of the Gael and the Saxons before his time. The *Scar* is as high as any part of the country; it looks over the Atlantic; it is a natural fort that a few men could easily defend; and the Gael did defend it. The *Cnoc* is below, extending south, and large enough for a great army, on which the Saxons encamped, in sight, though at a distance, from the *Scar*. But when were the English there? On the south, divided by an arm of the sea, is the district of Moidart in said county, in the north-west of which is Castle Tirim, a fine old ruin, the walls of which are entire. The castle was built on a rock, which is washed by a strong current, when the rising tide makes an island of the site; at low water the whole space—a few acres—is dry; hence the name Tirim. In former times the invading enemy could not assail the castle but on the south and by the narrow neck, which might be guarded by Scaur-Doish, where a Norseman, a great warrior, named Doish, lost his life. The army of Oliver Cromwell made their way through a ravine, descended the Scaur, and assaulted the castle, and seized it; but all in it made their escape in boats, and, joined by natives of the adjacent districts, reached Scar nan Albanach, where they encamped. The assailing army pursued, and encamped on the Cnoc below. They found the work of nature of more difficult access than the work of man. They tried, but tried

in vain, to dislodge the Albanach; so that Cromwell did not entirely subdue Scotland.

"As mention is made of Scottish antiquities in the Journal of the Kilkenny Archæological Society, the above may be noticed in one of their Numbers; it is a fact in history of which no notice has been hitherto taken.

"There is much said of the Ogham in the Journal, No. 17, with the most of which entirely agree; but there seems an uncertainty about the origin of this alphabet. It is certain that the Roman character was introduced into Ireland by St. Patrick in the beginning of the fifth century; and we cannot suppose that a people knowing the Roman character would think of the Ogham. Nor is there any evidence that it was formed by Christians of any age or country; nor by Pagans of the north of Europe. It is certainly Celtic, and must have been imported into Ireland, and have given names to trees, and not trees to the letters, as is properly observed.

"But when, and by whom, was this alphabet formed, is the query. It must have been anterior to the arrival of the Celtæ in the West of Europe, which was at the dawn of history. By whom? By the Druids, there can be no doubt. They were the priests, legislators, philosophers, and teachers of the great nations; they had an alphabet; and, unless that was the Ogham, we know not what it was. They were men of great learning and profound thought; the first order of the nation, they were above princes and chiefs. Being the fittest persons to make laws and regulate affairs, their power and influence in the state were great. They were the professors in their colleges; the teachers of youth. The curriculum was long; they were austere, and the tasks arduous; all was committed to memory, and they made the use of letters illegal.

"None else, therefore, knew their alphabet; they had written the laws, and probably their mysteries. Some of their writings had fallen into the hands of St. Patrick, who drove them from Ireland, and which he destroyed, more, we should suppose, owing to the doctrine than the law. St. Columba had done the same in Scotland.

"The Celtic religion was divided into the mysterious and the popular; the mysteries were deemed too sacred for the vulgar, who regarded the Druids as superior beings. They were venerated; what their secret doctrines were, none else knew, but the Culdees thought them pernicious.

"The Druids might have written inscriptions in various places; wherever the Celtæ branched there were Druids; and whatever was written in the Ogham letters were only intelligible to them. Should these characters be found in any other country, it is easy accounting for them as branches of the great nation spread through most parts of Europe, and some of these acquired new appellations. Colonies from Gaul and Belgium were the first inhabitants of the western isles; the latter were the Fir-bolg, the men of quivers. They might have been visited by Vikings, Sea-Kings, and Norsemen, like all European coasts in those times; but no other people or tribe settled in Ireland previous to the eighth century.

"The Druids studied astrology, like other ancient philosophers, and

also astronomy, which in those times were thought the same. They likewise pretended to power over the elements, as Coivi, the Arch-Druid, pretended to St. Columba. The Ogham, then, must have been the Celtic alphabet formed by the Druids at an early period of the history of the great nation."

The following papers were submitted to the Meeting.

EXTRACTS FROM ORIGINAL WILLS FORMERLY PRESERVED
IN THE CONSISTORIAL OFFICE, CASHEL, BUT NOW RE-
MOVED TO THE COURT OF PROBATE, WATERFORD.

BY JOHN DAVIS WHITE, ESQ.

SAMUEL LADYMAN, D. D., VICAR OF CLONMEL AND ARCHDEACON OF
LIMERICK; WILL, DATED 1683.

THERE are many things in this will worthy of notice, but want of space compels me to pass over most of them. He calls himself "a weake, consuptive, sickly man," with "a crazy, distempered, wasted body;" he requests of his daughter and grand-daughter "that they never doe forgett those many signall obligations wth my selfe have receaved from the illustrious Lord Duke of Ormond, but continue to pray for y^e Lasting Happiness of y^e most honorable family." He leaves to his daughter "all my plate, both Beere cups, wine cups, Tankards, spoones, paringers, greater and lesser salts," &c. To his grand-daughter—

"One green satin Christening mantle with y^e broad gold and sylver lace; three hanging sea-green Sweet Baggs, as they are called, Trim'd with Gold and sylver ribbon, and one more wrought with Gold; one pinkissine of y^e same silk with y^e baggs with gold and sylver lace; one suit of fine wrought Child bead Lineñ; wth mantle, baggs, &c., being used by my dearest wife with all her children, my desire and will is y^e they be kept without any alteration (though used as occation requires).

"*Item.*—I doe give and Bequeath one hundred and fifty pounds Sterling, sealed up in one Bagg, marked with Clonmell, whereof fifty pounds and its interest till that time shall come to be out, towards a ring of Bells in this Church when y^e work shall be gonn about; and fifty pounds to be improved for ever, of wth Improvement or Interest fifty shill. ster. to be laid out in six pennis, and distributed on y^e first day of June; and fifty shill. more on y^e first day of January in each year, y^e Like having been done by me some years past on y^e day; the saide bread to be distributed still on the aforesaid days by the Church Wardens care at y^e Church porch in Clonmell, and soe that every poore man and woman, without distinction, may have one Loafe if y^e hundred will hold out. But if not soe

disposed, and yearly on y^e said two days, I thenceforth doe give the said fifty pounds with its interest unto y^e poore of Chashell, by y^e Church Wardens there to be disposed of as it should here. Also, I doe further give five pounds ster. as y^e Interest of y^e remaining above fifty pound for y^e yearly teaching of tenn poore children to read English, and to learn the Church Catechise with Mr. Perkin's six principles; y^e said Children to be such as y^e Vicar and Church Wardens for y^e time being here in Clonmel, shall among y^e Parchenⁿ find most meet."

He bequeaths £5 to be distributed in sixpenny bread upon the day of his interment, at the church porch; the same sum for same purpose at Cashel, and same for the poor of St. Mary's and St. Michael's parish in Limerick.

"I doe give the sum of Twenty Shillings unto such at whose Baptisme I stood as Witness (viz.) unto S^t. Thomas Stanley's youngest son, John; unto Cap^m Foley's youngest son, Solomon; unto Anne, y^e daughter of Mr. Arch Deacon Hamilton; Elizabeth, the daughter of Samuel Wade, Esq^r; Stephen, son of Mr. Thomas Moore; to each of them I doe give Twenty Shillings Ster. to buy them the Lord Primate Usher's Sum and Substance of Christian Religion, the whole duty of man, and y^e practice of piety; or if they have these already, any other good Books; also unto Betty Wade I doe further give one piece of broade gold marked with y^e Letter H, being y^e same that her pious mother Enforced me to take some few days after I baptized herselfe.

"I doe give unto the publique Library of Trinnity Colledge, Dublin, these ensuing Folio Books all marked Crosse their Bottomes wth y^e Letter V. viz'. Bpp. Hall's Work, in one Volume, an Hebrew Bible, the Decretall, in two Volumes; Spondanus his Epithomy of Beronius, in four or five Volumes; Unman's Concordance to be carefully sent up at my Exⁿ. Charge, to y^e Colledge within one Month after this, my Will, is proved.

"*Item*.—I doe give my own Watch made by East, Crossbow, Gunn, Silver-hilted rapier, striped morning gown and capp, with Twenty Ginneys to carry him for England (where his father may deale with him as he shall deserve), beyond what he hath in this Will unto my Nephew John Ladyman; and now, with a vicistimate [*sic*] Vale, I shall soone take leave of him who all along hath been mine Enemy wthout a cause, whome God in mercy forgive, and Grant that we may meet in Heaven.

"Signed 12th. X^{br} 1683."

The following epitaph yet remains at St. Mary's, Clonmel.

"Underfoot, wth five of their children, Samuel, Francis, and Grace (who died in their Infancy) John at his 20th yeare, X^{br} 9th, 1675, & Jane in her 22th yeare; 7^{br} 27th, 1681, are interred the bodies of Doctor Samuel Ladyman, & Grace his Wife, the Daughter of Doctor William Hutchinson, De Exon, she deceasing on y^e [] day of March, 1663; and her husband on y^e [] of february, 1683, who left this Epitaph to be fixed over their Graves."

"Sleep, dearest heart, and now thy mourner may
 . Putt off this flesh to mix it wth thy clay;
 Sleep, infant dust, freed from earths Toyl & Strife
 By deaths Surprize ith' nonage of y^r life;
 Sleep, vigorous youth, whose keener soul brake through
 Its crazy case, and bad this world adiew;
 Sleep, vertuous Maid, Wife, Mother, and all in one;
 Alive, beloved, by all bewailed, now gonnn;
 Sleep till that trump wth rouseth from their graves
 Both men and children, Princes and their slaves,
 Shall call us thence, then wake wth S^u & sing
 Eternal praises to our heavenly King."

JOHN GRACE, of BRITTAS; WILL dated August 22nd, 1683.

He desires his "bodie to be interred in my owne tombe in our Lady's the blessed Virgin Maries Chappell, neare the P'ish Church of Thurles, where my father and my Wife were buried."

The following I have thought worthy of being extracted from his Will:—

"Item.—I leave unto my son, Nicholas Grace, the tables & cup boards standing in the comon hall, parlor, and dining roome, with the Turkey & China chayres & pictures, excepting the picture of our Saviour delivering the keys, and the Pastoral in my owne chamber, which I leave to my son James, and the pictures of the senators and singers, which I leave to my son Richard."

"Item.—I leave to my Grandchild, John Grace, the plate Tankard, one great salt and three small salts, the histories of Titus Livius, Thucidides, the Chronicle of England, Plutarch's Lives, and the Holy Court, which I leave as paraphernalia, always to remaine in the lineal family of the house, with the two altar vestments; I mean the red and black, the chalice."

He leaves his law books to his son Richard; the plate, pint, cupp, and one aquavitæ cupp, and the "deshe I bought of the Dutch Woman," to his daughter, Macdonnell.

He leaves to his son Richard £200, "which lyes in my trunk in the Castle,"¹ and £100 "in English money which lies in the long chest in the Castle." He left twenty pounds to the parish priest of Thurles, and three pounds a year for ten years, "to pray publickly for mee at first mass, and three pound to Doctor Comerford, & £20 to Jⁿ Boyton; to Franciscan convent, £8; to y^e Augustine £4, to the Dominicans £10.

The following is a copy of the inscription upon his tomb in Thurles church-yard:—

¹ Probably the Castle of Brittas.

SISTE VIATOR ET VIDE
 NON EPITAPHIUM SED EPITHALAMIUM
 NON TUMULUM SED THALAMUM
 EXTRUCTUM A D 1683
 MARITUS ET UXOR ALTER IN ALTERIUS
 GREMIO RECUMBENTES HIC PLENI
 GRATIÆ REQUIESCUNT JOHANNES GRACE
 ARMIGER LEGUM ET IVRIS POTENS ANTISTES
 VIR PECTORE ET LINGUA INCULPATUS
 PATER PATRIÆ PROPAGINIS SOLICITUS
 ELLENA PURCELL
 OBIIT SEXTO JUN^U. 1681
 FEMINA C.ELESTIS CLARIS ORTA NATALIBUS
 PAUPERIBUS. MATRONA MATER STUDIOSA
 UTERQUE UNUS NON DUO AMBO BEATI
 NON MORTUI HIC SED VIVI LATITANT
 PRECARE ERGO VIATOR CANDIDE ET CANE.

IO TRIUMPHE.

ONE FAITH OF CHRIST US JOYNED IN BANDS
 OF LOVE. NOR LIFE NOR DEATH OUR TYE COULD
 EER REMOVE. WHILST HERE WEE LIVED
 CHRIST WAS OUR LIFE ALONE.

CHRIST

HOULDS US UP THOUGH LAYED WITHIN
 THIS STONE.

JOHN CANTWELL of MOTCARKEY, Esq.; Will dated 1618.

"I remend my soul to Allmighty God, to be placed in y^e bosome of Abraham; and do will my body, after my decease, to be buryed in S^t Patrick's Church at Cashel, in myn auncestor's tombe there."

JOHN FLETCHER, of the CITTIE of CASHEL, DOCTOR of PHYSICK; Will dated 10th November, 1666.

Bequeaths the sum of twenty shillings, to be divided by his Executors "amongste the poore English of this Cittie of Cashel at the time of my funerall."

He leaves to his Executor "the Gold ring w^{ch} I usually weare, having the signe of death thereuppon."

He leaves to "my well beloved frind, Mr Edward Sowth, who hath an office in the Ensurance office at Sir Thomas Gresham's, in Gresham Colledge, in London," all his goods, &c.

ALEXANDER FLETCHER, CASHELL. May 2nd, 1674.

"It is my desire to be buried amongst my Countrymen in S^t John's Church-yard, Cashell."

"THE RIGHT HONABLE DAME ELLAN BUTLER, LADY VICE COUNTESS DOWAG^a of IKERIN," of LISMALYN; WILL dated 28th Decr., 1668.

"Item.—Shee bequeathed her new wearing gowne to her daughter, the Lady Dowager of Dunboine. Another gowne, w^b a blacke scarffe, to her grandchild, Ellan Butler; and her red pettycoat to her grandchild, Elizabeth Archdeacon."

KATHERINE BUTLER, *alias* CANTWELL, WIDOW of COLLO^{1a} JOHN BUTLER, late of MOKARKYE; WILL dated Sept. 1665.

"Item.—I Bequeath unto my Daughters, Katherine Walsh, alias Butler, and Ellen Blount, alias Butler, all that shall or should accrew or redound unto me out of Muscovia¹ of my said Deceased husband's goods."

"Item.—I do leave unto my said Daughter Ellen my great Relicke, as a token and legacie."

JAMES KEARNEY of FETHARD; WILL dated 3rd Feb., 1706.

"And being that those of my Religion are by Statut phibited to be buried in S^t Augustins Aby, I order my Body to be interred in Trinitie Church at Fethard, in the Chapple there purchased by my ffather, and where my Brother Daniel Kearney is buried."

"I order the Masse Vestment and Chalice¹ belonging to me to be delivered to the Parish Priest of Fethard, to the use of the Catholig Inhabitants, there to continew allwayes to the Catholig Curat for the tyme being, to the use of the s^d Parishioners."

PATRICK KEARNEY FITZ EDMOND, of CASHELL, MERCHANT; WILL dated Feb. 1666.

"My boddy to be buried in my ancestors' grave, if possibly may be; if not, in S^t Francis his Abbey."

JOHN MARKS, BALLYSHEDY; WILL dated 23d Sept., 1661.

A Somersetshire man; bequeaths lands given him for his service in Ireland.

EDWARD MIHILL, CASHEL; WILL dated 6th Feb., 1662.

He leaves to his wife all the arrears that are due to him for service in Ireland. This was one of the persons who issued tradesmen's

¹ Although numerous Irish officers served at this period in Germany, including many of the house of Butler, it is rare to find the service of Russia chosen at this period by Irishmen. The construction of the bequest would seem to point to Col. John Butler as the deceased husband of the lady who had

served the Muscovite. She had, apparently, been married a second time to Cantwell of Moycarky.

² Perhaps some member of the Society resident near Fethard, in Tipperary, may be able to ascertain whether this vestment and chalice are still in existence.

tokens in Cashel. "Peeter Boyton," another of those who issued tradesmen's tokens, is one of the witnesses to this will.

JOHN SHUGSTER, QUARTERMASTER in CAPT. ADAM MOLLIONEX *his* TROOPE;
WILL dated 1660.

He bequeaths the lands of Cooleagh, being part of the arrears due to him for service in Ireland.

THE HISTORY, ARCHITECTURE, AND ANTIQUITIES OF THE CITY OF KILKENNY.

BY THE REV. JAMES GRAVES, A. B., AND JOHN G. A. PRIM.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.—Having, in a work already before the public, traced the history of the See of Ossory to the place of its final establishment at Kilkenny, we then promised,¹ if life and health permitted, to take up again the thread of local history, of which the peculiar nature of the subject then in hand precluded a fuller development. This promise we now purpose to fulfil, so far as we are able. The subject, in its entire extent, may be comprised within the terms, "The History, Architecture, and Antiquities of the City of Kilkenny," including within that scope the district formerly known as the County of the City of Kilkenny, and at present existing as its electoral district for Parliamentary representation. The principal sections into which this subject may be divided are—

I. The Corporation of Irishtown.

II. The City of Kilkenny, properly so called, and the County of the City of Kilkenny.

III. The Castle of Kilkenny.

It is proposed to treat, in the first instance, of the Corporation of the Irishtown; not only because the date of its foundation is probably more ancient than that of Kilkenny proper, but chiefly in consequence of the history of the Cathedral of St. Canice, with which it is topographically as well as historically connected, having been already placed in the hands of the public.

The various churches and religious foundations (except the cathedral, which has been already treated of) come within the second section. The Castle of Kilkenny, although comprised within the city walls, was never subject to corporate authority, and, as comprising the history of the ancient and historic house of Ormonde, could not be included within the history of the City without swelling it to undue proportions: its annals, therefore, form the third division.

¹ "The History, Architecture, and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of St. Canice," p. 31.

SECTION I.—THE IRISHTOWN.

CHAPTER I.—HISTORICAL.

BY THE REV. J. GRAVES, A. B.

It was the deliberately expressed opinion of Bishop Rothe—a native of the place, and one intimately acquainted with many sources of information now no longer available, that the origin of Kilkenny, civil as well as ecclesiastical, was coeval in date with the Anglo-Norman conquest of Ireland.¹ All our endeavours to trace an earlier civil occupation of the site having proved fruitless,² we accept the dictum of so very competent an authority. Rothe's³

¹ "Si vetustatem spectes comœna est eius origo conquestus et expugnationis Anglicanæ in Hibernia primordiâ."—Rothe, "De Ossoriensi Diœcesesi," §§ 10, Cod. Clar., tom. li. No. 4796, Mus. Brit.

² For the facts and arguments which support the negative of a greater antiquity for Kilkenny, see the "History, &c., of St. Canice," pp. 22, 23.

³ That this MS. is to be attributed to the pen of David Rothe seems clear from internal evidence. For, 1st. That it was written by a native of Kilkenny, is evident *passim*. 2nd. The writer was a Roman Catholic. He speaks of Thomas Fleming as being the *Archbishop* of Dublin, §§ 16;—recognises the efficacy of the aid and guardianship of saints, § 17;—eulogizes the piety of founders of churches and monasteries: "quam vtramq' cum cœspiciamus, tam in iis monumentis maiorum quæ adhuc integra supersunt, quam in ruderib' et cadaverib' sacrariorum, quæ demolita est [*sic*] *novitatis violentiâ*, nō possumus non excitari animis et corroborari *ad eandē professionem colendā cōservandamq'*" §§ 24;—and speaks contemptuously of the Reformed Church, terming Protestants "*novelli iconoclastæ*;"—and charging Bishop Bale, whom he calls "impudicus ganeo," with having broken and defaced all the statues and images of the saints he could lay hands on, §§ 28, &c., &c. 3rd. The writer and David Rothe were contemporary. He speaks of Kilkenny having been made a city by the charter of James I., §§ 10, 14, &c.;—the date, 1624, is mentioned as being past, § 16;—the eastern painted windows of the cathedral, broken down by the Parliamentarians after 1646, are described as still standing, § 28; whilst there is no allusion to the outbreak of the Rebellion of

1641. 4th. The author speaks of having used elsewhere the argument for the truth of Roman Catholic doctrines derived from the piety of ancient times (§ 24)—an allusion fully supported by the existence of Rothe's "Analecta" and other works; and states that he had elsewhere more largely treated of the synonymous terms "Hiberni" and "Scoti," as applied to the Irish (§ 1)—an assertion substantiated by the existence of Rothe's tract, "De Nominibus Hiberniæ," printed in Messingham's "Florilegium." There can, therefore, be no reasonable doubt that this fragment is from the pen of Rothe. Its incompleteness is much to be lamented. The MS. was intended to be a complete treatise on the Diocese of Ossory, as appears by the writer's statement in § 9, that, taking Kilkenny as a centre, he purposed to review in order the history, &c., of the different Rural Deaneries into which the Diocese is divided. It is, however, imperfect, ending abruptly in the middle of the 38rd section. But, even if completed, the treatise was but a portion of a larger work, a complete ecclesiastical survey of Ireland. The writer speaks of the dioceses of Armagh and Lismore as having been already treated of, and, alluding to the anchorite dwelling in his time at Fore, in Westmeath, adds, "*proprius dicendi locus erit in Diœcesi Medensi*" (§ 27). There are but two copies of this valuable fragment known to exist—one in the British Museum, part of the Clarendon (i.e. Ware's) collection, marked Tom. li., No. 4796; the other, written in a contemporary hand (but probably a copy, as it is deficient in the notes at §§ 4, 5, 6, 7, 17, which exist in the Museum codex), in the Manuscript Library of Trinity College, Dublin, marked E. 4, 18. Even in its present

hitherto unpublished manuscript gives the following graphic description of the situation and origin of the town :—

“The site is most enjoyable, being an open plain extending in every direction for many miles. The fields are fruitful in all manner of grain. Ponds and rapid streams¹ subserve, the one to fisheries, the others to traffic likewise; except where the dams and weirs, which support the mills that stand on either bank of the river, here and there impede the course of boats, whereby is supplied abundance of marble dug from the quarries, and of timber and beams felled in the woods, which to the north of [Kilkenny] mostly abound with lofty oaks, and invite the construction of timber work. Moreover, there exist two stone quarries—one to the east, remarkable for the variety, solidity, and abundance of its marbles, which, cerulean, black, white, or variegated with divers hues, are either exported to a distance, or else stored at home for building purposes.² The other stone quarry, which verges more to the north, affords marble also, but of rougher grain, and less apt to receive a polish;³ yet it also is prepared in large quantities, and dressed for the construction of edifices. . . . There being, therefore, such a rich supply of building materials, as well stone as timber, the inhabitants of this city are distinguished above most others of the realm by their propensity to erect structures of marble of a larger and more splendid class. To the east, the city is washed by the river, but to the west is defended by walls and turrets (which are said to have been commenced by a citizen named Talbot⁴), and pleasantly clad with the verdure of gardens and orchards on both sides. Furthermore, to the work of securing and increasing the inhabitation of the city itself, I find that three diverse nations, who finally coalesced into one, gave their aid. For the episcopal chair of the diocese of Ossory was translated hither from the ford or field of the Ox (in the vulgar tongue called Aghboo), in Upper Ossory, north of Kilkenny. The See was then, in the reign of Henry II., and at the commencement of the Conquest, ruled by Fœlix O'Dullany, Bishop of Ossory. That venerable prelate, when he perceived all places to be full of strifes and animosities, and the entire county to be on fire with war and tumults, with the desire to obtain greater security and quietness, betook himself to this place with his husbandmen and tenants, and laid the foundation as well as of the church as of the burgh, to serve the inhabitants both for the worship of God, and for civil inhabitation, as

imperfect state, this treatise of Rothe is worthy of that writer whom Ussher describes as a very learned investigator of his country's antiquities; and may have well been in the Primate's hands when writing his matchless work, “*De Brittan. Eccl. Primordiis*,” wherein (p. 787) he acknowledges his obligations—“*D. Rotheo . . . cujus tùm libris publicè (sed celato nomine) editis, tùm scriptis privatim transmissis, non parùm hic adjutum me fuisse libens agnosco.*”

¹ This is quite the character of the river Nore, the course of which abounds with deep, still ponds, separated by shallow, gravelly fords,

over which the stream runs impetuously.

² Now known as the Black Quarry. It is interesting to learn that this marble was exported at so early a period; for this treatise of Rothe's was written before the destruction, in 1646, of the famous east windows of the Cathedral of St. Canice, which he describes as existing.

³ The stone used in the new Roman Catholic cathedral is from the northern quarries, and answers to the description above given.

⁴ Under the superintendence of Robert Talbot, A. D. 1400. See “*History, &c., of St. Canice*,” p. 150.

also for defence against the attacks of robbers; and that municipality was of old time, as it is to the present day, called the Irish Town, and rejoices in its peculiar immunities, [namely] a public market recurring twice in the week; also a civil magistrate, called the Portreeve, who, being elected yearly by the suffrages of the Burgesses, is presented to the Bishop to be confirmed by him, as by him the office is created; and [an officer] of the Cross,¹ termed the Seneschal, who is generally a nobleman, or knight, or at least an esquire. This municipality is thickly inhabited, according to the custom of the country, being encircled by its own walls, and separated by the Bregach rivulet from the neighbouring city, much in the same way that the city of Nobiliacum (for so it was formerly termed), in Artois, was separated from the town of Arras."

"Situs loci peramœnus aperiente se planitie campestri undequaq̃ p multorū milliarium spatii; arua omnis generis frumenti feracia; aquæ stagnantes iuxta et profuentes; illæ piscationi, istæ vectationi pariter inserviunt: nisi quod alibi septa et cataractæ q̃ molas obmuniunt (quas vtraq̃ ripa fluminis habet plurimas) obicem hinc inde inferant cursui cymbarū, copia quæ suppetit marmorum eruendorum è latomijs, et lignorū trabiumq̃ e sylvis cæduis, quæ maxime ad boream solent abundare proceris quercubus inuitant ad fabricandum. Habet enim duas lapicidinas, vnā ad orientem eamq̃ prænobilem a varietate, soliditate, et multitudine marmorum, quæ cærulea, nigra, candida partim etiam diuersis coloribus variegata vel longinq̃ exportantur, vel domi coaceruantur in vsum structurarum. Altera vero lapicidina, quæ magis ad boream vergit, pbet etiam marmora sed asperiora minusq̃ apta læuigationi, quamuis et ipsa quoq̃ vbertim præparentur et ædificiis extruendis accommodentur. Cum itaq̃ fabricandi materies tam fossilis quā cædua hic affatim suppetat, hinc est quod incolæ huius ciuitatis, præ alijs complurib⁹ huius regni hominib⁹ studeant ædificiis ferè ampliorib⁹ et nitidiorib⁹ e marmore excitandis. Latus ciuitatis orientale fluuiio alluitur, occidentale verò munitur mœnib⁹ et turriculis, quib⁹ extruendis Talbotus ciuis initium dedisse perhibetur, et ab vtroq̃ latere hortis et pomariis amœne vestitur. Cæterum in ipsius ciuitatis incolatu firmando et ampliando, tres diuersas gentes, quæ in vnam tandem coluerunt, operam posuisse inuenio. Nam a parte boreali, ex vado seu cāpo boi in superiori Ossoria (vulgo nuncupatur Agboo), translata huc cathedra ep̃alis Ossoriensis Diocesis, quā Fælix O'Dullany Ep̃us Ossoriensis regnante Henrico Secundo sub initium expugnationis regebat, cum oia simultatibus et odiis plena, et totam ditionem bello ac tumultibus feruere cerneret, venerabilis ille Antistes, studio captandæ maioris securitatis et quietudinis in hūc locum se recepit cum suis colonis et inquilinis; et fundamentū collocauit tam templo quam burgo extruendo, quod incolis seruiret tum pro cultu Dei, tum pro incolatu ciuili, tum etiam p munimine aduersus grassatorū incursiones, ipsūq̃ municipium vocabatur olim Burgum Hibernicum prout vsq̃ in hodiernū dum nominatur; et gaudet immunitatib⁹, mercatu publico bis recurrente hebdominatim, magistratu etiam ciuili quem vocant præpositū, qui Burgensiū suffragiis electus quotannis præsentatur ep̃o vt

¹ "Crocesæ."—The church lands were so named. The Bishop's lands about the Cathedral, which formed the Manor of Nova Curia, or New Court, are here alluded to.

ab eo confirmetur, prout ab eo creatur, et Crociæ quæ vocant Senescellus, qui solet esse primarius vel ex equestri ordine vel certe armiger. Habitat hoc municipium frequenti incolatu pro more nationis, suisque mœnibus cinctum, et distinctum Briagio fluviolo a ciuitate vicina, et fere modo quo in Artesia Nobiliacum (ita olim dicebatur) ciuitas separatur ab vrbe Atrebatensi."— (§§ 10-13.)

The MS. then gives a lucid account of the foundation of William Earl Mareschal's Castle and Burg of Kilkenny, and of the settlement and gradual absorption of a colony of Flemings, of which more hereafter, and proceeds :—

"From these three original nations, fused into one common people, with a certain grafting and mingling of race by marriage, and the procreation of children common [to both parents] which is wont to be the pledge and bond of the permanency of a community, sprung that inhabitation¹ which we [now] see."

"Ex tribus his gentibus primariis in vnius populi conflatis, propagatus est iste incolatus quem cernimus cum insitione quadam et cōmixtione sanguinis, per connubium et cōmunium liberorum procreationem, quæ pignus esse solet et vinculum perpetuandæ cōmunionis."— (§ 16.)

The only exception that can be made to the foregoing theory of the origin of the Irishtown of Kilkenny is as follows :—Felix O'Dullany, an Ossorian by birth,² and a prelate well calculated to hold his own amongst the unconquered tribesmen of Upper Ossory, we know, did not found the cathedral of St. Canice³ of Kilkenny. He died at that same Aghaboe,⁴ from whence he is said by Rothe to have removed for quietness' sake, "cum suis colonis et inquilinis," to Kilkenny. The truth seems to be, that O'Dullany, who was also Abbot of Jerpoint, in the heart of the conquered district of Lower Ossory, now the county of Kilkenny, and who would, no doubt, wish to stand well with its Anglo-Norman feudal Lord, may have planted his See lands adjoining the newly founded Castle of Kilkenny with some Irish colonists from Aghaboe, whilst it is equally certain that the natives, expelled from the district occupied by the feudal fortress and its franchises, would take shelter beneath the authority of their fellow-countryman O'Dullany, whose lands at Kilkenny then, and for ages after, formed "the Cross" (Crocea), exempt from lay authority, and under the ægis of the Church. But when Hugh de Rous,

¹ "Incolatus," a settlement in a strange land.

² O'Dullany (O'Dubhdáine), now Delany, came of a tribe which O'Heerin, in his "Topographical Poem," seats in Coill-Uachtarach, or Upper Woods, along the eastern slope of the Sliabh Bloom Mountains, now the Barony of Upperwoods, close to the Monastery of Aghaboe, and a district of ancient

Ossory (Orraige)—See "Transactions of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society," vol. i. p. 249.

³ Rothe himself was aware of this, for in a note to the passage quoted he writes "Felix designauit potius quàm fidauit Ecclesiam S'ti Canici."

⁴ Ussher, *De Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Primordiis*, p. 957.

"*primus Anglicus Episcopus Ossoriensis*,"¹ succeeded O'Dullany in 1202, and translated the Cathedral to Kilkenny, we find on record the pregnant fact, that he at once exchanged, with William Earl Mareschal, the See lands at Aghaboe for others situated more conveniently, i. e. nearer Kilkenny, and within the limits of the conquered districts. We subjoin both the Bishop's and the Earl's counterparts of the deed of exchange, now for the first time published :²—

"To all sons of holy Mother Church to whom the present charter shall come: Hugh, by the grace of God, Bishop of Ossory, sends greeting in the Lord. Know ye that we, by consent and assent of our Chapter, have given and granted to William Mareschal, Earl of Pembroke, for his homage and service, the vill of Achboo, with all its appurtenances, and with all the claims of lands which I demand in the Cantred of Achbo, to have and to hold to him and his heirs, of us and our successors, in fee and inheritance, freely, entirely, and honourably, in wood, in plain, in paths, in waters, in meadows, in pastures, in moors and marshes, in mills, stews, castles, fortalices, and in all other places, with all liberties and free customs; paying annually thereout to the Cathedral Church of Kilkenny two wax [candles] of six pounds of wax, for all service and demand. And although we have given to the aforesaid Lord, for his homage and service, the vill of Achbo, nevertheless, that he might also benefit more largely us and our successors, the said Earl has given to us and our successors eight earucates of land, to be possessed for ever, to wit, Ballisle³ for three carucates, and Growen⁴ for four carucates, and the ecclesiastical benefice of the same land, and one carucate of land on the other side of the bridge of Insnake,⁵ towards the south. Moreover, the said Earl has given to us and our successors the patronage of the churches of the Blessed Mary of Kilkenny, and of St. Patrick of Donnaghmore, with all their appurtenances, to hold in exchange for the advowson of the church of St. Canice, of the vill of Acbo, and of all the other churches of the same place, with all their appurtenances. And that this our grant might remain sure and unshaken, we have confirmed it with our seal, and the seal of our Chapter, &c.

"Ex^d by Na: Plunket."

"*Omnibus scē matris ecclīe filiis ad quos presens carta pervenerit H. Dei grā Ossorien' epūs saltem in Dño. Sciatis nos consensu et assensu capit'li nři dedisse et concessisse Willimo Mar' com' Pembroch' p' homag' et servic' suo villam de Achboo cū oībus p'tin' suis et cū omnibus clam' terrarū quas exigebamus in cātrede de Achbo, hend' et ten' sibi et hered' suis de nobis et successoribus nris in feodo et hereditate libere integre et honorifice in bosco in planis in semitis in aquis in pratis in pasturis in*

¹ Cartulary of Kells in Ossory, "Lansdowne MSS.," *Plut. LXXVI.*, E. 418.

² From the transcript of the White Book of Ossory, Consistorial Records, Kilkenny, compared with an early transcript preserved amongst the Ormonde manuscripts.

³ Ballinaalee, near Durrow, still part of the temporalities of the See of Ossory.

⁴ Grovine, near Kilkenny, still part of the temporalities of the See of Ossory.

⁵ Innismag, near Stoneyford, still part of the temporalities of Ossory.

moris in marescis in molendin' viuariis castris fortelliciis et in oibus aliis locis cū oībus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus. Reddō inde annuatim cathedrali ecclīe de Kilkenny ij cereos viⁱⁱ cere p omni servicio et exacōe. Et qu'vis p'dcām villam de Achbo p'dcō dom' pro homag' et servic' suo sicut p'miss' est dedimus, tā nobis et successoribus nris plenius ut benefecerit, dedit nobis et successoribus idem com' viij. carucatas terre ppetue possidend', silz Ballisle pro tribus carucatis, et growen pro iiij caruc' cū beneficio ecclesiastico eiusd' terre, et vnam carucatam terre ex altera pte pontis de Insnake versus meridiem, insup^r dedit nob' et successoribus nris idem Com'ius patronatus ecclīaz beate marie de Kilkenn' [et] sūi Patricii de Donnaghmore cum oibus eaz ptin', hēnd' in comutacōe advocacois ecclīe sci Kannicii de villa de Achbo et alīaz oīum ecclīaz eiusdem loci cū oibus ad easdem ecclīas ptin'. Et ut hec nrā donacio rata et inconcussa pmaneat sigillo nro et sigillo Capitli nri firmavimus, &c.

"Ex^a p Na: Plunket."

"The Charter of William Mareschal, Earl of Pembroke, and the Countess, his Wife, to Hugh, Bishop of Ossory.

"William Mareschal, Earl of Pembroke, to all to whom shall come the present charter, greeting. Know ye, that I have received, by the gift of Hugh, Bishop of Ossory, and the grant of his entire Chapter, the vill of Aghebo, with all its appurtenances, and with all the claims of lands which the said Bishop claims in the cantred of Aghebo, to have for my homage and service, and to hold to me and my heirs of the said Bishop, and his successors, in fee and inheritance, freely and quietly, entirely and honourably, in wood and in plain, and in all other places, with all liberties and free customs, as the charter which I have of the said Bishop witnesses, at the annual rent of two wax [candles] of six pounds of wax, to be paid to the Cathedral Church of Kilkenny at the feast of St. Canice, in lieu of every service and exaction. And although the said Bishop, as is aforesaid, has given me the said vill of Aghebo for my homage and service, nevertheless, that I may the more largely benefit him and his successors, with the assent and consent of the Countess Isabella, my wife, I have now given and granted to the said Bishop and his successors eight carucates of land in places useful and suitable to him, viz., Bally-sly as three carucates, and Growin as four carucates, with the church benefice of the said land, and one carcate of land on one side of the bridge of Insnak towards the south, to be possessed for ever. Moreover, I have given and granted to the said Bishop and his successors the patronage of the churches of the Blessed Mary of Kilkenny, and of St. Patrick of Donaghmore, with all their appurtenances, to have in exchange for the patronage of the church of St. Canice in the vill of Aghebo, and of all the other churches of the said place, with all their appurtenances. Moreover, that this my grant may remain firm and unshaken, I have confirmed it with my seal, and the seal of the Countess Isabella, my wife, in the presence of, &c.

"Examined with the original 'whit booke,' and there you will find this grant written in the second folio of C² of the said book."

¹ Ormonde MSS.

² That is, of the "stave" marked C in the White Book.

"Carta Willelimi Marescalli Comitis Pembroke et Comitisse uxoris sue Hugone Ossor' Epō.

"Willelim' Marescall' comes Pembroke oib' ad quos p'sens carta p'venerit salutem. Sciatis me accepisse ex donacōe H. Ossor' Epī et concessione totius Capli sui villā de Aghebo cū oib' p'tinent' et cū oib' clameis terrāz quas eidem Ep̄s clamabat in Cantredo de Aghebo habend' pro homagio et servicio meo, et tenend' mihi et hereditib' meis de dict' epō et successorib' suis in feodo et hereditate libere et quiete integre et honorifice in bosco et plano, et oib' aliis locis cū oib' libertatib' et liberis consuetudinibus sicut carta mea quā habeo de eod' epō testatur. Reddendo inde annuatim Cathedrali Eccleie de Kilkenia ad festū scti Canici duos cereos sex libraꝝ cerei p' ol' sevitio et exaccione. Et quamvis eidem Ep̄us sicut p'missū est p'dictā villā de Aghebo cū p'tinent' mihi donaverit pro homagio et servitio meo, tamen ut ego ei et successorib' suis plenius benefacerem, dedi et concessi assensu et consensu Comitisse Isabelle uxoris mee iam dicto Epō et successorib' suis octo carucat' terre in locis ei utilib' et competentib', viz. Ballysly pro trib' carucatis, et Growin pro quatuor carucatis cum beneficio ecclesiastico eiusd' t're, et unum carucat' terre ex alī pte pontis Insack vers' meridiem perpetuo possidend'. Insuper dedi et concessi eid' Epō et suis successorib' ius patronatus ecclesiarū Bē Marie de Kilkenia et scti Patricii de Donaghmore cū oib' suis p'tin', habend' sibi in cōmūtatione patronatus Eccleie scti Canici in villa de Aghebo et aliaꝝ omniū Ecclesiaꝝ eiusd' loci cū oib' ad easd' p'tin'. Ut autem hec mea donatio rata et inconcussa p'maneat eam sigillo meo et sigillo comitisse Isabelle uxoris mee confirmavi hiis testib', &c.

"Examinata cū originali whit booke, et illic invenies inscripta hec donacio folio secundo eiusdem libri de C."

The date of the preceding documents can be approximately ascertained. The Hugh Bishop of Ossory, who is party to them, must have been Hugh de Rous, because there was no other prelate bearing the same Christian name till 1251, and William Earl Mareschal the elder died in 1219. Hugh de Rous sat from 1202 to 1218, and we are inclined to adopt the earlier date, and to conclude that the exchange was effected shortly after his accession to the See. That De Rous gave a charter to his tenants at Kilkenny about the year 1202, and previous to the foundation of the Earl Mareschal's burgh, seems probable.¹ In support of this supposition we may observe that the ancient seal² of the Corporation of Irishtown, bears a legend which does not use the *relative* term of

¹ The charter granted by William Earl Mareschal the elder, "Burgensibus meis de Kilkenia," is without date; but, as he gave a charter to St. John's Priory in 1211, granting rights to its monks "in villā de Kilkenny," the town must have been incorporated before that year.

² The original matrix of this seal is preserved in the Museum of the Society: it is

of copper, and of the same size as the engraving at next page. The characteristics of the rudely engraved ecclesiastical building with which it is charged, as well as the Lombardic letters of the legend, are fully as old as De Rous's time. For the mode of its acquisition by the Society, see "Transactions of the Kilkenny Archæological Society," vol. i. p. 486.

"villa Hibernicana"—an appellation undoubtedly introduced after the establishment of the adjoining *English* Corporation. We give an engraving of this interesting and ancient corporate seal (see Plate). The Church which occupies the field shows the dependence of the "civitas" on the Bishop;¹ and the legend explicitly claims the seal to be that of the "citizens of Kilkenny," whilst the addition "of the See of Ossory" excludes the idea that it had anything to do with the subsequently founded English town. The legend reads as follows :—

✱ SIGILL : DŌMVNE : DIVIVM : KILLKENN : SEDIS : OSSORIE.

THE COMMON SEAL OF THE CITIZENS OF KILKENNY OF THE SEE OF OSSORY.

The inference we have drawn is further strengthened by another deed, extant in the fragmentary transcript of the ancient White Book of Ossory, which implies a charter of incorporation already granted to the town, and uses the style and title found in the above legend. We append a translation, accompanied by the original :—

"The Charter of Hugh, Bishop of Ossory, to Thomas Vnch, of two Burgaries, and five acres of land.

"To all sons of Mother Church who shall see or hear the present writing: Hugh, by the mercy of God, Bishop of Ossory, and an humble minister of the Church, sends greeting in the Lord. Know ye, that we, with the assent and consent of our Dean and Chapter of St. Canice, Kilkenny, have granted, and by this our present charter confirmed, to Thomas Vnch, *our citizen of Kilkenny*, two Burgaries lying on the north side next the public road which leads towards the House of the Friars Preachers, with five acres of land in our tenement of Kilkenny, which John le Mes-sag' formerly held of us: To have and to hold of us and our successors to him and his heirs or assigns, freely and quietly, entirely, peacefully, and in inheritance, *with all the liberties and free customs belonging to a free burgage of our town of Kilkenny*; paying thence annually, himself, his heirs or assigns, to us and our successors, two silver shillings at two terms of the year, viz.: twelve pence at Michaelmas, and twelve pence at Easter; and to the Church of St. Canice of Kilkenny, half a pound of wax at the said feast of Easter, for every service, exaction, and demand; and that this our grant, concession, and charter, might be preserved, confirmed, sure, and stable for ever, we have caused to be appended to this present writing our seal, together with the common seal of our said Chapter, the following being witnesses, &c."

"Carta Hugonis Ossoriens' Ep'i Thome Vnch de duab⁹ Burgagiis et v. acris terre.

"Universis m'ris eccl'ie filiis p'sens scriptū visur' vel auditur' Hugo miseracione divina Ossoriens' Ep'us et eccl'ie minister humilis salū in dño.

¹ As being a Bishop's See, Kilkenny was ecclesiastically a city before the charter of James I. gave it that dignity in the civil

state.

² Rothe says that it was sometimes termed "Villa Episcopi"—"De Ossor. Diocesa.," § 17.



ANCIENT CORPORATE SEAL OF THE IRISHTOWN, KILKENNY.

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY
ASTOR LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS
51

Nov⁷tis me de consensu et assensu decani et capituli nři scđi Canici Kilkenie concessisse et hac pnti carta nřa confirmasse Thome Vnch civi nřo Kilkenie duo Burgagia jacentia iuxta viam publicam que extendit vřsus domũ fratřũ predicatorũ ex pte boriali, cũ v. acris terre in tenemento nřo Kilkenie ad dca burgagia ptinent' q' Johes le Messag' aliquando de nobis tenuit. Habend' et tenend' de nob et successorib' nřis sibi et heredib' suis vel assignatis libere et quiete integre pacifice et hereditar' cũ oib' libertatib' et liberis consuetudinib' ad libera burgagia ville nře Kilkenie spectantib' reddend' inde annuatim ipse et heredes sui vel assignati nobis et successorib' nřis duos solidos argenti ad duos anni terminos vz xij^d ad festũ Michaelis et xij^d ad festũ pasche et eccłie scđi Canici Kilkenie dđ fi ceree in dċto festo pasche pro oř servicio exaccione et demando. Et ut hec nřa donacio concessio et chart' confirmar [.] firma et stabilis impetui p'severet' p'sent' scr [.] sigillũ nřũ una cũ sigillo comuni dict' capituli nři fecim' apponi hiis testib', &c.

The Bishop Hugh who granted this charter may have been, Hugh de Mapilton, who sat from 1251 to 1256. It cannot date later, however, than the time of his successor, Hugh III., who filled the See from 1257 to 1259.

(To be continued.)

EXTRACTS FROM THE IRISH CORRESPONDENCE IN H. M. STATE PAPER OFFICE.

COMMUNICATED BY HERBERT F. HORE, ESQ.

My promise of resuming extracts from the Irish State Papers requires to be fulfilled, in order to draw the attention of our readers to the extent and interest of these documents, soon to be made more apparent by the publication of the first Calendar of them, which must be deemed a great boon to our archæologists, and to all who feel interested in the history of our country. This voluminous catalogue is a digest of the earliest papers, extending from the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII. to the close of the year 1573; and the quantity of the state correspondence and documents indexed may be imagined from the facts that this Calendar comprises 536 large octavo pages, and that the folio volumes of MSS. thus catalogued are forty-three in number, for the first fifteen years of Elizabeth's reign. The reigns of her predecessors are, unfortunately, less fully illustrated, the papers of Edward VI. being contained in four volumes, and of Queen Mary in two, while the memorable times of the Eighth Henry are developed by a series of twelve manuscript

tomes, most part of which has been published. The Calendar has been admirably compiled by Mr. Hans C. Hamilton; and the existence of this printed index must, in affording means to students of the history of Ireland to refer to our State Papers, be deemed a serviceable step towards Irish archæological free trade.* There can, of course, be no doubt that this publication will be followed by facilities for research and for obtaining transcripts; and whenever these facilities are accorded, the regret that such important materials towards a complete History of the British Empire are not accessible, as expressed by the late Mr. Tytler, the historian of Scotland, in the preface to his excellent work, will give place to a sense of the public benefit conferred by opening our Irish historical state treasures, and to a hope that time will soon bring forward some one gifted with the talents and tastes required to produce a valuable History of Ireland, for the period embraced in the eventful reigns of the Tudor dynasty. Taking a narrower view, it is agreeable to see that the publication of many curious Irish documents in the State Paper Depository will increase the growing pleasure taken in our national antiquities. Our Society has already been enabled to publish a small portion of these documents, the details of which, while adding to our knowledge of the general history of their times, often illustrate and group around the topographic history of particular places and families, in lights and forms of new and pleasing interest. In order to convey ideas of the nature of these documents, I give the ensuing notes of several, which relate to our archæologic district, and are well worth publishing. The period selected from is the early part of Queen Elizabeth's reign:—

1558, Nov. 28. Orders made at Waterford, by the Lord Deputy Sussex and Council, for the reformation of the country called the Decies, under the rule of Sir Maurice Fitzgerald.

1562. The correspondence and accounts of this and subsequent dates respecting the lead and silver mines in the county of Wexford.

1562. A document, comprehending twenty-four articles, specifying the miserable state of the English Pale, delivered to the Privy Council by certain students of Ireland, among whom were Gerald Wesley, John Talbot, William Bathe, Henry Burnell, Christopher Fleming, and Richard Netterville. With the Earl of Sussex's answer, and other papers thereon.

1562, Oct. Sir Thomas Barnewall, Sir Patrick Hussey, the Baron of Navan, and other gentlemen of Meath, to the Queen, demanding to pay a certain tax, in lieu of cesses for the maintenance of the viceregal household, garrisons, &c.

1563, April 16. The citizens of Cork, as to the state of the city, undefended from pirates.

1565, Feb. Deposition of Sir Maurice Fitzgerald, Lord of the Decies, respecting the conflict near Dromana, between the Earls of Ormonde and Desmond.

1565, April. Marshal Sir George Stanley, relating at full the proceedings respecting the late conflict between these Earls.

1565, June 22. Privy Council to the Earl of Kildare, thanking him for his good service against the O'Mores and O'Conors.

1565. Letters of Craik and Daly, Bishops of Kildare.

1565, July 8. Petitions of Sir Owen O'Sullivan, to the Queen.

1568, Nov. 29. Suit of Kedagh, son of Rory O'More, sometime Captain of Leix.

1565, Dec. 2. Articles by Oliver Sutton, Gent., of Richardston, county of Kildare, relative to the state of the Pale.

1565, Dec. Petition of Catherine, widow of Captain Cuffe, ancestor of the Earl of Desart.

1566, Feb. 24. Sir W. Cecil to the Viceroy, recommending Sir Maurice Fitzgerald, in whom he sees good parts, and wishes his neighbours were all as civil as he seems.

1566. Petition of Cormac O'Conor, of Offaly, on his return from Scotland, to the Queen; of George Parysh, Gent., on his return from Scotland; and of James Butler, brother of the Earl of Ormonde, for the fee-farm of Dusk Abbey, for Fertnegeragh Priory, and for Shanevest village, county of Kilkenny.

1566, Dec. Particulars of the value of Tintern Abbey, county of Wexford.

1568, Jan. 8. Examination of Cahir O'Conor, showing his treatment whilst travelling in the country of the Earl of Desmond and others, he being a proclaimed traitor. A very interesting document, exemplifying the manners of the times.

1568. Examinations of the Earl of Desmond and his brother Sir John. The Earl thinks he might challenge authority to rule all Geraldines in Munster, and conceives that, in all cases betwixt two Geraldines, he ought to be their judge. These ideas were based upon the seigniorial authority of seniors of clans.

1568, July 13. Grant to the Grace family.

1568, Sept. Attack on the O'Carrolls, by Edward Butler. Various documents respecting it.

1569, April 18. Sir Nicholas White, as to the state of Waterford, 1100 poor relieved on Good Friday.

1569, June 10. Deposition of Richard Stafford, as to expressions of Stucley undutiful to her Majesty, in presence of himself and William Hore. The accused, the notorious pirate, adventurer, and political traitor, Captain Thomas Stucley, of the Devonshire family, of whom the present representative has recently been created a baronet, had been charged by Masterson, Constable of Ferns Castle, with conspiring to levy war against the Queen, upon which

the accused was committed to prison, and deprived of his offices and other emoluments, such as the seneschalship of the county of Wexford. The witness, Stafford, was a merchant of Wexford, and William Hore was knight of the shire. Stucley seems to have conspired with James Fitzmaurice and the Earl of Clancarty, who, soon after, marched to Enniscorthy, and committed extraordinary ravages and barbarities. The papers connected with this incursion of the western insurgents into our south-eastern district, narrating their siege of Kilkenny, &c., are of much interest. Perhaps one of the last letters is the most curious, in which the Earl of Ormonde, having suppressed the rebellion, directly his brothers joined it, declares that his brother, Sir Edward, "was certainly bewitched," and that he himself was "also bewitched, but has recovered."

1571, May. Relation of Stucley's proceedings. His sailing from Waterford to Spain, and his political intrigues in Madrid and Rome. Also two bills presented to the jury of the county of Wexford as to him, and Mathew Fitz Henry, and Arte Tonym, his confederates.

1571. Survey of Tintern, in possession of A. Colclough, Esq., and arrears of St. Molin's barony, wrongfully detained by Brian M'Cahir Kavanagh

1571, Aug. 28. Notes relative to the septs of the Kavanaghs, the cesses yielded by Idrone to Leighlin House, &c.

1572. Correspondence relating to the murder of Robert Browne, Esq., of Mulrangan, county of Wexford, by two chieftains of the Kavanaghs and O'Byrnes, and the consequent warfare, such as an inroad into Shillelagh, with the slaying of O'Byrne's foster-brothers and two of his sisters on the side of the river Avonagh; the "killing of the bullies in the glinn;" the apprehension of Mathew Furlong, promised by these chiefs, on the ground that he and others were the murderers; the desperation of these leaders, their revolt, and victory over the Englishry of the county of Wexford.

The following copies of letters on other subjects will show the style and character of these State Papers. In the ensuing curious letter, Piers, Earl of Ormonde, writes from Shirehampton, 7th September, 1526, to Cardinal Wolsey, complaining that the townsmen of Bristol, to the number of 600, had, the night past, surrounded his lodgings, with intention to burn the house, while he lay in bed. This mob of angry burgesses seems to have risen to chastise the Irish Earl's servants, who may be believed to have conducted themselves in the turbulent manner of their country, for their master entreats the Cardinal to command the mayor and sheriffs of Bristol to cease all process against them, and to discharge his sureties until his return, when Wolsey may examine the matter. This Earl was a man of extraordinary character, which enabled him to succeed in establishing himself in the hereditary dignities of his house. One of the earliest letters is from Lord Deputy Kildare to the King, re-

specting the controversy between Ladies Anne St. Leger and Margaret Boleyn, coheiresses of a late Earl of Ormonde, and "one Sir Piers Butler," who, however, though so designated, was, as is stated in another letter, a great and powerful nobleman.

"PIERS, 8th EARL of ORMONDE, to CARDINAL WOLSEY.

"After my due and humble recommendation, Please it your Grace to be advertised that certain of the inhabitants of 'Bristow' contended with certain of my servants, by seeking, and in default of the said inhabitants, as I am informed; of which intermeddling I was then ignorant, and not minded to bear or maintain my servants; But rather to have punished them, or to have delivered them to the officers of the town upon their demand. Yet, nevertheless, a great number of the Commons of the towne, about vi^e personages, before any 'monycyon' given unto me, or request made, assembled riotously, and in the night assaulted me in my lodging on all sides of the house with rude demeanour, making exclamation to pull down the house; others cryed, Set fire on the house; I being in my bed, so as I can not remember that ever I was in so much danger of my life: whereupon the King's officer of arms, 'Carelyle,' with some difficulty, entreated the mayor to repair towards my lodging, whom I suffered to enter in, and gave him all his demands, and such of my servants as he required. I sent them to ward; notwithstanding the mayor demanded sureties of my servants to answer to all such actions as any of the town would commence against them; and I answered that for so much as so great a number of the town kept one party, It might not be intended that any indifferent trial might be had there betwixt them and my servants; wherefore I desired that they would be content that the matter might come before your Grace and the Council, and they should have sureties to be answered there, which they utterly refused, and some of them said that they would never come before your Grace; and finally I was constrained to follow their appetites, and to find suerties; and now in my absence they intend with all rigour to condemn the sureties: wherefore, I most humbly beseech your Grace to direct your gracious commandment to the Mayor and Sheriffs of Bristow that they do cease of all processes and executions of all matters commenced before them against any of my servants, and to discharge the suerties unto such time as at my next coming your Grace may examine and try the truth and plainness of all the matter. The King's said officer may instruct your Grace of all the circumstance of the premises, which know Almighty God, who have your Grace in his most tender 'tuycyon.' Written at 'Shirehampton,' the viith day of September.

"Your most bounden orator,

"P. ORMOND.

"To my Lord Legate's Grace."

The following letters illustrate the enmity between an English family named Alen and the Geraldines of Kildare, and the rise of the former on the ruin of the latter. One of the Alens, John, was sent to Ireland by Crumwell, as chief commissioner for the dissolution of monastic establishments. Another, a cousin John, appears to have been elevated to the Archepiscopal See of Dublin, on ac-

count of his adoption of the principles which guided the Reformation, and he became especially hostile to Gerald, ninth Earl of Kildare, then Governor of the realm.

An account had been demanded from the Archbishop, by Lord Deputy Kildare and his Council, of £100 sterling, and some other sum, but the prelate pleaded a pardon and release which he had procured from the King, dated February 7, 1532, as a bar to all further inquiry. However, on the 9th July, 1534, Crumwell, the king's secretary, writes to his "loving friend," Mr. Thomas Alen, of Rayleigh, in Essex, saying that he trusted to have received from him the £100 which of gentleness he lent him, and mentioning the 700 marks which Archbishop Alen owes the king, who, observes the writer, "is no person to be deluded or mocked withal." In the meanwhile, the following epistle was addressed by five brothers of the Alen family to their brother, Thomas, Warden of Youghal College:—

"1534, *May 17*, No. 10.

"Right worshipful brother, we heartily recommend us unto you, certifying you that my lord of Desmond marvels greatly of your long tarrying; moreover, we certify you of truth that Thomas FytzGerrald, the Earl of Kyldare, his son, is now with my lord O'Bryan, and makes all that ever he can to obtain my lord of Desmond's good will, and as yet we do our best to keep him from his purpose in that behalf, and shall do with God's grace; moreover, the said Thomas has burned all your 'cornys' that lay in 'Lytyll Bewerly,' and he says, where soever he meets with you he will slay you [with] his own hands, for because that you hold so 'soor' with the King's grace and causeth the Earl of Desmond to buy his fee; also with all your brethren and kinsfolk do stand in jeperry of our lives for your sake; wherefore we counsel you to instruct the King of this promise, and cause his Grace to write a letter to my lord of Desmond in all haste to take the said traitor, and also to cause my lord O'Bryan to withdraw his favour from the said Thomas and all other his lords for the rather the better; for, if you were with us, we put no doubt, but we would with your wisdom and help displace him and his, and that soon; moreover, you send to me for more costs; by my troth, I lost £300 in the river of this year; I thank God of all; I have sent you by this bearer £3 3s. 4d., for I have paid to your priests for their wages at Easter last past £20 6s. 8d., and I have paid to your workmen £12 3s. 2d. No more to you at this time, but Jhesus bring you home shortly. Written in all haste at Youghyll, in Ireland, the 17 day of May, by your brethren,

"RICHARD ALLEN.

"JOHN ALLEN.

"ROBERT ALLEN.

"JASPAR ALLEN.

"and MELLISHER ALLEN."

Addressed—"To his right worshipful brother, Mr. Thomas Allen, Warden of the College of Youghyll. This be delivered in all haste possible."

The recipient of this letter was evidently at the time in London. The Earl of Kildare had gone there in the month of February, leaving his son, Silken Thomas, his vice-deputy, Governor of the realm. Both the John Alens were special enemies of the Kildare Geraldines, having, apparently, been sent to this country by Wolsey and Crumwell, who were inimical to this house. The Desmond referred to was Thomas, twelfth Earl, then an aged man. "Lord O'Bryan" was Prince of Thomond. The young Governor, Lord Fitzgerald, did not break into revolt until the 11th June, so that those letter-writers were premature in styling him "traitor," and desiring that he should be arrested: It was on the 28th July that the Archbishop was murdered. In August, Thomas Alen, of Rayleigh, writes to Secretary Crumwell, on having intelligence of the murder of his brother, the Archbishop, for whom he was surety for many debts to the Crown, imploring assistance to liquidate them. In September and October, whilst the young rebel lord was besieging Dublin, John Alen writes to the Secretary, from Chester, respecting the hastening over of troops. In the next month, a correspondent of Alen of Rayleigh's describes "the pitiful death" of the Archbishop, whose goods, such as had not been plundered by the rebels, the King's Treasurer had seized to pay the prelate's debt to the Crown. Alen, Master of the Rolls, subsequently obtained a grant of part of the Kildare estate.

Silken Thomas had laid siege to the metropolis in the month of September, and, among other modes of offence, endeavoured to stop the springs that supplied the city with water. Whilst assaulting the Castle, he caused the partitions between the houses on both sides of Thomas-street to be broken through, and so formed covered galleries, through which his men advanced, protected from shot,—a novel and excellent mode of town warfare, wherever ordnance was as scarce as it then was in Dublin. In the ensuing letter, the citizens refer to these injuries during the late siege, and entreat for a supply of "falcons," or small cannon.

"THE PETITION of the MAYOR and CITIZENS of the KING's city of DUBLIN, unto our SOVEREIGN Lord the KING's HIGH MAJESTY. 1536, May 22.

"In consideration of the ruin and decay that the said city sustained in breaking their towers, bridges, houses, leads of the 'conducts' of the water, in the late siege thereof, and for their true and effectual service according their bounden duty. That it would please your highness of your most abundant grace to grant unto them the possession of the hospital of St. John's without the wall of the said city in perpetuity, which is by the year a c & x marks and xs., or the priory of Allhallows, which is by the year lxxx & iiij marks for the building, fortifying, and maintaining of your said city and chamber.

"Item, that whereas the said city is holden of our sovereign lord the King's majesty in fee-farm for 200 marks yearly, which is so 'chargious'

that they was not hable to pay the same, whereupon the King's majesty and his noble progenitors, by their several letters patents, did grant unto the said city six and forty pounds, parcel of the said fee-farm, for murage, pavage, and other necessities for certain years, which be well nigh spent, that it would please your highness to amplify the said years in perpetuity.

"Item, that it would please your Majesty for the defence and preservation of your said city to give them six falcons, one for every of the six gates of the said city, with 4 last of gunpowder, there to remain for the fortifying thereof.

Dors",—"The Petition of the citizens of Dublin after the siege of the Geraldyns."

Among the officers commanding the troops sent from England to suppress Silken Thomas' insurrection was Thomas Lord Dacre, head of the celebrated Border family of this name, and who, as "Captain of Northern Spears," and well experienced in irregular warfare, had, doubtless, done good service against the young Geraldine's rude kernes and horsemen; yet, who complains that, on the arrival of Lord Deputy Leonard Gray, he has been arrested. In truth, the Lord Deputy, being uncle to the rebel, showed no favour to the instruments of his nephew's discomfiture.

"THOMAS, LORD DACRE, to CRUMWELL.

"Right honourable my singular and especial good master, my humble duty remembered as apertaineth it may please your good mastership to be advertised; that, at the arrival of the Lord Leonard Gray, the King's high marshal of his Grace's army here, I was attached and committed to ward by the space of 8 days, and in the meantime due inquiry and examinations made and had of my demeanor by the said Lord Leonard and others of the King's highness his council here, which I trust by no mean could not be proved, but that I have done my duety; howbeit, by some sinister mean I have been misreported to my most dread sovereign lord, and to your mastership; I take God to record that I have done, and ever intend to do, as a true and a faithful subject, my diligent service in adventuring my life or otherwise, as I have or shall be commanded, to the uttermost of my little power; and that I doubt not but the King's grace his council here will advertise the King's highness of my demeanor; and so they promised me when they did discharge me out of ward, and in consideration that I was and am at your commandment appointed to this land as a captain of certain of the northern 'sperys' of the King's highness' army here. I humbly beseech your good mastership to be a mediator for me unto the King's grace, to be my good and gracious lord, for, without his most gracious favour and your mastership's, I desire of God no longer to live. Further, I have a poor kinsman, Richard Dakers, which was commanded to ward at the same time by the said Lord Leonard, and he remained there by the space of 7 weeks, and he had irons both on his arms and legs by the space of 14 days, as I trust Mr. Agard, your mastership's servant, will inform you of the same, for he did take the irons from him; and as your mastership shall give me any evidence hereafter, there is no manner of thing

that any of the King's grace's council here can lay to his charge, so far as I know; since his coming to me he hath done the King's grace the best service that lay in him to do; and also, I beseech your good mastership of your goodness to be mean for me that I may for a certain space repair unto your good mastership to 'declare' myself of such misreports as hath been moved against me to the King's most excellent highness; and I shall daily pray to God for your preservation, with long life and increase of honor; at Dublin, the 5th day of January (1536).

"By your humble and obedient servant at commandment during life,

"THOMAS DACRE.

Dorso—"To the Right Hon^{ble} and my singular good master, Mr. Thomas Crumwell, Chief Secretary to the King's Highness."

The extirpation of the O'Mores of Leix, and O'Conors of Offaly, and the colonization of their countries, are fully developed in these papers. By an unedited letter, dated 24th January, 1538, from (Sir) Francis Herbert to the Duke of Norfolk, we learn that "the last hosting made by the Lord Deputy had punished O'Connor sorely," but nevertheless, a truce for a fortnight had been concluded with this formidable chieftain. The writer says that if the Earl of Ormond would join his best endeavours with the Viceroy, the O'Conors might soon be banished out of their country; and, expressing his earnest wish that Englishmen were planted there, he assures the Duke that colonization is the only way to end the Irish wars, which spend so much of the royal revenue. Our space does not admit of more than a few brief notices of this interesting episode in Irish history, the plantation of the King's and Queen's Counties, a theme well worth full research and publication.

The native annalists chronicle that, in the year 1548, "O'Connor and O'More went to England with the Lieutenant (Sir Francis Bryan, afterwards Marshal), at the King's mercy. The King, however, gave their patrimonial inheritances, namely, Leix and Offaly, to the lieutenant and his kinsmen, who built two large courts (mansions), in these territories, namely, the Campa in Leix, and Daingean in Offaly; and they proceeded to let these lands at rents to the English and Irish, as if they were their own lawful patrimonial inheritances, after having expelled the rightful original inheritors, O'Connor and O'More, from thence, with all their adherents and descendants." This "Campa," or camp, was "the Fort of Leix" on the site of Maryborough; and the Daingean was "the Fort of Faly," on the site of Philipstown. The fame of commencing this work of colonization in earnest, and with effect, is due to Lord Deputy Sir Edward Bellingham, a wise and vigorous governor.

In July, 1548, the leading colonists, John Brereton, Richard Aylmer, Francis Cosby, and James M'Gerald, write to Lord Deputy Bellingham, that the gentlemen of Kildare are willing to serve

against their ancient enemies, the natives of the border countries. Ley Castle was given in custody to M'Gerald; he desired to have two gunners with ammunition, at the King's charges. Redmond Oge¹, who kept Ballymore, also demanded powder and shot. The insurgent chiefs, O'Connor, O'More, and Cahir O'Connor, are reported as lying within three miles of Rathangan, with 500 foot and 24 horse, expecting to be joined by O'Molloy, at the head of many Connaught galloglasses. On Wednesday, a report, dated "The Governor," was sent by Cosby, how that O'More, with a large band of men, had taken a prey, and that this chief, being determined to continue his defensive war, had endeavoured to seduce the kerne in the service of the crown, by offering them, "like a jolly fellow" (says the writer), 6s. 8d. a fortnight, and to their gentlemen, other wages, according to their degree. The great wood of Leix was the place of rebel rendezvous, and of such importance did the Lord Deputy deem the measures he proposed for penetrating this vast fastness, that, in August, in upbraiding the Mayor of Dublin for negligence in not furnishing supplies for the King's service, he declares it were better that the bulk of the harvest in the metropolitan county should be lost than the purpose of cutting passes through the woods in Kildare be, as he terms it "for slowed." During the month, Saintloo obtained a victory over Cormac O'Connor, at "Clowneygawno."

In a despatch dated subsequently, Lord Deputy Bellingham gives an interesting recapitulation of services recently performed in the new colony. A hosting for thirty days had been proclaimed, in order to bring the whole armed force of Government to bear upon the native opponents of the colonists, and to aid the preliminary steps towards founding a town in O'More's country. The eminent officer, Saintloo, had been made captain of the new "Fort Protector," or "Governor." The revolt of Cahir O'Connor and his two ill-disposed sons was much feared. Recently, the rebels had entered the Pale upon the border of Carbery, and had burnt and destroyed, and had killed man, woman, and child. By good chance, however, they were met by (Sir) Nicholas Bagenal, Marshal of the army, at the head of thirty horse, on which, ten of their number, who were archers, alighted, and, discharging their arrows, and attacking the enemy, killed a dozen or so, and rescued the prey. Subsequently, Saintloo had met with them, when assembled in their greatest pride, and where they never thought that Englishmen would seek them. Falling upon them, he succeeded in slaying many of their followers and slaves, who bore their victuals, and retaliated upon them the usage some of the hapless colonists had been made to feel at their hands. Mr. John Brereton, Francis Cosby, and Travers, did good

¹ Named Raymond Oge on Blaeu's Map. He was a powerful Geraldine chief.

service, and "more wood kerne were slain that day," boasts Bellingham, "than the oldest man in Ireland ever saw before."

The allusion to slavery is the most curious point in this paragraph. The term "slave" seems to have been literally and practically appropriate to a certain caste among the Irish, even at this period. We shall see "slaves" mentioned again in a succeeding letter. The question as to the lateness of the period in which slavery existed, even in its latest phases, in Ireland, is so novel and curious a one, that we request the attention of our readers to it, and also contributions of information upon it, since we propose to make it the theme of a future paper.

In 1550 the Irish Government beg that O'Connor may be detained in England, considering, say they, how oft he has been an offender, and that no "reconciliation could wynne, neither othe ne promise staye him to absteyne from rebellion." The same letter shows that George Parys had been O'Connor's principal agent, and how he had lately been with the King of France, and was now bound with O'Connor's son, Cormac, to ascertain whether the French and Scots would aid the enterprise of expelling the English from Ireland. In 1552 this "old Irish rebel" was in Scotland, where he was known by the name of "the Ambassador of Ireland;" whence he sent a ring as a token to old O'Connor Faly (Brian), who had recently (effecting his escape, and flying into Ulster) been recaptured, but was afterwards set at liberty by Queen Mary, through the mediation of his daughter. The letters that passed at this time between the Government and the traitor Parys are curious. They sent him his pardon, and promised him either restitution of his lands forfeited in Ireland, or such like as shall serve for a gentleman to live upon. In 1559 a grant passed to George Gerland, gent., of an estate of and in "Parysh of Agher's lands," of the value of 17 marks; but, in 1563, the grantee agreed to surrender his patent of Agher, county of Meath, in favour of George Parysh. Some curiosity attaches to the conduct of this man, if he was son of Christopher Parese, who, at the time of his master, Silken Thomas's revolt, betrayed Maynooth Castle, and who was executed, immediately after the surrender, by the Viceroy, thus receiving as the wages of his treachery what was ironically called "the pardon of Maynooth."

The work of colonization proceeded slowly, and terrible revenges occurred between the settlers and the natives, such as have become traditionally notorious; as, for instance, the "Mullaghmast Massacre." The expatriated and straggling chieftains of these devoted clans suffered severely. In 1557 Connell *Oge* O'More, King of Leix, was actually crucified on Leighlin Bridge.¹ Another great Leinster lord was put to death at the same time, namely, Mac Mur-

¹ Dowling's "Annals."

rough (Murrough), chief of the Kavanaghs. Soon afterwards the Justiciary called a meeting, expressly to banish the O'Conors from Offaly, and left an English constable, "Master Francis" (Cosby), at Meelick.¹ But is impossible for us to attempt to notice a tithe of even the more interesting documents connected with this section of our national history. It must, however, be mentioned that a plan of Maryborough, referred to the year 1560, is to be seen among these papers. This map includes the fort and town, with the names of each inhabitant attached to his house.

Many pictures curious to archæologists are to be found of the state of the Irish and Anglo-Irish people. Of these, the most detailed are now publishing, as regards the inhabitants of the south-east of the kingdom, in our "Annuary." A vivid account of the savage condition and manners of Munster is given by one Thomas Wood, writing from Cork, 24th April, 1551, to the Secretary of State. After mentioning particulars of his journey through the country, he declares :—

"Neither is God's laws nor the King's known or obeyed; the father is at war with the son, and the son with the father, and brother with brother; wedlock is not held in any price, and whoredom is committed as no offence. The upper hand is all regarded. The lords visit their tenants twice and thrice a year, with 20 or 30 followers, and so consume in three days all the poor man hath, and leave nothing at their departure that be not too hot or too heavy."

Our province being strictly confined to editing original documents, it is not our business to offer comments on all the passages they contain; but our pages are always open to any such, especially if in refutation or explanation of reflections on our ancient countrymen. Thus, in 1552, the fifteenth Desmond was declared to be of *no religion*, or, if of any, of the old one. This Earl, *however*, gives testimony of his affection for one of the forms of religion, by a petition to Queen Mary, requesting that certain merchants of Cork, who had recently purchased the Friary outside the walls of this city, "where," observes he, "many gentlemen and lords have had their monuments," should be made to restore this house to the Friars; because, he says, "it would do much good among the poor, savage people in these parts, who know not where to be buried decently."

Our next extract is—

"A NOTE of the EARL of CLANRICARD'S WIVES and CONCUBINES now alive, 1558-9, Feb. 15.

"1. Margaret, daughter to Moronghe, the first Earl of Thomond, and mother to Ullicke Boorke; she is his only lawful wife, and yet liveth.

¹ O'Donovan's "Four Masters."

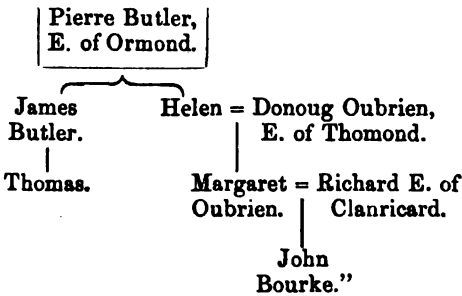
"2. The Lady Gilles, widow to the old Baron of Dunboyne; she was married unto him after the death of John's mother, and within three or four years he put her away.

"3. Onora, daughter to M^cBryen Arra, a concubine; he kept her awhile, and put her away again.

"4. Saunyowg, a gentlewoman of Clanricard, a concubine; he kept her awhile, and again put her away.

"5. Julian Browne, a merchant's wife of Gallaway; he married her, and put her away, and then brought home M^cBryen Arard's daughter aforesaid.

"All these are alive.



According to Archdall's peerage book, the Earl married, first, 24th November, 1563, Margaret, daughter of Murrough O'Brien, first Earl of Thomond, by whom he had Ulick, his successor; and married, secondly, Catherine, daughter of Donough, second Earl of Thomond, by whom he had issue John, created Lord Leitrim, and two daughters. His third wife was Honora, daughter of O'Brien of Duharras. The question as to the legitimacy of Ulick, his successor, created a terrible feud between this Ulick and his brother John. The legal proceedings concerning this question are enrolled, 22 Eliz. Besides these ladies, Sir George Carew (MS. 635) mentions Cicely O'Kelly as another concubine, and adds that she afterwards married Richard Mac Yoris, or Bremyngham, Baron of Athenry. This Earl of Clanricarde was Richard, the second who bore the title. He was styled *Sassenach*, from his adoption of English habits, and is described, in a letter of 1578, as "a very comely and civil gentleman." The conduct of his rebellious sons broke his heart. The ensuing despatch is among the most interesting of his letters:—

"E. of CLANRICARDE to the QUEEN. 1565, Apr. 12, Vol. xiii, No. 11.

"My most humble and bounden duty unto your most excellent Majesty always remembered; please it the same to be advertised that where, according your highness' most honourable letters addressed to us, your Majesty's faithful subjects, the nobility of this your highness' realm of

Ireland, for maintenance and aid of your Grace's subject, the Earl of Thomond, being by virtue thereof required to join with him for repressing the traitors of the Obryens, assembled to invade him and his countrey, contrary to your Majesty's pleasure and commandment. I have first, with my power in company with the Earl of Sussex, repaired to his aid and assistance, so as we had good hope to abate their courage, till Gerode, now Earl of Desmond, contrary to his duty, and in contempt of your Grace's commandment, with a great nombre of people, came to their aid; and finding the said Earl of Thomond and me at advantage, we, mistrusting nothing, came into Thomond to their rescue, and killed out of hand of my Lord's men great numbres, and 30 or 40 of my men; and being not therewith contented after his coming out of England, remembering his private and malicious intent towards your highness' faithful subjects sooner than his duty to your most excellent Majesty and conformation professed, afore your Grace, have sent all his galloglasses in great numbres to help the said traitors, by mean whereof the Earl of Thomond was almost banished from his countrey; and the rebels, strengthened and encouraged so as they have won many of his chief castles by his aid, they came, at their return from Thomond, and took of the goods and 'cataills' of me and my men, by stealth, 800 kine, and therewith paid their wages to the galloglasses which he sent them; which 'matiers' and offences, together with the prosecution and tyranny daily used by him, as well against the right honourable the Earl of Ormond as against us, declareth evidently what grudge and malice he beareth to your highness' faithful subjects, and how he goeth about to disturb them that employ their service to the banishing of those traitors, which would soon take good effect if he were not a let thereto: these his attemptates and deeds I most humbly beseech your most excellent Majesty to consider of and redress, or, at the least, if the same stand with your highness' pleasure, to grant me, and such as shall take my part, your Grace's leave to seek my remedy at his hands, or his brother's, according their own fashion, whereby it shall appear how much I and others have foreborn him for quietness' sake, being thereto willed by the governors here, these his undutiful parts encouraging traitors by his maintenance would (if your highness provide not to withstand them) subvert the whole quiet state of this your realm, to your highness' great charges, and the undoing of all your Majesty's good subjects, which I according my bounden duty have thought meet to advertise, humbly praying God to give your Majesty a prosperous long reign over your subjects, with victory over your enemies. I omit further to write, from Claurnisse this 12 of April, 1565.

"Your Majesty's most humble

"and obedient servant,

"CLANRYCARD."

Addressed,—"To the Queen's most Excellent Majesty."

My next extract is a letter describing the attack on the town of Athlone in the summer of 1572, on which occasion, the Lord President of Connaught, Sir E. Fytton, writes, 16th July, from this town, to the Lord Deputy, stating that the rebels of the province, aided by a Scots force, have burnt the place wholly to the ground,

the chief leader being James Fitzmaurice. The Bishop of Meath and others join in another despatch conveying further intelligence.

The "Annals of the Four Masters" supply information, showing that this attack on Athlone was a step taken by the sons of the Earl of Clanricarde, on breaking into revolt. These *Mac-an-Iarlas*, as they were styled, namely, Ulick, afterwards Earl, and John "of the shamrock," his talented, but turbulent and profligate brother, began by demolishing the castles in their country, to prevent these fortresses from being used as garrisons, and proceeded to destroy the few adjacent towns, lest these places should serve as store-houses of victuals to the soldiery that they knew would be sent against them. The annalists say that the *Mac-an-Iarlas* ravaged and burnt Mullingar, from whence they marched to the gate of Athlone, and burned that part of the town from the bridge outwards. Subsequently they destroyed the town of Athenry, in order that, as they said, "no English churl should inhabit there." The writer of the following letter was an Englishman, and, as Clerk of the Council recently established to govern the Province of Connaught, was, probably, odious to the native rulers.

"JOHN CROFTON to the LORD DEPUTY. 1572, July 16.

"A copy of John Crofton, his letter; he is Clerk of the Council there, and at my request took upon him to bake and brew for the garrison."

Margin—"For the LORD BURGHELY.

"I can not, my good Lord, without great grief of mind, write the lamentable and most miserable estate of this unhappy town. To which this morning, about eight of the clock, approached on the east side allongst the bog through Omelaghens and Obyrnes country, to the number, as I judged them, of 800 Scotts, galloglasses, and kyrces, who very boldly, notwithstanding the shot of the Castle, entered the backside of the town and fired the same, to which the wind so served them (being north-east), as that in a moment the whole town was burnt, so as not any one house is standing. During the time of the fier they slipt allongst behind the town to the Abbey, and on the north side, out of the danger of the Castle or steeple, with masons broke into the cloister, and so fired the loft where my malt lay, which once set on fire kindled the roof of the body of the church where the rest of my malt, biscuit, and beer was, and all my brewing and baking vessels, which all are consumed with fier, saving about a ton and a half of beer, which with much ado is saved; and as God would have it, the most part of the wheat (whereof part was carried yesterday into the Castle), and the rest was laid in a loft which was shingled, and stood on a vault, to which, for fear of the steeple, the enemies durst not approach, is saved so as, God be thanked, I have yet unburnt very near cc. pecks of wheat and meal; as for malt, I have not past 30 pecks of beer malt, and 10 or 12 pecks of oat malt, whereof part was in the loft with the wheat, and part in my own tower where I dwell. The tun, &c., of beer, and xvi^s. of biscuit, which by chance I brought home to my own house

two days past, for want of good stowage. This is the sum of those provisions I have left, both ready and unready, neither know I how to prepare any more, having neither place nor meet vessels to do it, with both the town and all the country abouts being utterly destroyed, whereupon your honour is there to provide for such soldiers as your honour mindeth to send hither which, would God had been here, or a 100 of them, for if they had been here, I am of opinion all this had not happened.

Dorso—"Of part of a letter sent from John Crofron to the Lord Deputy, the 16 of July, 1572."

In the following letter, M^c-I-Brien-Arra, a chief of the O'Briens, inhabiting the country in Tipperary called Arra, complains to the Lords Justices of an attack recently made on his country by Edward Butler, a younger brother of the Earl of Ormonde. The knight of the same house, Sir Edmond Butler, who, the writer considered, ought to prevent his younger brother from entering into such courses of exceeding and cruel ravage, was, at the time, Lieutenant-Governor of the Ormonde Palatinate. The writer is mentioned by the Four Masters under the year 1559, as having been then subjected to a severe incursion by O'Carroll, who, on being inaugurated king of his clan, selected Arra as the district for making his *shuaig-headh ceannais readhna*, i. e., hosting excursion on receiving the headship, which every Gaelic chieftain, Irish or Scottish, was expected to make, as a specimen of his talents, as soon after his inauguration as possible. On this occasion, the writer (who was descended from Murrough of the Fern, celebrated by the poet Spenser) suffered the devastation of much of his country, and was himself, when attempting to avenge his losses, taken prisoner, and held to ransom. This sept of the O'Briens was specially liable to be oppressed by the powerful house of Butler.

"TURLOUGH M^c-I.-BRIEN-ARRA to the LORDS JUSTICES.

"Right honourable and my very good Lords, my bounden duty remembered; advertising the sonne of Sir Edmond Butler, and his brother, Mr. Edwards', evil behaviour and cruel dealing towards me within these xviii. days; first, the said Sr. Edmond's men took from me xxiiii. caples; secondly, the said Mr. Edward came upon me the third and fourth of this present September, with the number of vi. hundred gunners and kerne, one hundred galliglas, lx. and horsemen, & iii. hundred slaves, knaves, & boys,—all which number of notable malefactors and wicked people hath camped in and about two churches of mine two days and two nights, and hath taken away from thence the spoil of iii. hundred chests and coffers that lay within the said ii. churches, to the value and some of five hundred pounds, and there ravished all the poor women, young and old, married and unmarried, that fled for 'condicte' into the said churches, being most vilest and wickedly occupied, misused, forced, and ravished thus by the said wicked people continually, day and night, within and without the said

ii. churches, during ii. days and ii. nights; and further, they have eaten and wasted such 'some' of corne as my poor followers are like to be furnished by the same in time to come; and as for me, I might soon revenge the same on some of their followers, but fearing your displeasure in moving any war, and observing the tennor of your honourable letters, and, without your honors' licence, will do harm to no man. As for me, my good Lords, I do not a little marvel of such deeds and facts, true subjects robbed and spoiled dayly, and poor tenants driven to beg their bread, banished from their dwellings, and notable malefactors succoured and maintained, contrary to the Queen's Majesty's good laws; insuring your honors, since Shane Oneale died, there is not the like maintainer of Rebels as Mr. Edward is; and although Sir Edmond doth say that he can not rule Mr. Edward of his riotous doings, it is but a saying, and not true; and therefore I shall most humbly desire your honors either to find me some speedy redress betime herein, otherwise to licence me to revenge my quarrel, if I can; and thus I humbly take my leave from Arreye, the ix. of September, 1568.

"Your honors' most humbly to command,

"TERRELLAUGHE M^cYBRENE ARREYE.

"For Mr. Secretary."

One of Lord Deputy Sydney's admirable despatches, dated 15th April, 1566, and unpublished, is thus calendared, as respects its interesting account of his recent visitation in East Leinster:—

"Not an O'Toole, O'Byrne, Kavanagh, Kinshellagh, O'Murroughoe [Murphy], or O'Doill refused to repair to him. Has taken their sufficient sureties and pledges; has committed the Walshs', Archebolds', and Harolds' countries to the charge of Thomas Fitzwilliam, of Merriion; and all the coast under the Red Mountain, being the west part of the Tooless' and Byrnes' countries, to Robert Pipho."

Of the somewhat romantic personal history of Sir Barnaby Fitzpatrick, Lord Upper Ossory, which well deserves illustration, there is much material in these papers for elucidation.

An Irishman named Edmund O'Byrne, is honourably recorded in the ensuing letter, from the Lord Deputy, to the Lord High Treasurer of England, recommending the bearer, above named, one of the pensioners lately discharged.

"L. D. FITZWILLIAM to LORD BORGHELEY. 1572, May 21.

"It may please your good Lordship, where this bearer, Edmond Byrne, was entered here a pensioner in the time of the late Government, in this realm, of Sir Henry Sydney, Knight, Lord President of Wales, and by late order to me addressed from the Lords of Her Majesty's Councill there, hath been discharged as of the number of the rest of the pensioners entered upon the breaking up of the 'Dirrye,' and being a serviceable man, which, before he was retained in pension (as I am informed by credi-

¹ Derry Fort, abandoned after the loss of Colonel Randolph.

ble persons), served in Spain under the King's son, the Prince deceased, at which Court, hearing a gentleman of Spain (noted of good credit) to utter evil speeches and opprobrious language against the Queen's most excellent Majesty (the very words whereof I refer to be reported by the said Edmond to your Lordship)—the same Edmond, in the challenge and quarrel of her Majesty, being a stranger in that country, to the adventure of his life attempted the fight, even at the King of Spain's Court gates of Madrid, against the said gentleman, and his two men, and slew the gentleman, and quitted himself also valiantly from his two men; and for the fact being forced for safety of life immediately to take succour of sanctuary, as is usual in those parts in such behalf, found the means after, in respect of the man which he so slew was there greatly frended and allied, that he escaped in safety into the King of Portugal's Court in time, when, as Mr. Doctor Wilson, now one of the Masters of the Requests to her Majesty, was present in some embassy or commission there; and that the said Edmond Byrne, to advance further his fidelity to her Majesty with like exploit, and upon like challenge, upon one there in that Court, a misreporter, a slanderer of her Majesty, fought there with him also, and wounded him; the report of which he referred to Dr. Wilson's relation, which respects of so much valiantness of the man, and his loyal heart, to serve Her Majesty, hath moved me the rather to recommend to your Lordship as it might please you to stand his good Lord, and to be the rather his good means to her Majesty; that it may like her Highness to have consideration of him, either to continue him in meet entertainment to serve, as he is willing, in this his native country, or otherwise to consider of him as may be best liking to her Highness, and so do beseech the Almighty to prosper your good L. with long increase of all godly honour. From St. Pulchres the xxi of May, 1571.

"Your L. most humble at commandment,

"W. FITZWYLLIAM.

"To the Right Honourable the L. Baron of Burghley, Knight of the right noble Order of the Garter, and one of her Highness' most honourable Privy Councillors."

Our extracts from the earliest series of the "Irish State Papers" give but a partial sample of the extent and interest of these documents. The papers specially relating to our district may be summarily mentioned as—numerous letters and records respecting the noble houses of Ormonde and Kildare; the correspondence regarding the war between Sir Peter Carew and Sir Edmond Butler; the colonization of the King's and Queen's Counties; manifold letters and records relating to Kilkenny and Wexford shires; accounts of the estates of dissolved monastic establishments; and letters and document respecting various families of our district, such as the Fitzpatricka, Kavanagh, O'Mores, O'Conors, Wyse, Colcloughs, Herberts, Cowleys, Devereuxs, Cuffes, Peppards, Eustaces, Brownes, Wingfields, Bagenals, &c., &c.

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

GENERAL MEETING, held in the Assembly Rooms, Kilkenny, on
Wednesday, July 6th, 1859,

THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF OSSORY, President of the Society,
in the Chair.

The following new Members were elected :—

Captain Christopher Humfrey, Coal-market, Kilkenny: proposed
by Rev. James Graves.

William Lanigan, Esq., Coal-market, Kilkenny: proposed by
James G. Robertson, Esq.

A petition to Parliament for the repeal of the duty on paper—
an impost which has a very injurious effect in restricting the publi-
cation of this and similar Societies—was adopted by the Meeting,
and signed by the President on behalf of the Society.

The Secretary announced that interchange of publications was
proposed between this Society and the Architectural and Archæo-
logical Society of the County of Bedford, at the request of the latter.

The proposal was unanimously accepted by the Meeting.

The following presentations were received, and thanks voted
to the donors :—

By Robert Mac Adam, Esq.: "The Ulster Journal of Archæo-
logy," No. 26.

By the Ossianic Society: their "Transactions," Vol. IV.

By the Architectural and Archæological Society of the County
of Bedford: "Reports and Papers read at the Meetings of the
Architectural Societies of the Archdeaconry of Northampton, the
Counties of York and Lincoln, and of the Architectural and Archæo-
logical Society of the County of Bedfordshire and St. Albans," for
the years 1850-51; "Reports and Papers read at the Meetings of

the Architectural Societies of the Archdeaconry of Northampton, the County of York, the Dioceses of Lincoln and Worcester, and of the Architectural and Archæological Society of the County of Bedford," for the years 1852-54; "Reports and Papers read at the Meetings of the Architectural Societies of the County of York, Diocese of Lincoln, Archdeaconry of Northampton, County of Bedford, Diocese of Worcester, and County of Leicester," for the years 1855-58.

By the Publisher: "The Builder," Nos. 850-56.

By Mr. S. K. Vickery, of Skibbereen: a silver penny of Edward I., coined in Oxford, being one of sixty similar coins found at a considerable depth in a bog, adjoining the Rath of Ratheravane, near Ballydehob, in the county of Cork.

By Mr. Prim: one of those grotesque metal castings found so frequently in Kilkenny and its vicinity, and of which a previous example was in the Society's Museum. It represented a quarrel between man and wife, and was found in cleaning out a well near Ballyhale.

Mr. Carter, C. E., suggested that these castings, which appeared to be of Dutch origin, were ornaments intended to be attached to fire-dogs.

By Mr. Prim: a leaden seal, which he supposed to have been originally attached to linen. It was found at St. John's-green, in this city, and bore impressed upon it the letters, in relief, "W. & Co.," with, underneath, the letter L.

The Very Rev. President said he had no doubt the L. stood for Lurgan, the first letters representing the initials of the Company who manufactured the linen.

By Mr. J. G. Robertson: a slate of considerable thickness, which had originally formed a portion of the roofing of the ancient parish church situated in the old town of Jerpoint. A friend of his had suggested that it seemed to have been originally brought from Glasslacken slate quarry, county of Waterford.

The Rev. J. Graves said it was more probable that the slate came from the neighbourhood of Inistioge, where there were strata of a similar character to the specimen.

Mr. S. Carter, C. E., agreed in this suggestion.

By the Rev. J. H. Scott, Seirkyran: a portion of bog-butter taken from a mass of the same substance, found in a wooden vessel formed out of the solid, and bearing some carvings of a rude, yet vigorous type. Mr. Scott hoped, if possible, to secure the vessel for the Society's Museum.

By Mr. J. G. Robertson: a sketch, drawn to scale, of the base of an ancient cross remaining in the burial-ground attached to the old church at Jerpoint.

The Very Rev. Dean of Leighlin, in connexion with the monu-

mental crosses of the county of Kilkenny, expressed the gratification which it gave him to observe how admirably the three crosses at Kilkyran, in the parish of Whitechurch, near Castletown, in the barony of Iverk, had been re-erected and repaired by a blind man of the district, named Lawrence, who had lost his sight whilst engaged on the works at the new Palace of Westminster. He considered the work most creditable to the Society.

The Rev. J. Graves said that, although the originating of the work might properly be traced to the influence exercised by the existence of this Society, and the revival of an interest in the preservation of the relics of the past, consequent thereon, yet, as had on a former occasion been reported by the Rev. P. Moore, R.C.C., the immediate credit was alone justly due to Mrs. Walsh, Fanningstown, who had at her own expense employed Lawrence to make the repairs. He (Mr. Graves) had himself (in company with the rector of the parish, the Rev. Charles Harte, who had also helped on the good work) recently inspected what had been done at Kilkyran, and was glad to be able to contribute his testimony, in addition to that of the Dean of Leighlin, to the efficiency and good taste of the repairs—in fact, the work could not have been better done.

Mr. W. Lawless, Rose-inn-street, exhibited, on behalf of Mr. Henry Jones, jeweller, Clonmel, the fragments of a magnificent penannular gold fibula, lately purchased by him, and which had been dug up by a labourer whilst at work in a potato field called Parkanor, at Cloghora, near Ballydavid, Bansha, county of Tipperary. A quantity of coins and antiques had been found at various times in the locality, as Mr. Jones had learned from the Rev. George Cole Baker, rector of the parish.

The Rev. J. Graves stated that on the occasion of a recent visit to Clonmel, he had examined, at Mr. Jones's establishment, the antique before the Meeting. Mr. Jones had informed him that the finder, at first conceiving it to be brass, had broken the penannular ends of the fibula, and formed one of them into a ferule for his walking stick. The portions now before the Meeting were three: first, the centre loop, of very massive proportions, measuring 4 inches from end to end, and three inches in circumference at the centre, decreasing to $2\frac{3}{8}$ ths at the ends beneath the penannular expansions. This fragment was hollow; but weighed 4 oz. 13 dwts. Troy. Secondly, one of the penannular expansions, in two fragments, and beaten flat; the weight of all three pieces being 8 oz. 6 dwts. Troy. The loop was ornamented below each expansion by a band of five punched fillets, at each side of which was a row of chevron ornaments, neatly and sharply incised with a graver. Round the edge of the plate which formed the penannular end was a raised, solid, round rim; next that, a row of punched-up fillets, and within all a circle of chevrons similar to those already described. By those

familiar with similar ornaments, it would be seen that this fibula, although of a larger size than those generally met with, presented the usual type of such antiques, of which there are many fine and perfect examples in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy. It appeared by a letter which he (Mr. Graves) had received from Mr. J. Wallace, jeweller, Clonmel, that the remaining portion of the fibula had come into the possession of Mr. Wallace.

It was a great pity that the unaltered law of treasure-trove, a relic of the feudal ages, and which gives the property of such antiques not to the finder but to the owner of the soil, almost invariably led to the destruction of the remains found, composed of the precious metals. They were generally disposed of secretly, and mostly found their way to the melting-pot. They managed these things better in Denmark, where the antiquities found became the property of the finder, who received from Government, in exchange for them, the full value of the precious metal of which they were composed. Lord Talbot de Malahide had expressed his intention of bringing before the Imperial Parliament a measure having the same object in view. It was to be hoped, for the sake of the preservation of our national antiquities, such a Bill might be favourably entertained, and receive the sanction of the Legislature.

The following communication from Thomas J. Tenison, Esq., J. P., Port-Nelligan, was read:—

"The word *quern* is a Danish term, signifying a *hand-mill*. To the hand-mill the Irish give the name *clogh-i-vrone*, which means the stones for crushing, and is likewise synonymous with stones of sorrow,—no doubt, as it is for this operation that we must till, sow, reap, and suffer under the curse of our first parents, as set forth in the book of Genesis, chap. iii., v. 17—'In sorrow shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life.'

"The quern or *vroe* consists of a runner and lie, the former about twenty inches in diameter. Only a small quantity of meal, called a *mel-dor*, can be made at a grinding. The quern is of the greatest antiquity. We read of it in Scripture, in Homer, in Virgil, and Shakspeare. The learned Dr. Wilson, author of the "Archæology and Pre-historic History of Scotland," believes it to be the portable hand-mill of the Roman soldier—*vide* Plate xiii. in Stuart's 'Caledonia Romana.' Mr. Curry, who contributed several interesting dissertations to the 'Dublin Penny Journal,' and inserted in that meritorious publication an accurate representation of a curious quern found in the vicinage of Armagh, observes, that the hand-mill was in general use over Europe, Asia, and Africa, and that it was likewise common in Lapland, and parts of Palestine. Dr. Clarke, the distinguished traveller, when he visited the isle of Cyprus, noticed one of what he terms 'the primæval mills of the world' in full operation; and near Jerusalem he also saw two women seated on the ground opposite to each other, who held between them two flat stones, such as are called *querns* in Scotland. He adds, that the employment of grinding with those mills is solely confined to females; and the practice illustrates the obser-

vation of our Saviour, alluding to this custom, in His predictions concerning the day of judgment:—‘Two women shall be grinding at the mill; the one shall be taken, and the other left.’—St. Matthew, xxiv. 41.

“In the year of grace 1284, the Scottish Parliament passed a law for the protection of mill-owners, and restricting the use of the quern amongst the peasantry. At the same time was written a stanza, deprecatory of this arbitrary measure, which I have thus rendered into intelligible English:—

‘An act they framed against the poor man’s mill,
The only hopper that the poor can fill.
Of barley, rye, and oats, they did him mulct,
And ground him sore with want and sad insult.’

“Pennant states that the quern was in use till a very recent period in the Hebrides; and even the Rev. Mr. Ledwich, who deliberately denies that St. Patrick ever existed, and whose works are warped by prejudice and anti-national theories, even he acknowledges that querns, or grinding-stones, were generally used in Ireland. We all know that in the southern and western districts this primitive machine for crushing and grinding grain was used till superseded by the construction of water-mills. This is evidenced by the fact that they have been so frequently found in swamps and sequestered situations, where the peasantry had probably concealed them in order to avoid that destruction comprehended in a prohibition disseminated against their employment by the proprietors of the newly-erected water-mills. Water-mills were, however, commonly known in Ireland antecedent to the English invasion under Fitz-Stephen, A.D. 1169; and trustworthy writers refer them to a period much more remote than is generally believed. Giraldus Cambrensis (‘*Topographia Hibern.*’), another prejudiced historiographer, in whom confidence cannot consequently be placed, particularizes the mills of St. Lucherin and St. Fechin, in the county of Meath; and the learned O’Donovan, in support of this statement, has adduced numerous proofs—if proofs were wanting—from ancient MSS. on vellum, preserved in the Libraries of Trinity College, Dublin, and the Royal Irish Academy.

“That Ireland was not always the land of potatoes, but the land of milk and honey, the land of wheat, of oats, of ale, of mills, is abundantly proved by Drs. Petrie and O’Donovan,—two of our most erudite antiquarians and writers on ancient Irish literature. The querns found in Ireland are of three forms, viz., the flat, which is the most common; the convex, which may yet be met with in the fens and rural retreats; and the pot quern. This last is, probably, the most ancient, and is now very difficult to procure, being rarely seen except in the collections of those who are curious in the possession, and laudably tenacious in the preservation of such relics. Those discovered in Ireland are generally composed of grit-stone or granite, and without the presence of one of each variety no Celtic collection of antiquities can be considered complete. In the extensive collection of Irish antiquities exhibited in the Belfast Museum during the meetings of the British Association in that city, in the month of September, 1852, a number of querns belonging to John Bell, Esq., exemplified the various forms of the Irish hand-mill. In this valuable repository was,

also, one rub-quern, which must have been used previously to the invention of the rotatory movement in the hand-mill."

The following papers were then submitted to the Meeting.

THE IRISH CORRESPONDENCE OF JAMES FITZ MAURICE OF DESMOND.

EDITED BY JOHN O'DONOVAN, ESQ., LL. D., M. R. I. A.

THE writer to whom, and by whom, the following letters and proclamations were written and issued was James, son of Maurice Duff, son of John, son of Thomas Fitzgerald, a near relative of the last Earl of Desmond. In the year 1560 he and his brother Thomas made a hostile attack on Mac Carthy Reagh, but he was defeated by Mac Carthy on the margin of the River Bandon, opposite Inishannon, with the loss of three hundred of his family and followers. O'Daly informs us, in his "*History of the Geraldines*" (c. xvii.), that the Earl of Desmond and his brother privately intimated to this James Fitz Maurice their anxious desire that he would take upon himself the leadership of the Geraldines while they should be detained in captivity.

The Four Masters state that this James was chief leader of the Geraldines, instead of the sons of James, son of John, who had been kept in captivity in London, for a year previously to August, 1568, when James made a predatory incursion into Clanmaurice, in Kerry, which he totally ravaged and burned. Fitz Maurice, the Lord of the territory, retired to Lixnaw, where they were besieged by James and his forces. James was, however, defeated with considerable slaughter of his followers.

In the year 1569 James was joined by some of the most powerful men in Munster in opposition to the English Government. The two brothers of the Earl of Ormonde, during the Earl's absence in England, also confederated with him, but on the Earl's return his brothers were pardoned and reconciled to the state.¹

In 1570 the Earl of Ormonde invaded Desmond with a powerful force, and James Fitz Maurice was unable to resist him, because he was himself opposed by the whole country. The sons of the Earl of Desmond were still in prison in London.

In 1571 James Fitz Maurice took and plundered Kilmallock, and carried off its various treasures to the woods of Aherlo. He set fire to the town, and destroyed all its edifices of wood and stone, and Kilmallock became the abode of wolves. In this year he was joined by the soldiers, mercenaries, and insurgents of Desmond, and success-

¹ See Camden's *Annals*, Reg. Elis., A. D. 1569, p. 178.

fully defended Castlemaine against Sir John Perrott, from the 24th of June till the middle of autumn.

In 1572 the President of Munster laid siege to Castlemaine, and continued the siege for three months, and finally took it—James, son of Maurice, being absent in Connaught; the defenders, being in want of food, were obliged to surrender. In the autumn of this year the Earl of Desmond (Garrett, son of James, son of John) was set at liberty, and reconciled to the state. On his return home he induced his sons to dismiss their hired soldiers, and desist from their rebellious practices. In the mean time our hero, James, son of Maurice Duff, was away with the sons of the Earl of Clanrickard, who were then in rebellion. James's object was to hire Scottish soldiers in Connaught, and proceeded with them to the relief of Castlemaine.

In 1573 James, son of Maurice, continued to war with the English, and made peace with the President of Munster in the spring. At the same time Garrett, Earl of Desmond, and his brother John, were released from captivity in London, where they had been detained for six years. On their arrival in the harbour of Dublin the Earl was put under arrest, and John was permitted to return to Desmond. On St. Patrick's day in this year, the Earl of Desmond escaped from Dublin, and arrived in Desmond after a journey of three days. On his arrival in Desmond he took possession of all the castles of that territory, and expelled the English therefrom.

Ware says, in his "Annals of Ireland," that after the escape of the Earl of Desmond from Dublin he was proclaimed a traitor, with a promise of £1000 sterling and £40 pension to any one who should bring him in alive, and £500 sterling and £20 pension to him that should bring in his head. O'Daly asserts, chap xviii., that the Earl of Desmond, on his arrival in Dublin, was informed by a member of the Council that a plot was laid for the ruin of the Geraldines, and that thereupon the Earl sent word to John and James, cautioning them on no terms to leave their territories; and that, having dispatched this message, he himself soon after escaped from Dublin:—

"A. D. 1576. James, son of Maurice, went to France with his wife and children from fear of the English, with whom the Earl of Desmond and his brother John had made peace.

"A. D. 1577. John, son of James of Desmond, was taken prisoner at Cork by the President, William Drury, and sent to Dublin to be imprisoned, where Richard Burke, Earl of Clanrickard, was also imprisoned.

"A. D. 1579. James, son of Maurice, returned from France, and landed at Dun-an-oir in Kerry. After some useless fighting he was at length killed in the same year by the Burkes and O'Briens of Ara, on the borders of the counties of Limerick and Tipperary."

It is curious to observe that neither Camden, the Four Masters, nor Ware, had any knowledge of the agreement between this James Fitz Maurice and the famous Stukely. O'Daly, who was better

acquainted with the ecclesiastical negotiations of this period than any of these writers, says, in his "History of the Geraldines," chap. xx., xxi., that this James, in his last interview with Pope Gregory XIII., besought his Holiness to appoint a certain Englishman, named Stukely, to the command of the vessels destined to convey men and arms to Ireland, but that Stukely shaped his course for Portugal, and sailed into the harbour of Lisbon at the very moment that King Sebastian was preparing an expedition against the Moors in Africa; that Stukely joined this expedition in violation of his promise to the Pope and the oath he had sworn to James Fitz Maurice; and that, shortly after they had landed in Africa, a terrible battle was fought in which three kings, namely, Sebastian, his ally, Mahomet, and Muley Moloc were slain, as was also Stukely.¹

The accompanying genealogical table will exhibit at one view the relationship between the last Earl of Desmond, the *sugane* Earl (James, son of Thomas, son of James), and this James, son of Maurice.² It has been compiled from a Geraldine pedigree inserted in a copy of Keating's "History of Ireland," the genealogical work of Duaid Mac Firbis, p. 787, and of Peregrine O'Clery, p. 261, and the dates have been added from the "Annals of the Four Masters," and Archdall's edition of Lodge's "Peerage."

This genealogy, showing the descent of the Earls of Kildare and Desmond, differs very materially from those in the published Peerages of Lodge, Burke, &c. The Peerages deduce the descent of both families from Thomas na n-appagh (of the Apes), who was nine months old in 1261, when he was the sole survivor of his family, and who died in 1296. Opposite Maurice, son of John, of Callann Mac Firbis, writes:—"Do cum ap cúinead an clann iap na éug."

The late William Lynch, Esq., the son of Mr. Patrick Lynch, author of the "Life of St. Patrick," in his "Feudal Dignities," denies that the Desmond family was at all connected with that of Leinster subsequently to the year 1199, and this ingenious author supports his statement by the clearest documentary evidence.

The Marquis of Kildare, who has given much attention to the genealogy and history of the Geraldines, agrees with Lynch that the families of Kildare and Desmond separated before the year 1216. Describing the Red Book of Kildare, which was compiled in 1503, he writes:—

"The Red Book contains copies of grants and title-deeds, from 1216, of estates belonging to our family, but it does not refer to the Desmond possessions, whence I infer that the two families separated before 1216. The most authentic account that I am aware of, of the early history of the Desmonds, is Lynch's 'Feudal Dignities,' published some years since."

¹ See Sir Richard Cox's "Hibernia Anglicana," vol. i., p. 854; and also Leland's

"History of Ireland," Book iv., ch. ii.

² See "Four Masters," p. 2264.

PEDIGREE OF THE DESMOND GERALDINES.

1. GERALD, progenitor of the Geraldines, fl. 1094.

2. Maurice Fitzgerald, landed in Ireland in 1169, and died in 1177.

William.

David, Bishop of St. David's.

Raymond le Gros, ancestor of the Fitzmaurices of Lixnaw, Graces of Leinster, &c.

3. Gerald, d. 1205.

4. Maurice, first Baron of Offaly, Lord Justice of Ireland in 1229, founder of Sligo, d. 1257, ancestor of the Earls of Kildare.

4. Thomas More, ancestor of the Earls of Desmond, d. 1260, in extreme old age.

5. John of Callan, sl. 1261.

6. Maurice, sl. 1261.

6. Maurice, ancestor of the Kt. of Kerry.

Gibbon, ancestor of the White Knight.

John More, *na Sursainne*, ancestor of the Knights of Glyn.

Thomas, ancestor of the *slíocht* John of Kerry, &c.

7. Thomas *na n-appadh*, d. 1296.

7. Sir Richard, ancestor of the Seneschal of Imokilly.

8. Maurice, first Earl of Desmond, created 1329, d. 1355.

9. Maurice Oge, second E. D., d. 1358.

9. Garrett the Poet, fourth E. D., 1398.

10. John, fifth E. D., sl. 1370.

10. James, seventh E. D., d. 1468.

11. Thomas, sixth E. D., set aside.

11. Thomas of Drogheda, eighth E. D., executed 1468.

Sir Gerald, ancestor of the Fitzgeralds of Decies.

12. Maurice, sl. 1452.

13. John, ancestor of the Adare family, now the senior branch of this family.

12. John, fourth son, fourteenth E. D.

12. James, first son, ninth E. D., sl. 1487.

12. Maurice, second son, tenth E. D., d. 1520.

12. Thomas Moyle, third son, twelfth E. D.

13. James, fifteenth E. D., d. 1558.

13. James, eleventh E. D., d. 1549, a. p.

13. James, thirteenth E. D., sl. 1535.

14. Thomas, eldest son, set aside, d. 1595.

14. Garrett, sixteenth E. D., sl. 1582.

14. Sir John of Desmond, sl. 1581.

13. Maurice Duff, of Kerrycurrihy, Co. Cork, sl. 1565.

15. James, died in England, 1601.

14. James, the writer of these letters, sl. 1579.

14. Thomas.

15. James, the *sugane* Earl, d. 1608.

15. John, went to Spain in 1603.

15. Maurice, in Spain, vivens 1599.

16. Gerald, died in Germany in 1632, last heir of Thomas, eighth E. D.

The Marquis of Kildare has kindly furnished the following Genealogical Table (showing where he thinks the Kildare and Desmond Geraldines meet) in a letter to the editor, dated June 2, 1858, in which he writes :—

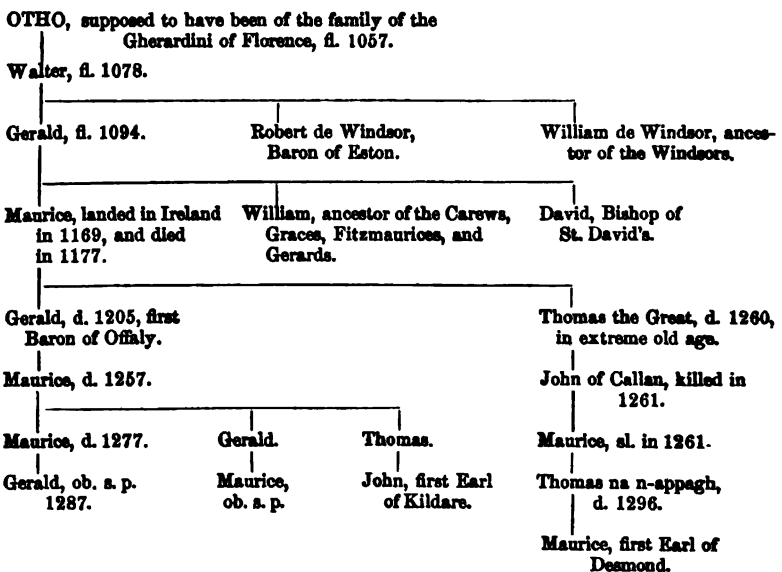
"From documents in the last [part] of Kildare's Red Book I have traced, I believe accurately, the descent of my own branch of the Geraldines, and I am of opinion that the Desmond branch is derived from Maurice Fitz Gerald, who died in 1177, as in the accompanying Pedigree.

"I cannot find any representation of the ape supporters earlier than 1528.

"The Manor of Croom was granted by King John to Maurice, second Baron of Offaly, in 1216, and was sold under a private Act of Parliament, about 1711, to the ancestor of Mr. Croker of Ballynagarde.

"I do not know where the Irish genealogists got the early generations in the Pedigree which you enclosed, but they seem to have mingled strangely the second sons with the eldest line."

The following is the Genealogical Table enclosed in his Lordship's letter :—



The following list of the chiefs and Earls of Desmond of this family is from the genealogical work of Duaid Mac Firbis. The dates are given in brackets from the Irish Annals. The succession was nearly as irregular as that of the Irish chieftains, and was carried by the force of faction and the strong hand :—

"The genealogy of the Geraldines [of Desmond] here, as many of them as obtained territory and lordship since they came to Ireland first, to the year of our Lord 1611:—

"1. Gerald, son of Maurice, who was Lord Justice of Ireland [d. 1205].

"2. Maurice, son of that Gerald, succeeded his father [d. 1267].

"3. Thomas, son of Maurice his son, son of Gerald [d. 1260, in extreme old age].

"4. John, son of Thomas his son, who built Tralee [sl. 1261].

"5. Maurice, son of John, son of Thomas, [would have] succeeded John, son of Thomas [but was sl. 1261].

"6. Thomas was son of that Maurice, i. e. Thomas *nanapa*, who succeeded his father in the Lordship [and d. 1296]. These were the six of them who were powerful lords, but no more, until the time of Maurice, son of Thomas, who was called the first Earl.

"1. This Maurice, son of Thomas, was the first who was called Earl of Desmond [created 1329, d. 1355].

"2. Maurice, son of Maurice his son, called second Earl [d. 1358].

"3. John, son of Maurice his brother, third Earl [d. 1369].

"4. Garrett, son of Maurice, i. e. *Gearoid Iarla*, [half] brother of John, fourth Earl [d. 1398].

"5. John, son of Garrett, fifth Earl of Desmond [drowned 1399].

"6. Thomas, son of John, son of *Gearoid Iarla* (Garrett Earl), who died without issue [1420].

"7. James, son of *Gearoid Iarla* (Garrett Earl), succeeded Thomas, and died [1463] leaving—

"8. Thomas, son of James, son of *Gearoid Iarla* (Garrett Earl), the eighth Earl [executed at Drogheda, 1468].

"9. James, son of Thomas, son of James, son of *Gearoid Iarla*, who died [was murdered in 1487] without issue.

"10. Maurice, son of Thomas, son of James, his other brother, i. e. Maurice *an charbaid* (of the chariot), tenth Earl [d. 1520].

"11. James, son of Maurice *an charbaid*, who died [1529] without issue, but one daughter, Joan, who was married to James Butler, i. e. Earl of Ormond.

"12. Thomas Maol, son of Thomas, who died without issue, except bastard children, twelfth Earl.

"13. John, son of Thomas, was the thirteenth Earl.

"14. James, son of Maurice, son of Thomas, who fell at *Leac an Sgail* [in the county of Kilkenny] was the fourteenth Earl.

"15. James, son of John, son of Thomas, who then came into the Earldom, was fifteenth Earl [d. 1558].

"16. Garrett, son of James his son, who then took the Earldom, was sixteenth Earl [sl. 1582].

"17. James, son of Garrett his son, who died in England, was seventeenth Earl [1601].

"18. James, son of Thomas Roe, son of James, son of Thomas, was Earl after the death of James, son of Garrett, was the eighteenth Earl of Desmond.

"This is the quantity of land which the Earl of Desmond had, i. e.

¹ Lodge has no account of this in his list of the Earls of Desmond.

Garrett, the last Earl, before he opposed the sovereign, i. e. 3555³ *seisreachs* [plough lands]. According to the English measure, what he had was 106606 *seisrechs*. This was his royal rent, at half a rialo per acre, six thousand pounds a year. And this was the Earl's rent at 30 pound per *seisrech*, i. e. 106470. There were 343 castles on the lands of the Earl of Desmond."

(*Irish Correspondence, State Paper Office.*)

beata 7 pláinici ó Uiléam of Danubi gu Sémur mac Muirir, 7 bit a pír ag Semur gur cuir mo maighitir beannaíte eúige, 7 muna póirpe Semur gu luat d'ímghimair, oir a cá Seoan a bprirun a fuirpeac rem maistrir do éur fairpeir 7 barbtígh do éur gan ceáite cairpír gu bndé arís. Agus ar an abar rin gúigim éu a n-ainm Dia, 7 a n-ainm mo máircepeac fá fórtáite do éigí gu luat, no ní bpuil bpeit agab air a póiricín; 7 ppeagair na cabaréta maite, map ataid Claid iarla Connaíte 7 moran eile d'peapuid Éirinn, 7 pór bit a pír agab gibe ní a buhairt Émonb bprín naé ceapdo aoin ní be, gibe ní beap leir; 7 bit a deibín agub naé éidpí línb a méib acamuid ab c'uip-arbuid d'innuipín; 7 ge mu maite línb fuirpínb baoinne do éaíte leat, gu maí po maite línb cú péin ac aoinpeap do éaíte dár gcahair; 7 na bit guair a bpacaid tu do cruatan ort, oir raolimsb-ne gu bpuil purmáir bpeap n-Éirinn ag eirge línb péin, 7 do buó perrpí rínn do morán eura; 7 na fan pé pozhmar, oir ar baoghál an reb do búl d'aon caoib paoripín; 7 ar mo na rin do denamaoir do bporcuagh ba plamaoir gupub luatibe do ppeigeortá rinne.

Agus bit a deibín agab naé uaim péin rghribaim péo, áite maille pé puráilím mu maighitceac, 7 gupub ppericléé rghribad ó Éirinn éugub, oir an leirir do rghrib an rínarghal a mbairle an rgeilígh ba cup éugab leir an g-ceannaighe ó San Málor, d'peall an ceannaigí rin, 7 Macarphchaigh do ba cairpír Cipíb don ceandagí rin, ar an rínar-gal, 7 pug Mag Carphchaigh an leirir rin gu pórt lairge, map a raibe an Guirbír, 7 an pperibínt, 7 a pé poirp do bí innce .i. beata 7 pláinici ó Seoan Mac Uilliam gu Semur, 7 bit a pír ag Semur gur ub maite caoinígh cruíteacé na m-bndéar, 7 gur méat cruíteacé an típe, 7 do fáor Dia an Sinarghal an uair rin.

Ní d'puil do nuairgeacé rghél agam áite ceirpáir Mag Carphchaigh ríabac, 7 nír pág Rápaighe óg O'morpa cleat ná rgholb a Náir Lairgean, 7 a bpeibís míle gaáa caoba be, 7 ní hé abáin áite do fáir conpáó co' gairb a morán d'peapuid Éirinn a n-aghairb Sagranad bá bpeagabaoir cabair. Ní beag rin, áite cabair beannaíte a n-ainm mo maighitceac do pí Fpangc.

WILLIAM OF DANUBI, *servant of the Earl of Desmond, to JAMES FITZ MAURICE.*
July 18, 1579.

"Life and health from William of Danubi¹ to James, son of Maurice, and be it known to James that my master sent him his blessing, and that unless James relieves us soon we are undone; for John is in prison² awaiting

¹ *William of Danubi.*—He was evidently servant to the Earl of Desmond, but we know nothing more about him.

² *John is in prison.*—This was John, the brother of Garret, the sixteenth Earl of Des-

mond. John was taken at Cork in 1577 by Sir William Drury, President of Munster, who sent him to Dublin to be kept there as a state prisoner. See "Four Masters," under this year.

my master, and so watched and warded that he may never get away again. And therefore, I beseech you, in the name of God, and in the name of my master, to bring relief soon, or you will not be able to overtake the relief of him, and to co-operate with the good helps [which now offer], such as the sons of the Earl of Connaught¹, and many others of the men of Erin. And, moreover, be it known to you, that whatever Edmond Brown² has said, nothing shall be wanting of it, whatever may be added to it; and be assured of it that we cannot tell how much we are in want of you; and though we would like that a host of men should come along with you, that we would be exceedingly glad that yourself [alone] should come to our aid; and be not dismayed by what hardship you have seen, for we think that the greater part of the men of Erin are ready to rise with ourselves, and we would be much the better of you. And do not wait for the harvest, for there is danger that the whole affair may be set aside by that time. And we would incite you more than this, if we thought that you would respond to us the sooner.

"And be assured that I do not write this of my own accord,³ but at the request of my master, and that it is dangerous to write from Erin to you; for the letter which the Seneschal wrote at Ballynaskellig⁴ to be sent to you by the merchant of San Malves [miscarried]; that merchant, and Mac Carthy, who was that merchant's gossip, betrayed the Seneschal,⁵ and Mac Carthy brought the letter to Portlairge,⁶ where the Justice and the President were. And the form that was in it was:—'Life and health from John, son of William, to James; and be it known to James that the wheat of the friars' has grown well, and that the wheat of the country has failed.' And God saved the Seneschal on that occasion.

"I have no news except concerning the death of Mac Carthy Reagh; and that Rory Oge O'More⁷ has not left a stake or a scollop in Naas-of-Leinster, or in twenty miles on every side of it; and not only this, but that the flame of war has grown up in many of the men of Erin against the Saxons, if they could [but] get help.

"That is enough; but give a blessing in the name of my master⁸ to the King of France."

¹ *The Earl of Connaught*, i. e. of Clanrickard, Richard Burke, or De Burgo.—For some account of the rebellion of this Earl's sons, see Cox, *ad ann.* 1576, vol. i. p. 348; and "*Annals of the Four Masters*," 1576, &c.

² *Edmond Brown*.—Who was this rebel Brown? Was he the father of Sir Valentine?

³ *Of my own accord*.—The Earl of Desmond was wavering in his loyalty at this time, and it is quite clear that he was afraid to write to James Fitz Maurice himself, lest his letter might be intercepted.

⁴ *Ballynaskellig*, a place near Caherciveen, in the county of Kerry, opposite the great Skellig Rock.

⁵ *The Seneschal*, i. e. the Seneschal of Imokilly, John, son of William, son of Richard, son of Maurice, son of Richard, son of Sir Richard, son of Maurice, son of John of Callan, the head of a respectable branch of the Fitzgeralds of Desmond. For his rebellious

acts see Cox, p. 344.

⁶ *Portlairge*, i. e. Waterford.—The Mac Carthy Reagh here referred to was Donogh son of Donnell, who died in the year 1567, and who was faithful to the English Government.

⁷ *The wheat of the friars*.—This language was clearly enigmatical, but Donogh Mac Carthy was well able to expound it to her Majesty's servants in Ireland.

⁸ *Rory Oge O'More*.—He was killed in the year 1578. Thady Dowling states in his *Annals*, A. D. 1577, that this Rory Oge burned Naas, Athy, Carlow, Leighlin Bridge, Rathcool, Tassaggart, Kilbride, Ballymore, Kill, and Rathmore in Leinster. He adds, in English, "whom the Irish rimers extol like him that burnt Diana her temple."

⁹ *From my master*.—From this it is quite clear that his master was the Earl of Desmond.

beata 7 pláine leat a rígníonn ip cum Arbuinn Cioctairg meic,
 Domnuill ó n-a éapuid 7 ó n-a compánad sein .i. ó t-Semur mac
 Muirip mic an Iapla, 7 bíod a fíor agas mír do ceacht plan gu
 h Eirinn maille cumáde, b'éir a b'fuar mé d'airíor, 7 do éiríobal coig-
 eiríod; 7 ap an ádbap rin, iarruim airíean ceacht éugam 7 an méib
 buanaba ip m'ó péoar pé do éabairt leir; 7 maille ríur rin, bíod a
 beapb aige naó c'áiníg íe ríam cum aon doíuib agann cora do me-
 annma maíe do beir aige ag ceacht dúige na an cogad ío, ap morán
 d'ádbapuib: ap búr do péir gu d'fuiríom ag cachugad ap íon ap
 g-cpeiríom 7 Eoguirí Dó; 7 ina díatg rin ag copnam ár n-búchaitg, 7 ag
 rígníor eiríeíuibe 7 Oanar, 7 luóe egcora 7 ainbígíe, 7 maille ríur rin
 íor naó ríuibe íe ríam ag aon eígearna ip péir bíolpar a éuarparbal
 7 a éannad ríur péin 7 íe na fuinníor na bíolpar mír, do péir naó
 raóba ríam aon uair ip péir mo éomar ap a bíol ná anoir, buíbeadap
 do Dia íor na eíocapíe dá éionn, 7 maille ríur rin do'n fuinníor do
 beir an commur rin dam ía dia 7 naó leíge uíreapbuid orum ó ío
 íuar; agur ní beag íin aóe naó b'éníad íé íaill ían ceacht, a ndoíg
 íu b-fuigead íe leapughad eígin in a b-fuar íe do buad 7 do eíao-
 éar ap mo eílige íí íoíme íeo, íurpílead íé ap a b'raíeíu 7 ap
 uairíe ná eíre an aímíur do íreíra 7 eíreí b'en-lam ap íon íreí-
 uíom íríor, 7 do éoríur a ndúchaitg 7 maille ríur gu b'fuígíe a
 mbuanaba uile a ndíol gu hullam, 7 gu b'fuígem uile ínad, hí b'íai
 éamíur nímíe aóe gu g-cachuígeam ap a t-íon.

JAMES FITZ MAURICE to AUSTIN KITTAGH MAC DONNELL. July 18,
 1579.

"Life and health with thee, O writing, to Austin Kittagh Mac
 Donnell' from his own friend and companion, i. e. from James, son of Mau-
 rice, son of the Earl. And be it known to him that I have come safe to
 Erin with power, after all I have travelled and traversed of foreign coun-
 tries; and for this reason I implore of him to come to me with as many
 bonaghtmen as he can bring with him; and moreover, be it certain unto
 him that he never came to any war coming into which he should have
 greater courage than this war, for many reasons: first, inasmuch as we are
 fighting for our faith¹ and for the Church of God; and next, that we are
 defending our country, and extirpating heretics, and barbarians, and unjust
 and lawless men; and besides [let him understand] that he was never em-
 ployed by any Lord who will pay himself and his people their wages and
 their bounty better than I shall, inasmuch as I never was at any time more

¹ *Austin Kittagh Mac Donnell*.—He was one of the chief leaders of galloglasses in Munster at this period.

² *For our faith*.—Cox ("Hibernia Angli-
 cana," vol. i. p. 861) gives a letter of the Earl
 of Desmond to Pheagh Mac Hugh [O'Byrne],
 dated November 29, 1579, in which he writes
 in the same style as follows: "It is so that
 I and my brother are entred into the defence
 of the Catholick faith [and have taken up
 arms to prevent] the overthrow of our coun-
 try by English Men, which had overthrowen

the Holy Church, and go about to overrun
 our country, and make it their own, and to
 make us their Bond men; wherein we are to
 desire you to take part with us, according as
 you are bound by conscience and by nature,
 to defend your country. And you be afraid
 we should shrink from you. After you should
 enter this cause you shall understand that
 we took this matter in hand with great au-
 thority, both from the Pope's Holiness and
 from King Phillip, who do undertake to fur-
 ther us in our affairs as we shall need."

competent to pay it than now, thanks be to the great God of mercy for it, and to the people who have given me that power under God, and who will not suffer me to want from henceforth. And this is enough, but let him not neglect coming, that he may get some compensation for all the toil and labour that he suffered in my cause before now; let him request his brethren and the gentry of his territory to respond to the time, and to rise with one accord for the sake of the faith of Christ, and to defend their country, and, moreover, that all their bonaghtmen will get their pay readily; and that we shall all get a place in the kingdom of heaven, if we fight for His sake."

Ḑnár na lipe leat, a rḡnḡbenn ó é Semur mac Muirir mhic an Iarla, cum Airbunnn Iḡeicc Óomnuill, ḡ innor, a bille, d'Airbunnn, mór do éac̃t plán d'éir ar imḡ ornn, ear air ḡu h'-Eirinn, maille re cumhac̃tar ḡ ne commar, buideac̃ar do Dia ar a éron. Ar an dóbbar rín, iarruim oruib̃r ríḡ réin ḡ an mhéid do buanabuib̃ ir mó réub-faib̃ do éabairt lib̃, do éac̃t óugam, ḡ ḡu ḡruḡe ríḡ ḡur d-tuar-arbul ḡ bur ḡ-ceannac̃. ḡ ḡac̃ ní bur orḡear d'ib̃ d'p̃dḡuil ḡu cuill-mheac̃, ḡ do réir bur d'óile réin.

Ḑḡur ir coruibe do éac̃t, ir maib̃ an ríor ḡ cata ac̃d aguiñn hī n-aghaib̃ ár námh̃, .i. rinne ag cornam̃ ár ḡ-creib̃ir ḡ ár nob̃chais̃e, ḡ iad rān ag cup an éreib̃ir ar ḡ cúl, ḡ ar cī ár nob̃chuib̃ réin do buam d'inne; rinne ar an ḡrḡinne ḡ iad-rān ar an mbreḡ; rinne inár ḡ-cḡorbuib̃ Catolic̃eā, ḡ iad-rān ina n-Eir̃eib̃; an cōir aguiñne ḡ an eagcōir ac̃arān. Ar an dóbbar rín eḡeac̃ ré réin, ḡ rḡr̃ileac̃ ré ar a br̃aib̃ir, ḡ ar uairlib̃ a dōmarrān a n-arm do éḡb̃ail, ar d'ár ar rōn Dia, ḡ ina diaḡ rín do éor̃nā a nob̃chais̃e; ḡ maille rōr rín a mbia do buanabuib̃ acca ḡo ḡruḡib̃ ríad anḡol ḡu hullān, ḡ cair̃r rín rōr ḡo ḡruḡeam uile Tuarḡbal ríorruib̃ ó n-ár d-eḡearna .i. ó iora Ḑr̃dāc̃, ar rōn eac̃hais̃e ar a rōn.

JAMES FITZ MAURICE to AUSTIN MAC DONNELL, *July 18, 1579.*

"The custom of the letter [i. e. salutation or greeting] with thee, O writing, from James, son of Maurice, son of the Earl, to Austin Mac Donnell;¹ and tell, O billet, to Austin, that I have come safe, after all I have gone through, back to Erin, with great power and influence, thanks be to God for it. Therefore, I ask of you to come to me yourself, and as many bonaghtmen as you can bring with you, and that ye will get your wages and your bounty, and everything that is meet for you to get by way of hire, and according to your own wish.

"And it is the moreright for you to come, because we have a just cause of war against our enemies, viz., we are defending our religion and our country, and they are abolishing the religion, and about to take our own country from us; we are on the side of truth, and they on the side of falsehood; we are Catholic Christians, and they are heretics; justice is with us, and injustice with them.

¹ *Austin Mac Donnell.* — This was evidently a second letter despatched to the same Alexander by James Fitz Maurice, by a dif-

ferent messenger. Both letters were probably intercepted by the English authorities, and are therefore preserved.

"Therefore, let himself come, and let him request his brethren and the gentlemen of his neighbourhood to take arms, first for the sake of God, and next to defend their country. Besides, all the bonaghtmen that they shall have shall get their pay readily, and moreover we shall all obtain eternal wages [reward] from our Lord, i. e. from the loving Jesus, on account of fighting for His sake."

Ḑnár na licpe, a bille, ó c-Sémuir mac Muirir mic an iapla, cum a caparib ḡ cum a compánuib féin .i. cum Raghuill mhic Colla maolbuid, ḡ innuir bó go noubart-ra rir an méib do buanabuib ir mó réubpar ré do éruinniuḡad, ḡ ceact cuḡam, ḡ go bpuuḡib ré a bfoi do réir a toile féin, óir ní raḃura riará buidec do dia cionn aon uair ir mó mo cúmhacta ḡ ir fearr mo commar ná anoir. Comairliḡ ḡac aon bod éairuib lenab reirib cachuḡad ar ion a ḡ-creibuir ḡ a nouchaḡe ná óir no airḡeab no iab lé éóile bpdḡuil ar ion a b'cuapurubuil, ceact dom inruide-rí, ḡ go bpuḡe ré ḡac ní bfoib rín.

"JAMES FITZ MAURICE to RANDAL MAC DONNELL. July 31, 1579.

"The custom of the letter [i. e. salutation], O billet, from James, son of Maurice, son of the Earl, to his friend and companion, Randal, son of Colla Maeldubh;¹ and tell him that I told him to collect as many bonaghtmen as he can, and to come to me, and that he will get his pay according to his own will, for I was never more thankful to God for having great power and influence than now. Advise every one of your friends (who likes fighting for his religion and his country, better than for gold and silver, or who wishes to obtain them all [i. e. to fight for his religion and country, and also for gold and silver] as their wages) to come to me, and that he will find each of these things."

(*A printed Paper, Lambeth, Carew Collection, 607, folio 35, A. D. 1569.*)

"RIGHT HONORABLE PRAELATES, PRINCES, LORDES, ESTATES, CITIZENS, AND PEOPLE OF IRELANDE,—Oure holly father pope Gregory the thirteenth, Christes Vicare in earthe, perseaving what dishonor to God and his saintes, what destruction to Christian soules in Ireland and England, what sediton, tumult, spoile, & murder hath fallen to Scotland, France, & Flanders by the procurement of Elizabeth, the praetended Queene of England: pceaving also that neither the warning of other Catholick princes and good Christians, nor the sentence of pope Pius the fifth, his praedecessor, nor the long sufferance of God, could cause her to forsake her schisme heresie and wicked attemptes: as he now purposeth, not without the consent of other Catholick potestates, to deprive her actually of the uniust possession of these kingdoms, wch shee useth for her cheefe instruments of her impietie: so he first of all attempteth her said actuall deprivation by the means of oʳ deere contrye, wherein he dothe us more honoʳ and favoʳ than can easily be expressed in wordes. For wheras he understandeth that other greates princes waite for a due teyme & good occason to revenge the manny fold iniuries wch they have receaved by the said Elizabeth, he like a good father, knowinge that comonly the comons doe beare the payne wch is due for

¹ *Randal, son of Colla.*—He was evidently another of the same sept of Mac Donnells, and a galloglass leader in Mun-

ster. This little epistle is obscurely written, but what I have added in brackets will render it intelligible.

the princes' faulte, hath taken the correcōn of these disorders into his owne hands, thereby desiring to save and excuse us from all foreyne invasions, wth otherwise ought and shortly would have bene made into o^r lands, possessions, and houses, to o^r great damadge and perhappes utter destructōn.

"Seing then it is most hono^rable for his hollynes to remedye so great disorders as by the said Elizabeth have bene these many yeares cōmitted: is it not also most honno^rable for us to be made the first and cheefe instrumentes of soe honno^rable a reforma^{cō}n, for in manner all Christendom shall see and will, that as Elizabeth hath bene the firebrand of seditōn amongst them: even soe her dispossessioning shalbe the quenching of the fire wherewth they have been soe dangerously combered these manny yeeres. Yf we then dispossess her first, shall not the contrie of Ireland obtayne the greatest glory that ev^r it had since it was an Ireland? shall not also this o^r glorie be accompanyd with Godes honno^r, wth libertie of consciens, wth doing good to o^r neighbors, and wth enioying of o^r owne goodes, wth hetherto have bene at the uniu^st comaundement of heretickes.

"Nowe in that his hollynes sendeth no greater foreyne power wth us to doe this acte, it declareth, first, that he would not have the contry oppressed with strangers.

"It declareth, secondly, that he hath great trust and confidence in o^r faithe towards God, & in o^r obedyence towarde him selfe.

"It declareth also that he himselfe the proper power of o^r contrie sufficient for this exploite. And noe wonder, for if wee o^rselves list not to hinder one another, but doe agree and ioyne together (as he trusteth we will, and indeede we ought to doe), it is certayne that there is noe power in this realme able to withstande o^r forces.

"And whereas som men may fear least greater power then o^r is might be sent against us out of England, first they ought to cōsider that we fight not against the crown of England, but onely against the usurper thereof; and in this behalfe wee doubt not but a greate, and that the better pte of England will rather help forward oure good intent, then by any means hinder the same: for what wise and worthy Englishman will gladly spend his blood, & hazard his house & posteritie for her sake, whome he knowth to love all Englishmen evill, that her being sett in that high throne cheefely for their weale and pserva^{cō}n, yett had rather see them all dead, yea, rather one of them in Cyvill warres mured of the other, and consequently her whole contrye destroyed, whiles the princes and comons thereof fight for the crown after her death, then [than] once to see her owne securitie never so litle touched by publishing the heire apparent to the royall crowne.

"Agayne, is not the most pte of England desirous to enioye the Catholicke faithe? Dothe not the martiredom of manny, the prisonment of others, the voluntary exile of more, & the dire cōmotions of whole states and shires, declare and witnes the same? Howe then can they, being Catholics, fight hartely against us, whoe seeke nothing so principally as the restitu^{cō}n of the Catholicke faithe.

"If others were not Catholics in England (as they are), yett all the cheefe and strongest of the northern partes as well of Wales as of Chester shire, Lancastershire, and Cumberland, wth are nexte to us, are so Catholick that they long for nothing more then to see the sacraments of

Christ restored agayne in theire contry. If then o' neighbors be Catholik, and therefore o' friendes, surely they that are farther of can neither easilye nor shortly passe on unto us.

"But whensoever and whencesoever they shall passe, assure yo'selves that the praetended Queene can make no greate armye out of any pte of England, but the greatest number of them must be husbandmen, w^{ch} comonly are all Catholickes, and they will not fight against the Crosse of Christ, arected and sett up by his Vicare, under whose banner wee fighte. Yea, Elizabeth her selfe, knowing howe evill she is beloved in England of them that love Christes faithe or the peace of theire contrye, knowing also howe evill shee hath deserved of her neighbors o' deere bretherin the nobilitie of Scotland, whose Castles, Palaces, mano's, and townes shee hath so cruilly, without any faulte of theires towards her, bournth and ou'thrown, dareth not send out of England manny of her deereest frendes (if at the leaste shee hath many suche), least shee fortune to stand in neede of them at home. If none of all w^{ch} thinges doe com to passe, yett I doubte not but we shall shortly see the saide praetended Queene soe fully sett occupied by foreyne powers, that then had shee at home nev' soe manny frendes, shee should have small leisure to send them further against us, for as shee hath offended all Catholicke princes, so must shee look to be requited according to the measure w^{ch} shee hath dealt to them.

"Therefore, seinge the powers of France, Italye, & Spayne are much greater then those of England, reason would be rather for the stronger powers w^{ch} are against Elizabeth, then [for] the weaker w^{ch} may seem to stand for her, if there be any suche at all.

"But if we will needes fear the English powers, and none els, lett us yett feare them that are to doe us and oure posteritie most hurte.

"For seinge whosoever be the heire apparentt to the crowne of England, he can not but think him selfe iniuri'd by Elizabeth for stopping, and under great penalties forbidding, the due publishing of his tittle & right, & the said heire & his whole powers (w^{ch} nev' can be small), will rather love them that endeavo' to dispossess Elizabeth, & hate them that fight for her then otherwise. For naturallie all men are inclyned to love and rewarde them by whose industrie they come the sowner to theire preferment, and contrariwise to hate them who, when the occasõ of theire preferm' seemed to be at hand, were the causers of prolonging & delaying the same.

"And what wise man had not rather gratife a yonger Prince that is towards the crowne, & like to leave behind him a lawfull heire of his owne boddy, of whom he may iustly expect rewarde, then suche a one as is spent in yeares, and worne w^{ch} diseases, wthall leaveth no lawfull heire behind her, either to rewarde her frendes, or to reveng her enemies.

"Last of all, what an extream folly it is to feare the power of man more than the power of God? If any man die for the defence of Elizabeth, can shee save him before the throne of God? Shall not he rather be contempned there for mayntayning a heretick against the comaundement of Christis Vicare? For if Christ left St. Peeter as the cheefe pasto' & gov'nor of his flock, seinge the Pope of Rome is St. Peeter's lawfull successor, are not we bound, that are the flock of Christe, to assist o' cheefe pasto', when he comaundeth one that by baptism is a member of the same flocke, to cease from the evill gou'nem' w^{ch} shee hath soe long usurped, to

the utter undoing of a great pte of Christendom: if then o' warre be of God, and therefore God be with us, whoe is able to stand against us?

"This being soe, I, although unworthy of that preferment, yett being putt in trust by his hollynes, doe expect all my noble and valyant contry-men to arme them selves wth a strong faythe, & not to fear any power that is against God, but rather to wyne wth Christe his banner, under wth bothe I and they may warfare together.

"And that this o' desire may be the better brought to passe, may it please my good lordes, the princes, leaders, and rulers of this o' deere contry to meete together wth me in som convenient place, where order may be taken in comon for the comon good and wealth of this noble Ireland; for although because I alone was present with his hollynes (and y' hono^r not onlly absent, but also, wth in the dangers of the said Elizabeth's power), I was onely named gen^lall captain in his hollynes warre, yett it bothe was and is in my meaning to be advertysed and consayled of y' hono^r and lordshipes, whome I take in great pte for my betters, but evry one of you for my wellwillers & frendes:

"And herof I assure yo' lordshipes, as all other my deare contrymen, that as I hartely ask forgiveness of them whom I have at any tyme iniured or offended: even soe whosoev' hath don me in teyme past the greatest iniurie in the worlde, if nowe he ioyne wth me in this holly quarrell, and continue faythfull to the same, I will forgive and forgett all that is past so hartely that it shall nev' passe in my harte to doe or offer any maner of reveng to be don against the same pson.

"I wishe, moreov^r, the case stood so that yo' lordshipes might name the place of o' assemblye, wherunto my selfe would gladly resorte; but for soe much as that can not be don by y' comon consentes, but after long conference, and much sending to and froe, and the matter we take in hande requireth no long delay, but speedy executōn, therfor I crave pdon if I be soe bold as to request yo' hono^r to come wth all speed possible, or to send y' lawefull attornys to the place where I am, to th'end we may there make a ppetuall peace, league, and frendeshippe, first to the utter destroying of all schisme and heresie, & next to the stablishing of true love & amytie amongst o'selves, whereoff the ppetuall wealth of o' deare contry is like to ensue.

"And here, considering the warynes, or rather the wylines, of some men, who, for their owne wordly securitie, will see what others doe, before they themselves move out of their place, and others pretending the better to prepare themselves for their selfe coming, will also use delayes onely to see what event the tyme is like to have: And knowing that in the mean tyme the comon enemy of God and of us all will not cease to doe his best against me, & therby great damadg may com to me and my company before that my frendes resort to me: for this cause I must needes most earnestly request those that in deede have zeale to Godis honno^r and to ther contry, not to use suche delayes, but with all speede to shewe good examples unto others, beinge assured that beside the favo^r of God almightie, his hollynes & such other potentates as in this behalfe ioyne wth his hollynes, will rewarde any man wth hono^r, goodes, & inheritance according to the areadynes wth he shall shewe in furthering this holly cause.

"This one thing I will say, wth I wishe to be imprinted in all o' hartes,

if all we that are indeede of a good mynd would openly and speedylie passe o' faythe by resorting to his hollynes banner, and by comaunding all yo' people and contries to keepe noe other but the Catholicke faithe, and forthwth to expell all heresies and schismaticall services, you should not onely deliver yo' contrie from heresie and tyranny, but also doe that most godly and noble acte wthout any danger at all, because ther is noe furein power that would or durst goe about to assault so universal a consent of this contrye, being also backed & mayntained by other foreyne powers, as you see wee are, & God willing shalbe, but nowe if one of you stand still and look what the other dothe, and thereby the ancient nobilitie doe slack to com or send us (wth God forbid), they surely that com first, & are in the next place of hono' to the said nobilitie, must of necessitie occupy the cheefe place in his hollynes army, as the safegard therof requireth, not meaning thereby to preiudice any noble man in his owne dominion or landes, wth he otherwise rightfully possesseth, unles he be founde to fight or to ayde them that do fight against the Crosse of Christe and his hollynes banner, for bothe wth as well I as all other Christians ought to spend o' bloud, and for my pte intend, at leste by Godes grace, whom I beseeche to gyve youe (all my lordes) in this world curradg and stoutnes for the defence of his faithe, and in the worlde to come life everlasting.

“† In ōi tribulatiōe spes mea Iesus et Maria,

“† JAMES GERALDYNE.”

(*Printed Paper, Carew Collection, 635, folio 40.*)

“EDICTUM ILLVSTRISSIMI DOMINI JACOBI GERALDINI, DE JUSTITIA EIUS
BELLII QVOD IN HYBERNIA PRO FIDE GERIT.

“Si ut bellvm aliquo iuste geratur, tria requiruntvr, causa iusta, potestas legitima, & legitimi belli administrandi modus: haec tria in hoc bello concurrere, iam planum fiet.

“Causa enim huius belli, est Dei gloria, cui externum sacrificii cultum, & visibilem Sancti altaris honorem, ab haereticis impie ablatum nos restituendum curamus; gloria item Christi, cuius sacramenta gratiam conferre, cum haeretici blasphemae negent, Christi Euangelium eiusdem infirmitatis accusant, ob quam lex reprobata fuit: gloria item Ecclesiae Catholicae, quam contra scripturarum veritatem haeretici aliquot seculis obscurant & mundo ignotam fuisse mentiuntur. At in Dei nomine, per Christi sacramenta sanctificando, et in Ecclesia vnitate seruanda omniū nostrum salus potissimum constitit.

“Iam vero potestas huius belli sumpta est, primum a iure naturali, deinde ab Euangelico. Jus naturale potestatem nobis facit defendendi nosmetipsos contra manifestissimam haeticorum tyrannidem, qui contra ius naturae sub poena mortis cogunt nos priorem nostram de Pontificis Romani primatu fidem abiurare, novamq. & plane contrariam religionem inuitos recipere ac profiteri. Quale iugum nec Christiani, Iudei aut Turci, nec illi nostris unquam imposuerunt. Deinde cum Christus in Evangelio Regni caelorum clauis, hoc est, summam Ecclesiae suae administrationem Petro dederit, huius Apostolorum principis legitimus in eadem Cathedra successor Gregorius decius tercius in ducem ac generalem huius belli Capitaneū nos elegit, ut ex ipsius literis & diplomate abunde constat, quod quidem tanto magis fecit, quia eius praecessor Pius Quintus Elizabetham istarum

haeresium patronam omnia Regia potestate ac dominio iam antea priuauerat, quod ipsum eius declaratoria sententia quam & ipsam apud nos habemus, manifestissime testatur.

“Itaque non iam contra legitimum Angliæ sceptrum, et honorabile solium dimicamus, sed contra Tyrannam, quæ Christum in vicario suo loquentem recusans audire, imo Christi Ecclesiam suo foemineo sexui etiam in Fidei causis (de quibus cum auctoritate nec loqui deberet) ausa subjicere, meritam Regiam potestatem amisit.

“Porro quod admodum eiusdem belli administrandi pertinet, nec bona ciuium nostrorum inuadere, nec priuatas inimicitias a quibus liberrimi sumus, persequi, nec sumam regnandi potestatem vsurpare cogitamus. Iuro restituatur Deo statim suus honor, et nos continuo parati sumus gladium deponere, atq. iis qui legitime præerunt obedire. Sin aliqui (quod ab sit) haereses propugnare, ac Deo suum honorem auferre deinceps pergant (nam quos de præteritis poenitet, iis nihil opponimus, nec vnquam opposituri sumus) illi vtique sunt qui de Hybernia veram pacem auferunt, illi sunt qui bellum patriæ suæ inferunt, & non nos. Quando enim pax non cum Deo sed cum Diabolo habetur (vti nunc se res habet) tunc non immerito vna cum seruatore (*sic*) nostro dicere debemus, non veni pacem in terrâ mittere sed gladiū. Si ergo bellū quod ob pacem cū Deo renouandam gerimus longe, iustissimum est, qui nobis in hoc bello aduersantur, damnationem sibi acquirant, habituri aduersarios non solum omnes sanctos, quorum reliquias & sanctos imagines haeretici conculcant, sed etiam Deum ipsum cuius gloriam oppugnant. Atque hæc sin satis hoc in loco, nam si quis plenius horum omnium rationem perspicere velit, is perlegat æquitatem & rationem huius edicti, quam alias plenius edendam curauimus.”

(*Book of Hothe, Lambeth, 623, folio 132.*)

“Another teyme, S^r John Perot, the l. presydent of the sowthe, beyng warnyd that wone Jamys fytz moryshe fytzgerald was towards that plas, (he was in a playne grownd this Jamis & his men beyng affotte) the psendent dyd gyve the chardge vallyently (wth his horssmen) apou Jamys & his men, wyche dyd let a passage betwene them & so reseruyd the horssmen that to the lyckebangkett they was not wyllynge to be prayd aft^r, & soe both syde deptyd wth losse of both the ptyes: this Jamys rebellyd this teyme, 1570, the begynnyng was for the eyrll of desmond and his brother John were taken & sent to yngland for sertayne contempte wyche I know not, and thei apoynted this James to kepe & defend desmond in ther absens & so dyd to hys pow^r. After a skyrmis had betwene S^r John Perot l. presydent of the sowth & Jamys of Desmounde, wherin the presidente's secretary wass layne whoe had store of gold about hime (they used rigoruse wordes & one pte callid thother cowards), where upon Jamis challengid the combat of the l. psydent hand to hand, or xij to xij a ho's backe, or affotte, wth eqall wepons. Jamys required that no mā of Ireland byrthe should bee ādupe¹ wth the l. psydent wyche wyllngly assentid unto & poynted a meating day at Kyllmallocke, the xvij. of November, 1571, wher thei had foght, had not the Erle of Ormound wth a gret nob^r of men come to the sayd towne the same day.”

¹ Obscure in original.

THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF FLORENCE MAC CARTHY,

BY DANIEL MAC CARTHY (GLAS), ESQ.

(Continued from p. 169.)

THAT the Queen had a right to control the marriage of the heiress of Mac Carthy More, seems to have been a fixed conviction in the minds of all men who had no concern in the matter; that she had at any time singled out any individual by name to whom she would *not* consent to see her united, is scarcely probable; it is, however, certain that no Englishman would have dared to seek her hand without previously securing the consent of her Majesty. The rumour of the Earl's intention to seek a fitting match for his daughter, naturally attracted the notice of the authorities in Munster; and Sir Warham St. Leger suggested to Sir Thomas Norreys, then Vice-President, to make offer for the hand of the young lady, promising all his influence to obtain for him, not only the Queen's consent, but a grant of succession to the Earl's country. Sir Thomas "entertained the idea with some favour, but, after some little trouble taken, he in the end disliked of it." Browne was at this time seated at Molahuff, in the centre of the Earl's country: the capabilities of the desolate wilderness around him were known better to him than to any man; and that dreams of corn-fields and orchards spreading over that improvable waste—of peaceful, well-clad, hard-working English yeomen enlivening his landscape—should present themselves to the mind of the surveyor, is not surprising. He had a son, also, for whose "preferment in marriage" he was solicitous; and the settlement of this son connected itself in his imagination with those other pleasing dreams of civilizing the land in which he had cast his lot.

He stood well with the authorities of his own province, though not so well as he fancied; he had some credit at court, though that also he overrated; and he had influence in one quarter concerning which he could make no mistake. With serene assurance, he resolved to secure for his son Nicholas the prize which Sir Thomas Norreys had timorously relinquished. Browne knew the Earl thoroughly, and his dealing with him was direct and practical. It was presently rumoured abroad "that the Earl had agreed, for money, to give his daughter in marriage to Mr. Nicholas Browne;" it was also asserted that her Majesty's consent had been obtained; and, what was of more importance, the consent, also for money, of the great officers of the Earl. Bitter was the humiliation, fierce the wrath, united and resolute the protest, of the chieftains of the entire sept, when the tale of this unworthy traffic reached them! The indignation even of the poor oppressed Countess of Clancar was raised.

"As there is nothing," wrote Sir Warham St. Leger, "that the Irishe more esteeme then the nobilitie of bloud, preferringe it farre before eyther vertue or wealth, so abhorre they nothinge more then disparagem', more odious unto them then death."

The pedigree of Browne is preserved at Lambeth, in the collections of Carew; and Burghley, if he ever saw the document, must have felt some sympathy with this cry of shame and abhorrence from a royal sept. All this emotion was, however, unnecessary: the dignity of the united blood of the Geraldines and Mac Carthy More was in no danger of attain. Whatever had been the early nature of this transaction, the issue was a masterpiece of levity on the part of the Earl, and of address in another individual whose name had not hitherto been connected with it. The Countess, perhaps even her daughter, the Vice-President of Munster, the shrewd St. Leger, Browne and his son, Burghley, and the Queen, were alike the sport of a mind, the fertility of whose invention was at that time little suspected. Florence Mac Carthy was then "at the court;" removed from all suspicion of complicity either in the bargain of the Earl, or the opposition of the sept. Thither, too, the Earl repaired, possibly to avoid the storm which he had raised. It would almost pass credibility that he should so far compromise himself with Browne, as to permit him to make application for the Queen's consent, and yet never seriously have intended to allow this marriage at all. It is difficult, however, to believe but that such was the case: for when all the details of this curious transaction came to light, it was found that a regular marriage contract, legally drawn up, sealed and witnessed, had been signed by the Earl, by which nearly the whole of his country, including—with a malicious speciality—the lands mortgaged to Browne, were settled on his daughter on her marriage with—it was not the name of Nicholas Browne that filled the space following those interesting words.

Shortly after the Earl's arrival in London, Florence quitted the Court and returned to Ireland. He presented himself to the Vice-President, Sir Thomas Norreys, and, with the aspect of an injured man, bitterly complained of the conduct of the Earl towards him. He exhibited documents relative to various loans made by him on security of the Earl's lands, and declared that he had broken faith with him and forfeited those securities. The benefit of these forfeitures he offered to make over to Sir Thomas; but finding that he was not willing to take advantage of the offer, he requested from him letters of authority into Desmond to enable him to take possession of the lands legally his security. The letters were given, and he took his departure. A few days later, Munster was startled by the intelligence that the great heiress of Mac Carthy More was married to her kinsman Florence! The rest of this romantic story will be best told in the words of Sir Warham St. Leger, to whose lot it fell, in the

temporary absence of the Vice-President, to send the unwelcome tale to England. There now burst suddenly upon the mind of this far-sighted statesman the full magnitude of the ambition of Florence; and in order that the Queen might see it as clearly as he saw it, he did not content himself with the recital of "the contemptuous action," but laid a detailed statement before her of all the consequences to be dreaded from this alliance. Even this he thought insufficient, and penned an elaborate treatise on the state of the province, which, in the form of three Tracts, were sent for the grave consideration of the Lords of the Privy Council. These documents were forwarded, the letter on the 14th of May, the first moment that the news reached him, and the Tracts followed it with all speed.

Sir Warham St. Leger has, in the following documents, furnished us incidentally with a considerable portion of the history of the families of the South of Ireland, which Mr. O'Connor so much desired. Two or three facts concerning Florence are well worthy of note. "He was much embrased in his countrie, and in the whole province; he was fervent in the old religion; and he was during seven or eight years much addicted to the company of Spaniards." It is very curious that there should have been company of Spaniards for him to frequent. We are left to conjecture whether these Spaniards were merchants, or ecclesiastics, or gentlemen who had accompanied Philip into England in the last reign. Of whatever denomination they might be, the circumstance of their existence in Cork is unexpected, and difficult to account for. Respecting Florence's designs on the succession to Carbury after Sir Owen's death, St. Leger needlessly alarmed himself. Donel-na-bipy stood before him by usage of tanistry, and, as we shall see, it was Donel, not Florence, who contemplated turning the succession from its lawful course.

"1588. *May 14. From SIR WARHAM ST. LEGER to the LORDS OF HER MAT'. PRIVY COUNCIL.*

"Certaine perticuler matters to be imparted to the Queene's Moste Excellent Ma'tie.

"Florence, alis Fynan Mackkertie, hath latelie espoused the onlie daughter and child legittimate of the Earle of Clankertie, by a cunning practise contrived betweene y^r Countesse, mother to the said childe, and the said Fynan, without her husband's consent, as yt is here given out by those that be favourers of that action (howe likelie the same ys to be treue, that a woman durste adventure to make such a match withoute her husbandes knowledge, I referr to her Ma'tie's deepe conceipte); for my owne parte, I do thinke in my conseyence yt is a secrete practyse betweene the Earle and his wyfe; and the matter concluded in Englande before Phineans cominge thence, entendinge thereby to prevente the bestowinge of her by Her Highnes dyrections, and soe ys the generall oppynion of sundrie of her good and sounde subiects here, that are jelyous of the match as far forthe as myselfe.

"The Perills that may accrue by the match are these, viz^t.:—1st. The saied Florence, alias Fynian, is dyscended of the Doughter of Morrys of Desmonde, uncle of the late wicked Earle of Desmonde, cousyn germain to James Fytz Morrys sonne nowe in Spayne, and likewise to Morrys of Desmonde, Traytor, also in Spaine.

"2d. He is alsoe cosyn germain to him that is nowe Lo: of Muskerye, whoe is sonne to the saied Fynian's mother's syster.

"3d. He is also cousyn germain to the L. Rotche that now is, whoe haith marryed the syster of the saied Fynian's mother; by which kyndred he is stronglie allyed.

"4th. He is alsoe lyke, after the decease of Sir Owen Makertie, whoe is a man in yeares, and growne latelie sicklie, and thereby not likelie to lyve manye yeares, to have by Tanyshipp the government of the countrie of Carburye; unlesse he be prevented thereof by Her Ma'tie's assystinge Donell Mack Kertie, whoe in right ought by Tanyshipp to have the government of Carburie before him, in as much as he cometh of the elder brother of the Macke Kerties of Carburye, and besides that his tittle of Tanyshipp, he ought to have the countrie before Finian, in so much as he sheweth a Pattente from Her Ma^{ty} predecessors, whoe graunted the saied countrie to the heirs males of the Mack Kertie of Carburye, to hould the same by English Tenure; the which Pattente the saied Donell now maketh chauldage unto, beinge descended of the elder brother, and is in question with Sir Owen Macke Kertie for the enjoyng the benefytt of the saied Patente (much to the dyslike of the saied Sir Owen and Finian, whoe join together againste the saied Donell). Notwithstanding the saied Sir Owen ys uncle to the saied Donell as well as to Finian, by the which yt is here generally thought that the marke Sir Owen Mack Kertie and Fynian shooteth at ys to dysappoynte Donell, and Finian to take the place of the government of Carburye after Sir Owen's deathe, by Tanyshipp, and then atcheavinge to that, together withe the marriage of the Earle of Clancarties daughter, yf he maye by his frinds in Englande wyne by his match to succeade the Earle of Clankertie as heire unto his countrye, howe perillous that maye be to make him soe greate, together wth the allyaunces before recyted, and the allyaunce he is like to have by this marryage, by the which all the Clan Kerties and there followers are to be at his devotion, I referr to Her Ma'ties deepe consideraçon what maye growe thereof, if he should become undutyfull; of which althoughe there be good hope to the contrarie, yet what yll counsell maye doe, he beinge greatly addicted to the brute sorte of those remote pties, and his mother in lawe, whoe is the chiefe contryver of this marriage, and whoe haith ben but a badd subiecte unto Her Highnes, may worke on him I lykewise referr to Her Ma'tie.

"5th. The yonge man is greatlie embrased in his countie, as also in this provynce; he haith ben anye tyme this seven or eight yeares greatlie addicted to learne the Spanysh tonge, and haith ben verely desierous, synce I have known him, to have the companie of Spanyerdes; the which tonge he haith obteyned. He is fervente in the olde Relygion, without which his mother in lawe woulde never have condyscended to have matcht her daughter with him, and I verely thinke (yf it were duly examyned) he was marryed with a masse, and not by suche iniunctions as be sett downe by Her Highnes, nor yet had the lyence of the Bysshopp of this Dyocesse

to marrie without lawfull Banes asked, for there were verey fewe either of Carburye or Desmonde that were at the marryage. Either Sir Owen O'Syllyvan, or O'Sullivan Moore, I cannot tell whether one of them, was the only Gentlemen that were at the solempnisinge thereof. It was verey secretlie done, and after the solempnizinge thereof (they thinckinge that it shoulde not be knowne), they sent l^{re} to overtake a messinger latelie sente from hence to the Earle of Clankertie, whos shoulde have ben stayed yf he had not ben gone to the sea, before their messinger came to staye the former messinger.

"6th. The waye to prevente this, their cunyinge practyse, is for Her Ma'tie to staye grauntynge the Earle of Clankerties enioyeing of his countrye to him, and to his heirs genall, and let him remayne as he doeth, whereby the countrie maye returne unto Her Highnes disposicōn whensoever yt shall please God to call him out of this lyfe (not leavinge yssue male behinde him).

"7th. Another meane to cutt this youth from growinge to greate is for Her Ma'tie to allowe of Donell Mac Kerthies Pattente graunted by her predecessors, yf the Pattente be good, wherein Her Highnes shall not onlye doe Justyce, but withall cutt of Finyan's growinge to be to greate (the which is one of the greaste myscheives that doeth hurte in this her realme), for they have alreadye enough, and a greate deall more then they can well govern. In this my plaine wrytinge, I humblie beseech Her Ma'tie to graunte me pardon, protestinge to God, I do not wryte thus muche for mallice to anye person, but onlye of mere zeall I professe to the safe Government of this Her Realme, for were yt not therefore, I coulde wyshe the Gentleman as much good as anie he that loves him beste. And so wyshinge all to fall out for the beste I leave; with my prayer to God to sende Her Ma'tie longe lyfe, with prosperous successe in all her doinges.

"From Corke, this 14th May, 1588.

"WARHAM SENT LEGER."

Endorsed—"Sir Warham St. Leger's declaration to Her Majesty of the many inconveniences that may arise to the state of Ireland by the late marriage of Florence Mac Carthy with the daughter and heir of the Earl of Clancar."

Extracted from the first of three Tracts sent to Burleigh.

"The Earle of Glyncarr, before Her Ma'tie created him Earle, was by Inheritance Mc Cartie Moore; by the w^h amonge the Irishe he was accounted the cheefest in this Province, as descended from them that before they weare subdued to the Crowne of England, weare the Kinges of the greater parte therof; and at the tyme of his creaōn and surrender of his forme titles, he had, and ever synce claymeth under his jurisdiction and dominion *fourteene severall countries*, beside som of lesse quantitie; most of them possessed by such as have descended out of his house, from every of w^h he demandeth sondrie duties and services, wherof many are abolyshed by statute.

"The First is the countrey of Mc Donochoe (called 'Duallo), w^h hath w^hin it thre other countreis. O'Chalachan's countrey, M'Aunliel's

countrie, and O'Keif's countrie. He claymeth in these countreis the gevinge of the Rodd to the chieffe Lords at their first entrie, who by receivinge a whit wande at his handes, for w^h they are to paie him a certain dutie, are therby declared from thenceforthe to be Lords of those countreis. He claymeth also that they are to *rise out* wth him when he makes warre; to maintaine for him seaven and twentie Galleglasses, besides to finde him for a certain tyme, when he cometh to their countreis.

"The Second—the countrie of Muskerie, a very large countrie, wherein *five other* countreis are conteyned; he claymeth of them risinge out, the keepinge of *thirtie galleglass*, and findinge of him for a certain tyme. The Lordes of this countrie, by takinge L^m Patents of the Kings of England, have exempted themselves from him, as they affyrme.

"The Third countrie is O'Sullivan Moore's. It conteyneth two hundred ploughlandes. He claymeth there the geavinge of the Rodd, the findinge of Fiftie Gallyglasses, Risinge out, and in yearely spendinge the value of £20.

"The Fourth is O'Sullivan Beare's countrie, which conteyneth also 160 ploughlands; he claymeth there Risinge out, the findinge of 50 Galleyglas, the geavinge of the Rodd, and to the value of £40 a yeare in spendings and refecons.

"The Fyft is O'Donochoe Moore's countrie. It conteyneth 46 ploughlands, and it is nowe all in the Earle's handes, by Her Ma^y gyft.

"The Sixt is the Lord of Cosmaignes countrie. It conteyneth 84 ploughlands. It is now all in the Earle's hands by Her Ma^y gift, or y^e most part thereof.

"The Seaventh is the Lord of Kerslawny's (coir leamna ?) countrie, otherwise called Slight Cormak. It conteyneth 35 ploughlands, wherof some are in the Ile of Valentia. He claymeth there the geaving of the Rodd, Risinge out, the findinge of 40 Galleyglas, and to the value of £40 a yeare in spendinge.

"The Eight is the Countrie of [Mac] Gelecnuddè. It contayneth 46 ploughlands. He claymeth there Risinge out, the gevinge of the Rodde, the findinge of 30 Galleglas, and to the value of £20 a yeare in spendinge.

"The Ninethe is Mac Fynin's Countrie [in Glenaraught, Co. Kerry]. It conteyneth 28 ploughlands. He claymeth the givinge of the Rodd, the findinge of 15 Galleyglas, Risinge out, and to the value of £24 yearely in spendinge.

"The Tenthe is the Countrie of Clandonoroe. It contayneth 24 Ploughlands. He claymeth theare Risinge out, and it is in the Erle's hands by Her M^y Gyfte.

"The Eleaventh is the Countrie of O'Donochoglañ.¹ He hath there no other dutie but onlly six and fortie shillings fourpence of yearelie Rent. The countrie conteyneth 20 ploughlands.

"The Twelueh is the Countrie of Clan Dermonde. It conteyneth 28 ploughlands. He claymeth Risinge out, the keepinge of 16 Galleyglas, and in yearlie spendinge to the value of £40.

"The Thirteenth is Clanlawra's [in O'Sullivan Beare's country]. This countrie conteyneth 32 ploughlands. It is all in the Earle's hands by Her Ma^y gift.

¹ O'Donoghue of Glenflesk, in Kerry.

"The Fourteenth is the Countrey of Loughlegh [lòc luoigbèch, in Kerry] or of Teignitowin. It conteyneth 32 Ploughlands. The Earle claymeth it to be excheated unto him for want of Heires right and legitimate.

"Moreover, the Earle hath in Chiefe Rents yssuinge out of Barrett's Countrey, by the cyttie of Corke, £11 a yeaere; out of the Abbey of Killahe, £4 a yeaere or thereabouts; out of Ballenskellig yearly as much. Out of certen churchland in Beare the like some; besides he hath in Demayne land in the hundreds of Maygonie and Euraught about his Castle of the Pallace [in Kerry], his Castle of Ballicarbery, Castle Lough, and the Abbey of Vriett [Muckrus], three score ploughlands or thereabouts. In O'Sullivan Beares Countrey, Muskery, and Duallo, or in Donochoe's Countrey, certen ploughlands; also in eache of them Demayne lands.

"All his Lands and Territories lieth in the Counties of Desmond and Cork, and some parte in the county of Kerrie. The most parte of his land is waste and uninhabited, w^h hath growne partly by the calamities of the last warres, partly by the exaccōns that he hath used uppon his tenants.

"It is of great consequence and importance unto our inhabitacon there, that the Earle's Estate be not enlarged, to the ende that after his decease, Englishe Gentlemen may be there planted, and all his dependences brought to hould onely of Her Ma^{tie}; unlesse it so weare that by Her Highnes fav^r and good likinge, his daughter weare married to som worthy English Gentleman, and his lands assured after his deceasse to the heires males of their two bodies. In w^h case also I wishe the keepinge of Galleyglas, Risinge out, and ceassinge of souldiors, to be wholly extinguished, the spendings and Refeccōns to be reduced to som money rent; the gevinge of the *Rodd to be abolished*, and all those meane Lords to hould their lands of Her Highnes."

"As there is nothinge that the Irishe more esteme then the nobilitie of bloud, pferringe it farre before eyther *vertue* or *wealth*, so abhorre they nothinge more then disparagem^t, more odious unto them then Death; w^h well appeared in that late communicacon of mariadge betwene the Earle of Glyncarr's daughter, and supposed heire, and Sir Valentine Browne's yonger sonne, w^h both by the Earle assented unto *for money*, and for reward by certen of his men negotiated in the countrey very earnestlie, as well for the matter as for the maner of atchyvinge, wrought generally in those parts a bitter discontentment, so much the deepe lier printed in their myndes, by how much the earnestlier it was borne them in hande (by those that undertooke to effect it), that it must needes take place, for that it was intended by the state; soe well liked of by Her Majestie, and so resolved upon by the Earle. The Countesse and yonge Lady came unto me, and di^vs of the Gentlemen of the countrey to acquaint me w^h their discontentment; and some others of the best of those partes discovered their griefes by their l^{ms}. Their mynde all then seemed to tende to the dislike of that place, and to desire that she mought be matched to some one of a noble howse; wherein they made great p^{re}stacōns they would be much psuaded by me. I w^hall understood by some that weare privye to their myndes that (fearinge that matche should be forced upon them) they had an intencon to convey the yonge Lady into O'Ruirk's countrey (in the *north* part of Conaght), who

not longe synce is married to the Countesse of Glyncarrs sister. I held it best, in respect of the tyme, to lessen theyr discontentment what I mought, and to assure them that it stode not w^h the course of Her Mats most blessed Government, neyther would the lawes of England pmitt that any should be forced to marie against their wills, and that they weare to feare no such matter. I did besides, both by letters and message, deale wth Sir Thomas Norrys, Vice President of Mounster, whom I then thought disposed to seate himselfe in these partes, that yf he could like of such a matche, and would to that ende become a petytioner unto Her Ma^{tie} for the renuinge of the Earle's letters Patents into a further estate, I would assist him to the uttermost of my small endeavour, and no whit doubted but the countrey should most readilie assent unto it. After some paines taken, he in the ende mysliked of it, beinge, as it seemed, otherwise disposed to bestowe himselfe. So the Countesse and the rest of those partes contynuinge in the feare of the former matche, and beinge in no hope of anie better, concluded soddenlie a mariage wth Florence Mc Cartie, who cam w^h the Vice President's warrants into the countrey to take possession of a Castle morgadged unto him by the Earle of Glyncarre, of w^h matche the efficient cause I take to have byn a fonde feare, and a fonde desire: the instrumentall cause to have byn fonde cowncell: the feare was, that she must needes els have byn married to Mr. Browne: the desire was to contynue the Howse in the name, w^h by this matche they weare in a dooble hope to performe; fyrst, by Petiçon unto Her Ma^{tie}, hopinge that Florence Mc Cartye had those frends, and that favo^r w^h Her Highnes, that his suite for the landes should be easilie obtayned; secondly, yf their petiçons fayled, they hoped on their power, for that Florence Mc Cartie was like to be McCarthy Beoghe, and so by forces of both countreis might attayne his pretended Rights; especially upon such opportunities as trobles in England, or disturbances here might produce; a matter of some consequence, and verie piudiciall to the accōn we here undertake, and so much the more to be looked unto, by howe much the Mc Carties ptende to have Right to the most of Mounster, wherof sometimes they weare Lords, and phrps aspire to be Lords againe by meanes of this yonge Gentleman, beinge by the Father's side a Mc Cartye, and by the mother's side a Giraldyne, and therefore likelier to be favored in these partes. This newe matche, the new settlinge of the Englishe,¹ the discontentment of the Irishe, the present state of the Province, the expectaçon of some trouble in England, puttinge them in hope of due meanes and opportunities. The counsell herein, both evill given and followed, proceeded (yf not higher) from the Lords of Countries w^{thin} Desmond, and principall officers about the Earle of Glyncarre, who, heretofore accustomed to extorçons, oppressions, and spoiles, by the w^h they weare wont to be enriched, now bridled and restrayned, they longe for their former estate, and are ympatient of justice, and good Government. The chiefe of those in this accōn were *O'Sullivan Moore*, Lord of a great Countrey, the Earle's Seneschall and Marshall, married to Florens Mc Carthy's sister, able to make a hundred swords: *Mac Fynine*, Lord of a lesse Countrey, but more fruitfull, of lesse power then the other, married to the Earle of Glyncarrs base daughter; *Donell Mac Tybert*, the Earle's Consta-

¹ The English undertakers on the lands forfeited by the Earl of Desmond.

ble of his Castle of the Pallace, and chieffe officer of his lands, beinge principall of a populous Sept called the *Mergies* (?), and foster father to the yonge Lady; Hugh Mc Owen, Captaine of the Earle's Galleyglasse, and som others of their sorte. The remedies and pvençons of their hopes and intents, in my simple conceipt, will be to take order that Carberie shall descende accordinge to the 1st Patents of Her Highnes most renowned Father to Donell Mc Cartye, otherwise called Donell Pipi, and his heires lawfully begotten, and the agreement amonge themselves, made contrarie to the purport of the Letters pattents, to contynue no longer then duringe Sir Owen Mc Carties liefe. Secondly, Her Ma'tie to graunt no further estate of the Earle of Glyncarrs lands, but after his deceasse to plant therein English Gent^l and Inhabitants. Thirdly, in the meane tyme to cause good pledgs and assurans to be taken of Florence M^cCartye, and the rest of the contrivers of this mariadge, of their loyaltie and good demeanure, w^h is in part allready don. Fourthly, to contynue the Earle of Glyncarr w^hin the boundes of Lawe & justice, that he oppresse not his countrie, sellinge their landes and spoylinge their goodes, against all right, whereby the people, findinge their safetie in Her Ma'ties government, may the more affect it, and havinge amongst them fewe discontented, may the lesse be disposed to innovasions."

"The above document is apparently (says Mr. Hamilton, in his Calendar) by Sir Warham St. Leger, and addressed to Lord Burghley."

Extracted from the Second Tract. 1588. June 12.

"That, as the Mariadge of Florence Mc Cartie to the Earle of Glyncarr's daughter tendeth to the disturbance of these partes yf it be not prevented, so, as great and as dangerous troubles will growe otherwise if it be not looked unto in tyme!

"Synce the discoverie of Florence Mc Carte's dryft, to joyne in himsealfe Desmond and Carberie, and so to erect againe the greatnes and tyranny of the Mc Carties, a counterpractise to the sealfie same ende, but by other meanes, partely for the hatred borne to our newe Inhabitaçon, partely for the malice and dislike borne to Florence M^cCartie, but chieffely for y^e desire to greaten their faction, and mayntayne the name and force of Mc Cartie Moore, hath byn entered into: the chieffe doer whereof was Sir Owen O'Sullivan of Beerhaven, he bearinge an impatient mynd of our neighbourhood, and thinkinge himsealfe wronged by Florence Mc Cartie, who promised to mary his daughter, and fearinge some diminution of his owne estate by the suite of his nephewe Donell O'Sullivan, and desirous to have a frend of a Mc Cartie, and so to make his partie good howsoever the world went; havinge one the one syde the Lorde Barrye, his brother-in-lawe and firme frend, who is but too great, contrived furthwyth first to enter into a league w^h Donell Mc Cartie, the Earle of Glyncarr's base sonne, whom that countrey doth much favo^r, and would sayne have to be Mc Cartie. Secondly, to allie himsealfe w^h the Knights of Kerrie's sonne and Heyre, the Chieffe of the Geraldines in these partes, likeliest to drawe evill humo^r unto him, and to growe to badd action, beinge not able to recover what his father hath sould but by force and stronge hande.

These purposes Sir Owen did so pertinently pursue, that w^hin few daies after that mariadge he sayled from his countrey to Desmonde, and there entringe into a league w^h his greatest enemye before, Donell Mc Carty, the Earle of Glyncarres base sonne, thence came to Kerrie, and concluded a mariadge betwene his yonger daughter and the Knight of Kerrie's sonne & heire; hopinge, no doubt, that they two should drawe untoe them all the evill disposed of Kerrie and Desmonde; and he ioyninge wth them his forces out of Beare, Bantrie, and other partes of the cowntie of Corke, should be able, when they sawe their tyme, to do in those partes what they thought good, w^h their purpose I hould no less requisite to be prevented then the former drift of Florence Mc Cartie to the like ende.

"The remedies seeme unto me to be these:—Sir Owen O'Sullivan committed to Warde, tyll he put in good pledgs and assurances for his Loyaltie. The apprehension of the Earle of Glyncarr's base sonne, and the *execution of him* by Justice, or by martiall Lawe, for breakinge Her Mats prison, and livinge ever synce without pardon or protection, not submittinge himselfe to due Authoritie; or the imployment of him in some service out of these partes; the geving of Justice to the Inhabitants of Desmonde, that neyther by the Earle of Glancarties unlawfull graunts they be deprived of their lands, nor by the payment of his debtes spoyled of their goods; so, finding the sweete of her Mats government they shall repose themselves theron most contentidly, and will not be drawne to any tumult, w^h the Earle doubtles in favour of his base sonne would gladly urge them unto when tyme favoured; and thereuntoe his dealings seeme untoe me to tende, directed by others that looke beyonde the present."

The effect produced by this daring contempt of the Queen's authority may be judged by the fact, that, as early as the 3rd of June, Elizabeth sent orders to Sir Thomas Norreys to apprehend Florence, and make earnest, instant inquiry into "the means and manner by which he had accomplished the said marriage;" and also, quickly following upon this imperious announcement of the royal will, went another letter from Walsyngham, commanding the arrest of the Countess of Glancartie, of the bride, and of as many as could be found to have had any share in the matter; and further, pressing a most searching investigation into every detail of the transaction. The result of these inquiries, with what passages Sir Thomas Norreys could himself relate of his own intercourse with Florence, is now laid before the reader; and, perhaps, in the entire mass of State Papers of the period, there is nothing more curious than the correspondence which arose out of this first development of Florence's plans for his future career. The equanimity with which he could encounter this sudden burst of royal indignation, the surprising adroitness with which he could turn aside its arrowy sleet from himself, and withdraw his young wife from its mischief, will appear in the sequel; but not until the requirements of his position had urged him to the committal of a second action, equally "contemptuous" and more defiant of the Queen, by which his purpose was fairly ac-

complished. From this moment come into operation the unrivalled tact and personal address which the reader may be prepared to trace through every phase of his future life.

"1588. *July 1. SIR THO' NORREYS to WALSYNGHAM.*

"Rt: Hon: my most bounden dewty remembred. Whereas Her Ma'tie, by her l^m of 3d of June last past, gave me in com^{mand}ment to comitt the body of Florence Mac Carthy, and thereupon to certifye Her Highnes of my doings therein, as also of the meanes and man^r by which the sayd Florence compassed the mariage w^h the Earle of Clancarties daughter: for that the circumstances thereof doe inforce a tedious recitall, I presumed not to trouble Her Highnes w^h the particularities, but thought them rather meet to be advtized to yo^r H^c. (who hade alsoe written to me touching y^e same) to thend that by yo^r meanes the knowledg thereof might be delivered to Her Ma'ty at her good pleasure.

"Upon the first arrivall of the sayd Florence here, com^{ing} unto me he gave no signe of any such purpose, as sithens fell out, but to give color (as semes) to his intent, and to draw me y^e further from suspic^{ion} thereof, through his seeming conceived unkyndnes against y^e Earle, he then discovered unto me some ill dealing of the sayd Earle towards him, namely how, that being bound to him in great bands for assurance of certain lands, and for pformance of some other condicions, amongst w^h one was, that he should give him his daughter in mariage, he neverthelesse had broken w^h him, and therefore offered me (Yf I should so lyke) the benefitt of the forfeitures of the sayd lands: w^h speeches (as sithens as I have conceived) seeme to have proceded of some further matter in y^e secret of his harte, those his words being so contrary to that w^h he estesoones did attempt. But the very grownd thereof (as I am informed, and as by many strong circumstances may be gathered) proceded from y^e Earle himselfe, however sithens he would fynd himself grieved therewith, and was compacted betweene them in England at the sayd Florence's there late being, and not w^hout the privitie and great furtheraunce of Sir Owen Mac Carthy, who by all meanes endeavoureth to back, and iniuriously to raise up the sayd Florence against his kinsman, Donell Mac Carthy, as well in y^e succession of the Captency of his countrey, as also in all other causes, that may advantage him thereunto; wherein yt is very certain that y^e Earle alsoe hath ever greatly favored him. Besydes yt is here by manie reported (the further proofes whereof I have not yett had tyme to syfte out) that the sayd Earle gave to Flor. at his com^{ing}, his secre^{te} l^m to his wife, to that effect w^h now hath happened; to whome pntly after his arrivall he repayed w^h the same, and soone after dispatched his hidden intent. And for more lykelyhode that yt was then wrought and concluded in England, I am certeinlie given to understand, that at y^e instant of his departure from thence, Capt. Jaques being then in company w^h him, counseled him very earnestly, whatsoever he did, to goe through wth the mariage out of hand; assuring him that for obteyning Her Ma'ts consent thereunto, he would so work w^h some of his frends there, that yt should be brought to passe; and to the end to be more spedily advertized of his proceedings, he sent a servant of his owne ou^r bether in company wth Flor., who upon conclusion

of the matter was presentlie dispatched hence back agayne. The further knowledg and intent whereof may there, I think, best be boulded out of the sayd Jaques, who thereby seemeth to have beene acquainted w^h the enterprize from y^r beginning, and to be privie to any other purpose that may depend thereupon; for sure yt carrieth great shewe of deepe consequence, considering how strongly y^r sayd Florence is allied to such as evill may be looked from. 1st. His mother was sister to James Fitz Morice, the Arch Traytour, whereby he is nephew to the L. Roche's wife, and to the Lo. of Muscries mother; and coosen german to the Seneschall of Imokhillies wife; all w^h psons doe hang upon one weake thred, and have their eyes sett all upon hope of forreyne helpes: but namely, the sayd Lo. Roche, who sheweth himself in all his behavoe^r, and also in some open speeches to be discontented with this government, repynning obstinately against all directions of the State here, and supporting himself w^h the vayne conceipt of his secrete hope, whereof heretofore he hath, and yett dayly doth give apparant demonstrations: so that now the sayd Florence, by this his late knott hath given great strength to that syde, and hath combined all the releques of the House of James Fitz Morice to the kindred of the Clancarties, w^h being the greatest name and na^cōn now in Mounster (all Desmond, all Carbery, all Muscry, all Dowalla, being of that line), yt inferreth great importaunce, and matter of neare respect to be prevented, or at the least well eyed; the rather for that the sayd Clancarties have heretofore, before the comīng in of the Geraldines upon them, had all this province in their subiec^tōn, the continuall memory whereof they yett use to nourish amongst them, and to deliver to their posterities by dew succession; and now this new occasion meeting in a man of the same race, being of his quality and sorte, who by blood is so nigh allied to forreyne practizers, by difference of Religion devoted to the contrarie parte, by his owne private disposi^tōn hath always shewed himself dearly well affected and inclined to the Spaniard, being also generally favored of all his countrey, and now in very plausible acceptaunce, the rather for the late gracious favours w^h he received of Her Ma^t tie, and that by this attempt hath discovered his ambitious desyre to make himself great. It is greatlie to be regarded, to what ende the same may grow. Moreover, now latelie (whether for any further intent, or that it is through his heedlesse unhappinesse so fallen out), he hath by all meanes laboured to be interested in the Old Head of Kinsale, w^h is the Lo. Courcies auncient Manor House, and a place often heretofore eyed and earnestlie motioned, for opinion of great strength to be fortified; the title whereof he hath (as I understand) compassed, and was, the same day that he was apprehended, mynded to ryde thether to take possession of; all w^h concurring so daungerously to the encrease of doubt, I would therefore wish (under reforma^tōn of better advizement) that tho' hereafter he shall, phaps, work himselfe grace or pardon of the present dislyke, yett that very good assurances be taken of him before his enlargement, for avoyding of the evils which are depending upon the circumstances of his person and condi^tōn. Him now I have according to Her High. pleasure comitted, as also, according to y^r later direccion in yo^r Lp's l^{rm} of the 4th of the last moneth, have caused the Countesse, Mac Finin, Teig Merrigagh, and such others as I could learne to have bene privy to the practise to be apprehended, as I could come by them; and doe not doubt but very shortly to come by the rest

likewise, of the w^h I understand that O'Sullivan More was the greatest forwarder and nearest of counsell, though indeed all the chief of that countrey were wrought by Florence to consent thereunto, who (as I am lett to understand), before the mariage, gott all their hands to firme that agreement, by a generall confirmacon of them; and soone after accomplished the sayd mariage in an old broken church thereby, not in such solemnity and good sort as behoved, and as order of Law and Her Mat' injunction doe require.

"Thus am I carried by large relaçon of particulares into a tedious length of lines, w^h I besech your Lp. to pardon in regard of the urgentnes of the matter, and many occasions meeting in the same. Further, I have thought good to advertize yo^r Lp. of the psent good quiett of this province, in w^h yt is not unlikely to continew, yf forreyne invasion doe not occasion the chaunge, &c., &c.

"THO^r NORREYS.

"From Limerick, 1 July, 1588."

"1588. July 1. NOTES for HER MA'TIE to consider of.

"The streingth of the L^a of great countries and theire allyance and followers.

"The Earle of Clankertie that now is, cometh of thelder brother of that House.

"The Lo. of Muskery cometh of the Second House of the Clan Karties. Sir Owen Mc Kertie is, as the countrie saith, a basterd of the House of Clan Kerties, and thereby enioyeth the country of Carbery. Mac Donoghe, Captein of the Countrie of Dowalla, enioyeth, that Contrie as the third Sonne descended of the Howse of the Earle of Clan Kartie.

"Dependers and Followers of the capteins of these Contries:—

"To the Earle of Clan Kertie.—O'Sullyvan Moore, O'Sullyvan Beare, Mac Fynian. These are also of the House of Clan Kertie.

"To the Lo. of Muskery.—Teig Mc Owen of Drishain.

"To the Lord of Carbery.—Sir Fynian O'Driscoe, Connoher Oh Driscoe, the Mahons, and their Septs.

"To the Lord of Dowalla.—The Calahone, the Chieffe [O'Keefes]. The Earle of Clan Kartie doth appoint the Lo. of this countrie.

"Out of the House of Clan Kartie's are now lyving these that followe:—1st. The Earle of Clan Kertie that now is, who is without yssue male; he hath onely one daughter. After the Earle's decease his countrie is in Her Majestie to dispose. The Captein or Lo. of Muskery, who hath two sonnes; and a brother called Teig Mc Dermonde, and Charles, sonne of Sir Cormac Teig, last Lo. of Muskery.

"Donell Mc Kerthie, alias Donell Pye, who is the right legetimate heir of the cntrey of Carbery, descended of thelder brother of the Lo. of Carbery. He hath two sonnes.

"Florence Mac Kartie, descended of Sir Donogh Mc Karthy, second Brother of the Lo. of Carbery, who is maryed to the only daughter of the Earle of Clan Kartie, He hath one brother lyvinge, called Cormac Mac Donoghe.¹

¹ An error. Florence's brother was Dermot Moyle.

"Sir Owen Mc Karty, the thirde brother of the Lo. of Carbery, is now Lo. of that contrie, and hath three sonnes.

"These that followe are allyed and have matched with the House of Clan Karty:—A Syster of the late Earle of Desmond, married to the Earle of Clan Kartie. A syster of James Fitz Morrice was married to Sir Donoghe M^c Carty, by whome he had yssue Florence, and his brother. Corm^c. Mc Dermode now Lo. of Muskery's Mother was another Syster of the saide James Fitz Morrice, the Traytor.

"The Lo. Roche married a thirde Syster of the said James, by whom he hath a sonne and a daughter; which daughter is married to Mc Donoghe, now Lord of Dowalla.

"The Seneschall is married to a daughter of the said James Fitz Morryce.

"To conclude, when these great Lords of Countries, viz., the Earle of Clancarty, the Lords of Muskerrie, Carbery, Dowalla, O'Sullyvan Moore, O'Sullyvan Beare, being all Carties, and the Lo. Roche and Seneschall allyed by James Fitz Morryce to that howse, yf the match and greatnes of Florence M^c Kartie be not pvented, that Secte will growe greater in Mounster then ever the Earle of Desmonde was, and no lesse daungerous. The streingth of this house being so great there is great care to be taken that they may be kepte in such sorte as not to combyne themselves in stronger manner together, then they are at this tyme, wherein especially care must be had that the mariage of Florence w^h the Earles daughter may be sepeted, and he cut off by the lawe, yf by his demerits he hath deserved it.

"Also, where as Sir Owen Mc Karty, now Lo. of Carbery, hath enlarged his possessions by getting the Lo. Coorsies Countrey and other lands, it were convenient that Donell Pye's tytyle to that countrie of Carbery should be favoured, who hath the best tytyle thereunto; so neither of them shalbe half so strong as nowe one of them is. Likewise, where the Lo. of Muskery hath now that whole Countrey to himself, and hath enlarged the same by other gruaunts from Her Ma'tie, it were convenient that the tytyle of the sonne to Sir Cormac Teig should be favoured, w^h Sir Cormac yelded up that Countrey to Her Ma'tie, and tooke it of Her Heghnes to him and his heires; so, should the greatnes of one be abated, and be made equall, they will be opposite one to the other; and whereas there is Contencion for Doalla betwene two of the Mc Donoghies, it were likewise convenient, for the reasons aforesaid, that the countrey were devyded betwene them.

"The Seneschall, Patricke Condon, Patrick Fitz Morryce, the Whyte Knight, are all suspected to be very dangerous psons, and nearer to be seen unto then others, the most of them having ben principall actors in the last rebellion.

Such was the result of the inquiry which the Queen had ordered to be made into the matter of this marriage; it was more than enough to fill up the measure of her indignation against a nephew of the arch-traitor, James Fitz Morrice. The designs of Florence were now sufficiently unveiled; his conduct had been looked into by the keenest eyes in Munster, and the precautions fit to be taken against him suggested by the plainest-spoken man in the Queen's service.

If Florence, or the O'Sullivans, Patrick Condon, the Seneschal, Donell the Base, or Sir Owen and his sons, should be left at liberty to plot mischief henceforth, the fault could not be laid to the door of Sir Warham St. Leger. The pen of Sir Thomas Norreys had done its work as industriously as that of his colleague; it had even written passages more perilous for Florence; for it had shown that the ambitious designs which St. Leger had foreshadowed had already commenced their operation: he had acquired the Spanish language, secured a harbour suitable for the landing of Spanish forces, and, worst of all, he was in connexion with a notorious foreigner, then in a London prison, for designs against the Queen's life; yet that prophetic pen had pointed to a possibility, the belief in which, probably, no man, except Florence himself, entertained, that he might "hereafter work himself grace or pardon of the present dialyke."

(To be continued.)

ON ANCIENT MASON-MARKS AT YOUGHAL AND ELSEWHERE; AND THE SECRET LANGUAGE OF THE CRAFTSMEN OF THE MIDDLE AGES IN IRELAND.

BY E. FITZGERALD, ARCHITECT, YOUGHAL.

(Concluded from page 72.)

SEVERAL circumstances, not necessary to enter on here, combined to postpone the forwarding of the following Paper up to the present. However, an advantage gained by delay is, that some progress can be reported on the formation of a second collection of Irish mason-marks, which, it is to be hoped, ere long may form a second plate, and be published by the Society, as several Members have taken a lively interest in the subject.

The Rev. James Graves has discovered some very interesting specimens in the Cathedral of St. Canice, Kilkenny, and Dunbrody Abbey, on works of about A.D. 1250; the same marks occur in both buildings to a certain extent, and two from St. Canice are identical with two marks from the Cathedral of Presburg, published on the Plate to my former Paper, being the two last but one on the Plate. Mr. W. Gillespie, Architect, Cork, mentions the discovery of some on the ancient parish church of Drumcliff, county of Cork: they consisted chiefly of the favourite emblem in masonry, the square, and were often repeated through the building. In a note from Archdeacon Rowan, he says—"You will find some worthy your attention in Holy Cross Abbey, where I saw them a few years ago, in a hasty visit made be-

tween two trains from the adjacent railway station. I had not time to copy them, and I dare say there are a great many more than I noticed in a cursory inspection, especially on the interior north wall of the nave."

The Rev. John W. Hopkin also, in a note, mentions the discovery of some on the south transept of the old church of Kinsale; they chiefly consist of varieties of one of the marks found at Youghal, which were published with the former Paper.

On a semi-Norman arch in the ruined Cathedral at Ardmore, I discovered one mark very similar to a specimen given in Mr. Chalmers' Plate in the "Archæologia," which was taken from the ancient hospital at Brechin.

At a comparative late period, it would appear that others beside the building operatives used mason-marks on their handiworks, as we find them on cooking and other utensils, showing that a fraternity existed in which *they* were included. On an ancient bronze three-legged pot, which was found in an Irish bog, and now deposited in the Museum of the "Royal Cork Institution," are some interesting mason-marks. This old culinary utensil is no bad specimen of the sixteenth-century casting. The exterior is divided into ornamental compartments by radiating raised lines, two of the compartments being ornamented with mason-marks, and the Roman numerals, DMI, which I am inclined to consider is the date, 1501. The marks represent interlaced triangles and a heart, similar to the marks taken from St. Ninian's Lodge-book, Brechin, figured on the Plate to my former Paper. In the second volume of the "Dublin Penny Journal," at page 249, an interesting woodcut is given of an ancient drinking vessel—the old Irish methers—on the surface of which is carved several mason-marks, and among them the owner's name forms a conspicuous object, DERMO + TULLY, 1590. Dermo, it would seem, was a thirsty old soul, from the value he appears to have set on his old wooden wine vessel, and there can be little doubt that he was a free-and-easy member of the mystic fraternity.

In the former Paper on this subject, an inference was drawn from the remarkable fact that the Irish mason-marks, already discovered, exactly coincided with those copied from ancient British and Continental buildings, and the conclusion came to, that instead of the early Irish being indebted to English and Continental architects and artists for their architecture and arts—so generally asserted by superficial writers—we have the strongest reasons to conclude that they were the debtors to the early Irish; and not only for their architecture and arts, but also for their religion and literature, as the following gleanings from numerous sources will amply prove—all important facts, tending to show the close connexion which existed in the early ages of Christianity between the Irish, British, and Continental Churches.

The learned Dr. Prideaux, speaking of Ireland during the early ages, mentions it "as the emporium and prime seat of sacred learning in Christendom." Dr. Johnson also mentions the "times when Ireland was the school of the west, the quiet habitation of sanctity and literature." In Guizot's "History of Civilization" we read: "Of all the western countries, Ireland was that wherein letters maintained themselves and prospered, amidst the general confusion of Europe." And, lastly, from a host of evidence of similar import, I select a word from St. Bernard, where he says: "From Ireland, as from an overflowing stream, crowds of holy men descended on foreign nations."

The following noble list of early Christian foreign foundations, whose memory has lived and reached our times, through so many ages of changing scenes and sceptres, is a glorious monument to that mission spirit of Christianity and civilization which actuated the Irish nation from the fifth to the thirteenth century; and utterly confutes that vulgar idea of the illiterate, dark, and savage history of the same period, so generally received as hers.

RELIGIOUS FOUNDATIONS, &c., BY IRISHMEN IN ENGLAND.

Circa 675.—*Mailduff* founded a school and monastery at Malmesbury.

Circa 637.—*St. Fursa* founded a monastery at Cnobersburg (now Burgcastle in Suffolk).

St. Hilda, Whitby, Northumberland.—Farramer—Abingdon.—Venta—Boschan.

St. Piran, known in Ireland as *Kieran* of Saigir, born, according to Camden and Ussher, circa 350, obit 5th March, 480, founded a church at Perran-zabuloe, on the north coast of Cornwall, about the close of the fourth century. The walls of this church, which had been buried for ages in the shifting sands of the district, were a few years since disintombed and identified.

St. Ia, one of Piran's missionary companions, also founded a church at St. Ives, in the same locality, and his name is identified with the place to this day. Glastonbury is said by several historians to be an Irish foundation, and was noted as an early seat of Irish learning.

SCOTLAND.

Columbkil, or *Columb* of the Churches, born A. D. 521, founded Iona; he was the great apostle of the Picts, and to the Hebrides. In Townley's "Bible Literature," sixth century, p. 205, he says: "Of the schools or seminaries of this age none excelled in the study of Scriptures than the monastery of Iona, once the luminary of the Caledonian regions; it became chief seminary of learning at that time, perhaps in Europe. It supplied above 300 churches which

Columba had founded, and many neighbouring nations, with learned divines and able pastors." Iona records a long succession of Irish Abbots. The Book of Kells, allowed by our best judges to be one of the most elaborate and elegantly executed manuscript examples of early art now in existence, is attributed to Columbkille.

The Scotch foundations of our great patron, *St. Patrick*, I should think ought to be included in this list, as he founded the three churches of Kirkpatrick, at Durham; at Mongray, in Kircudbright; and at Fleming, in Dumfries.

Melrose, *St. Modanus*, Abbot of Dryburgh, sixth century. Kill-Cathan in Bute, Kill-Carmarthen, Kill-Drinan. Irish foundations—Campolungen, Hinbano, Eleneus, Alech, Blednan.

BELGIUM.

NAMUR.—*Saints Farrannan and Eloquius*.

LIEGE.—*St. Ultan*; the saints *Foilan* and *Ultan*, brothers of *St. Fursey*, were invited over by *St. Gertrude* (daughter of *Pepin*), Abbess of *Neville*, in *Brabant*, to teach her community sacred music; which shows at once the superiority and advancement in science of the Irish over their continental neighbours in the seventh century. These saints erected a monastery at *Fosse*, and *St. Ultan* became the first superior of the Monastery of *St. Quintin*, and died about the year 676. *Gueldres*, *St. Wiro*; *Treves*, *St. Disibode*; *Malonia*, near *Namur*; *Hautmont*, in *Hainault*, a monastery founded by *Madelgan*, in the seventh century. *Soignes*, not far distant, a monastery by the same *Madelgan*. 633, *St. Livinus* suffered martyrdom; *Treves*, *St. Hildulph*; *Odielreburgh*, diocese of *Liege*, *St. Wiro*, seventh century; *Nassonia*, same diocese, *St. Mono*, eighth century; *Eloquius* and twelve disciples preached in *Belgium*. *Saints Faranuar* and *Mac Allum*, successive Abbots of *Vasoor* on the *Meuse*. Irish foundations at *Hannonia*, *Altimont*, *Soneg*, *Turnin*, *Mont St. Peter*, *Walciodor*.

RELIGIOUS FOUNDATIONS BY IRISHMEN IN GERMANY.

St. Finlog, patron of *Metz*, and Abbot of *Simphorian*. *Ratisbon*, two Irish monasteries, *St. Peter* and *St. James*: *St. Peter's* erected, 1068; *St. James*, 1140. *Mentz*, *St. Dysibod*, 675. *Franconia*, 750. *St. Kylian*, he was earliest missionary to *Cologne* and *Wurtzburg*, and lies buried in the Cathedral of *Wurtzburg*. *St. Macarius*, 1152, *Mechlin*. *St. Rumold*, 775, *Cologne*, monastery of *St. Martins*. *Erford*, an Irish monastery, in 1061. *Nuremburg*, the church of *St. Egidius*, 1159, and another at the same place, and in the same year, founded by *Declan*. *Vienna*, a monastery by *Gregory*, in 1152. *Eichstachl*, *Worms*, *St. Rupert*, ob. 719. *St. Dobdan*, with fifty companions, accompanied *Virgil* to *Bavaria*.

RELIGIOUS FOUNDATIONS BY IRISHMEN IN FRANCE.

Poictiers, monastery of *St. Hilarius*, *St. Fridolinus*, abbot. Peronne, *St. Fursa*, ob. 648, founded a monastery at Lagny also; and his disciples, *St. Foilan*, *St. Gobhan*, and *St. Dicuil*, were his co-labourers. *Emilius*, another of his disciples, was Abbot of Lagny in 646. It was this *Fursa* who founded the monastery at Cnobersburg in England. *St. Arbogast*, consecrated Bishop of Strasburg, 646. Toul, *St. Mansuetus*, Bishop of, in the fifth century. Lorraine Breuil, *St. Fiacre* built a monastery at; he flourished A.D. 622; another at Malde; he was patron of Meaux; ob. 670. Luthra founded by *St. Deicola* or *Dichuil*. Strasburg, *Florentinus*, a monastery here, and another at Hasle; he died Bishop of Strasburg in 687. Angouleme, *Helias*, A. D. 862. Hasle, Alsace, *Arbogast*, an Irish Scot. Amboise, *St. Florentinus*, 576. Beaulieu, near Verdun, *Roding* or *St. Rouin*, Abbot. Luxeuil and Fontainis, founded by *St. Columbanus*, whose name is still held sacred through Lombardy, Burgundy, and Champagne. *St. Jonas* arrived in Burgundy A. D. 589. *St. Fridolin* was the son of an Irish king, and founded several monasteries in France, Helvetia, and on the Rhine; he flourished about the close of the seventh century. A.D. 772, *Clemens*, head of a great school just then established at Paris, and his companion *Albinus*, same date, made head of another just founded at Pavia, in Italy.

SPAIN.

St. Sedulius, Bishop of Oporto in the beginning of the eighth century.

UPPER SAXONY.

Albin, Bishop of Buraburg in 771.

AUSTRIA.

St. Virgilius, Bishop of Salzburg in 756; he and his companion, *Modestus*, first Bishop of Carinthia.

RELIGIOUS FOUNDATIONS BY IRISHMEN IN ITALY.

Tarentum, *St. Cathaldus*, seventh century; *St. Cathaldus* was a native of Munster, and a professor in the celebrated school at Lismore, where it is said he erected a church. Lecce, *St. Donatus*, Bishop (in Naples); he was also made Bishop of Fiesole, in Italy; he died in 861. Faventum, *St. Emilion*, patron. Lucca, *St. Frigidian*, Bishop for twenty-eight years, and still patron, ob. 588. Pavia University, founded by *John Albin*. Bobio in the Apennines, founded by *St. Columbanus*, who died there in 615. *St. Cumian* is the favourite saint also of this place. *Andrew*, disciple of *Donatus*, founded a monastery at St. Martins, near Fiesole. *Dongal*,

one of the most learned men of his time, was made professor of the School of Pavia by King Lothaire, in the middle of the ninth century. *Livinus*, an Irish bishop, suffered martyrdom in Flanders, A.D. 633.

SWITZERLAND.

St. Gall.—This saint gave name to the Canton of Monast.

St. Fridolin founded a church and monastery at Seckingen.

ICELAND.

In 874 *Ernulfus* and *Buo* built a church at Esinburg; and *St. Ailbhe* sent twenty-four of his disciples to Iceland.

St. Cuthbert, the celebrated Bishop of Lindisfarne, is said by good authorities to have been an Irishman, though his name is not to be found in some of the lists of Irish saints; but there is no doubt that he was educated an Irishman. The two *Ewalds*, who were martyred at Cologne, were English by birth, but Irish by education. *St. Willibroard*, whose tomb at Utrecht is pointed to by Holland and Belgium as of their first Christian missionary, was also English by birth, but Irish by education. The few English examples I have introduced (which may easily be extended) are in point, for they show that in the age under consideration, Ireland supplied the school for Englishmen, as well as the professor and missionary to the continent. And it must be kept in mind, that one of the great objects in the early monastic establishments was the culture of literature, and the study of architecture. Witness the numerous literary works and manuscripts copied and preserved through their means, and the many important and elegant examples of early architecture, designed and executed by bishops and abbots of the time. An important fact, also in point, is, that the great work published a short time since, Zeuss's "*Grammatica Celtica*," and recently ably reviewed in the "*Ulster Journal of Archæology*" by Dr. O'Donovan, owes most of its importance to the great antiquity of the Irish manuscripts which Zeuss discovered in the Continental colleges and monasteries, relics of those very missionaries whom we have been enumerating; the famous glosses and manuscripts, thus discovered, being far more ancient and valuable than any to be found in Britain or Ireland to the present. The foregoing matter has been gleaned from several sources, but chiefly from a private compilation made by Mr. Windele, who, with his usual kindness, forwarded it to me for the purpose.

We are now to resume the consideration of the next portion of this Paper, the secret language of the craftsmen of the Middle Ages in Ireland—a dialect evidently of much antiquity, many of the words being compounds of ancient and obsolete Irish, and selections from

other languages, showing much skill and ingenuity in their construction and selection, many of the words seemingly original in themselves.¹ The dialect is still privately used, chiefly by the building operatives in the south of Ireland, and like the "Roumeny Roker-pin" of the gipsies, always for their own secret purposes, so as not to be understood by their employers, or people in general. To suit the general reader, I have given the language in the English character, and the words as near as possible to the common pronunciation.

I wish to acknowledge the kindness of Mr. Williams, of Dungarvan, for his valuable assistance in fixing to several of the words the nearest Irish root. The name of the dialect in itself is suggestive: "beplazair na pair," pronounced Bare-logir-nha-sare, from *Berla*, language; *gair*, short, i. e. secret; *na saer*, of the artificers, or artisans.

BARELOGIR.	TRANSLATION.
TRIATH,	<i>God the Lord</i> , from <i>triað</i> (<i>Treak</i>), a king or lord.
BE-DHAL,	<i>Devil</i> , from <i>be</i> (<i>vay</i>), woman, and <i>balbaró</i> (<i>dhol-wee</i>), a deceiver, i. e. the woman deceiver, the devil.
EASH,	<i>A man</i> , from the Heb. <i>איש</i> (<i>aish</i> or <i>ish</i>), a man; and <i>aer</i> , people.
EASH TRIATH,	<i>Lord of man</i> , <i>eir-triað</i> , Lord of man.
EASH NA KEENA, . . .	<i>Man of the house</i> , <i>ca</i> , a house.
BOO,	<i>A woman</i> , <i>be</i> , a woman.
BOONA KEENA,	<i>Woman of the house</i> .
VAURIMAUN,	<i>Mother</i> , from a <i>maðair</i> (<i>a vahair</i>), his mother.
LIEKE,	<i>An old woman</i> , from the <i>leipe</i> , a tormentor or teaser, as probably in this sense the craftsmen looked on an old woman.
GABESH,	<i>A small boy</i> .
BOO-OGUNTHU,	<i>A young woman</i> , from <i>bé ógeancha</i> , a young, or young-looking woman.
MARA-LAUN,	<i>A child</i> .
SHOUN-DHAUNE,	<i>An old person</i> , <i>peanbuine</i> .
GUDTH,	<i>A woman of easy virtue</i> , or <i>bad character</i> , <i>pebh-bairpé</i> , or, <i>be capna</i> .
COINE,	<i>The body</i> , from <i>coni</i> , the waist, or middle of the body.
LOU-INE,	<i>The legs</i> , from <i>luinne</i> , plural, legs.
GABLISH,	<i>The finger</i> .
SNEITH,	<i>The nose</i> , from <i>pnuat</i> (<i>snoo-ah</i>), the visage.
DERCO,	<i>The eye</i> , from the Gr. <i>Δερκο</i> (<i>derco</i>), I see; <i>depc</i> , see, view.
BEL-LE,	<i>The mouth</i> , from <i>beal</i> , the mouth.

¹ About fifty years ago some twenty words of this dialect were given in the "Transactions" of the Gaelic Society; but the subject,

the consideration of which it seemed to be the purpose of that Society to resume, has not, that I am aware of, been entertained since.

BARELOGIE.	TRANSLATION.
LEITH,	<i>The tongue</i> , from liḡe (lee), licking with the tongue.
FAIG,	<i>The teeth</i> , from pec, a peg.
DUR-KE,	<i>The ear</i> .
COSHE DRE MON,	<i>The beard</i> , from cap, hair, and eabpomdn, light or short.
CRONIK-CONITH,	<i>The head</i> .
THOUIR,	<i>The backside</i> , from toin.
MAVOUSA,	<i>Myself</i> , from mipe (mishe), myself.
BUR-UB,	<i>A priest, or clergyman</i> , from bopb, fierce, overbearing. In general, the craftsmen were a loose set of fellows, and most probably dealt with severely by the clergy; they, therefore, made them the embodiment of fierceness or oppression by their cognomen of Burub.
ARRICK,	<i>An artificer, or craftsman</i> , from apceac, ingenious, or an ingenious person.
ARRICK CODA,	<i>A mason or stone-worker</i> .
ARRICK FUKK,	<i>A carpenter or worker in wood</i> , from peic, or pið, wood.
EASH-NA-LUDHA,	<i>The master, or man of the work</i> , from æp, and luoba, man of motion, in motion himself, and keeps all, or requires all to be in motion, or hard at work.
SHOU-RA-DHORE,	<i>The head inspector</i> , from Súpaðóip, a searcher, or inquirer.
SHOU-RIG,	<i>Look sharp, the master is coming</i> , from rúpiḡ, search ye, look sharp.
EASH SHOUROO,	Is also used for the same purpose.
TRE-HULE-EASHE,	<i>A fine man</i> , from tpeíteamail-æp, an accomplished man.
BRU-IG-NORE,	<i>A smith</i> , from ðpuirḡ, to press or beat down, and nóip, a doer, or the performer of the work; <i>nore</i> and <i>dhore</i> are very usual terminations to many of the words, and always in this sense.
CIFE-NUCH,	<i>A weaver</i> .
EASH COONUCH,	<i>A brogue-maker</i> .
FUMA-DHORE,	<i>A tailor</i> , Proumpuch is also a tailor.
GLAUM-A-DHORE,	<i>A piper, or musician</i> , from ḡlaḡm, a cry, and boip, a doer.
BURBEEN,	<i>A labourer</i> , from bopb, ignorant, and fn, a diminutive, i. e. mean and ignorant, compared to the ingenious artizan, in their own eyes.
SHEE-DHOUGE,	<i>A Bum, or policeman, &c.</i> , from the Ir. réoirḡ, blowing, that is a "blast," or an evil wind, otherwise a wind from the devil, in which sense these functionaries were eyed by the Arrick.

BARELOGIE.	TRANSLATION.
CAR-NORE,	<i>A soldier, from ceapn, victory, and oip, doer, or gainer of victory.</i>
DHO-FU-DHORE,	<i>A tell-tale, from do, ill or bad, peabh, a voice, i. e. the bad word.</i>
DHO-FU,	<i>To speak ill of a person; same root as above.</i>
BIN-NA,	<i>To speak, from bin, a voice; binneab, speaking or using the voice.</i>
LOFFOO,	<i>To steal, from lomúgað (lhavoo-a), handling, or laying hands on, as a thief does.</i>
LOFFU-DHORE,	<i>A thief or robber, from the same root.</i>
GOUL-THREE-SHUCH,	<i>A fellow of different religion, from gall, a foreigner, and capaireað, or cpeireað, over-coming or conquering.</i>
CODA,	<i>A stone, from caib, a rock or small stone.</i>
FUKE,	<i>Timber, from peac, a wooden handle, or peab, wood.</i>
MURTH,	<i>Mortar, from muipce, mortar.</i>
ALP,	<i>A job of work, also a hill, and also a town, from alp, a lump.</i>
TEEHULE-LUDA,	<i>Good work, from tpeitsemail, good, and luba, appearance, that is, it is of good appearance, looks well.</i>
DO-FE,	<i>Anything bad, from do-piub, worthless, valueless.</i>
DHO-FI-CAL-LUDA,	<i>Bad or ugly work, from do, ill; pã, under; cal, artistic; luba, appearance; i. e. below the standard of good work.</i>
GAB-ING,	<i>Idling, or slinging, from beag-buñ, work little.</i>
SHEK-EREM-HUESO,	<i>Discharged, or sent off from the work, from eaz, death; opm cupã, i. e. dead to the work, or lost to the job.</i>
PROSIMIG,	<i>To pull out, or work hard, from bpoftaig, hurry or make haste.</i>
CADTH-SOUCK-ENESS,	<i>The top-stone, or chief corner-stone, from caio-ptuice (kadh-shook-ke), rock or stone of the pinnacle.</i>
GA-HE-GAN,	<i>The wrong bond, or rather, no bond. This word is also used when an arch is not properly keyed, as when two bricks meet at the key instead of one, which the operative calls a "she arch;" it is also called "gabegan." The word is derived from the Irish of caib, a stone, and gan or gann, without, or short, of a stone, i. e. a bond-stone.</i>
LAUR-E-NE-RINGA,	<i>A plumb-rule, from lap, middle; na, of; name, a part or division; i. e. to be a true perpendicular, the plumb bob must fall into the centre of the division, i. e. the centre of truth.</i>

BARNLOGIC.	TRANSLATION.
LA-MOGUE,	<i>A level.</i>
BOCHAR,	<i>A square.</i>
LIMEEN,	<i>A trowel.</i> Limeen is also a watch, and is applied also to tools in general, and seems to have been derived from the Irish of liabhan, a trowel.
GLADEEN,	<i>A knife,</i> from gladius, a sword.
COSSAR,	<i>A hammer,</i> from capúr, a hammer.
RE-RE-POGUE,	<i>A perch of work.</i>
GAB-LISH,	<i>An inch,</i> from beg-larp, a little hand.
SCEVELA,	<i>A window,</i> from pceit anlæ, i. e. (skehan-llhay) shedding or pouring in light of day.
THIN-UCHE,	<i>Fire,</i> from tine, fire. Thno-hid is also fire.
TNU-HUH,	<i>Veneral.</i>
CADTH THNO-HID,	<i>Coals,</i> from cáib, a rock, and tñúitib, fire, i. e. the rock fire.
FOUKAMA,	<i>Smoke.</i>
COSHTRAMON,	<i>The chimney, or soot.</i>
KEEN,	<i>A house,</i> from cdi, a house; genitive, cama, housed.
KEENA BUIRB,	<i>A house of worship.</i>
THEARE-KEEN,	<i>A pawn-house, or gaol,</i> teap-ciana, scarcity house, i. e. to resort in time of need.
CAWHEKE A LIMEEN,	<i>What o'clock is it?</i>
LENHUING,	<i>A bed,</i> from long fuan, a bed or place of rest.
COING,	<i>A table.</i>
SISKE,	<i>A chair,</i> from pñipñe, a seat.
ROCHANE,	<i>Clothes of any kind,</i> from pocan, a covering.
TRE HULE ROCHANE,	<i>A good suit of clothes.</i>
ROCHANE THOUR,	<i>A breeches, or covering for the backside,</i> from pocan, a covering, and cónad, backside.
COONOGUES,	<i>Brogues or shoes.</i>
COLLA,	<i>A hat,</i> from call, a hood or cowl.
SKIRTEEN,	<i>A shirt.</i> Cnish is also a shirt.
STHEE MAREE,	<i>A pipe.</i>
COW RUING,	<i>Sleeping.</i>
MONE TREA,	<i>Good-morrow,</i> from mon, a day, and tñiat, good.
DHER-KOOING,	<i>Courting.</i>
BUR-RA BOOD,	<i>Married,</i> from buppa, enlarging, and bua, a woman, i. e. enlarging as a woman in pregnancy.
DOUS A MAUN,	<i>Dancing.</i>
COU SHOUS DA VOW,	<i>Good-morrow kindly.</i>
CONUS A MAR LUDHE THU VOULUDHE,	<i>How do you come on in the world?</i> from conap, map luaðeab tu að-pólað, How do you come on in Ireland (pólað)?
BOUCHLING,	<i>The sea,</i> from bočna, the sea.
DOUR,	<i>A river,</i> from doðap, water.

BARELOGIE.	TRANSLATION.
DHOU RUEING, . . .	<i>Raining, or watering, from the same root.</i>
DUVAR,	<i>Water, same root.</i>
SCABOGUE TREAII, . . .	<i>A large vessel, a ship.</i>
GAB SCABOGUE, . . .	<i>A small boat.</i>
KINAH,	<i>Food in general, from cœna, supper, or set meal.</i>
LISHEEN,	<i>Bread.</i>
CREVOCKS, or KUNUC, . .	<i>Potatoes.</i>
CORIN FARABEE, . . .	<i>Beef, from capna, flesh; and peap, male; and buaib, kine; i. e. the flesh of the male kine, bull beef.</i>
CORIN,	<i>Meat, from the same root.</i>
EUCH,	<i>Butter, from uch, udder.</i>
EG NA KOONIG, . . .	<i>Fish.</i>
CABRULE,	<i>Cabbage.</i>
ASSE, or ISAUGH, . . .	<i>Milk, from ap-i, drink of a female.</i>
CUHEE,	<i>Tobacco, from caitaib tobac, drawing the pipe.</i>
KEEN RUSH,	<i>Snuff.</i>
DEGLA FUKK,	<i>Cider, from beag-lait, drink, and peatb, wood, i. e. the drink of the timber.</i>
CRINE CAUN FUKK, . . .	<i>Apples.</i>
FARA-BUCH,	<i>A cow.</i>
KEFUL, or COULTH, . . .	<i>A horse; it also means a man who has not served seven years' apprenticeship to the business; he is a coultb, not broken in; and, no matter how well he may be able to work, must be treated with derision, avoided, none of the real craft daring to work with him.</i>
MAUNLISH,	<i>A pig, from monlaib, rough, bristly.</i>
KA-LIDH,	<i>A goat, from cabla (caw-llha), a goat.</i>
KEHER-NISH,	<i>A sheep, from caopa (khayre), a sheep.</i>
CUHIRE, or CIFRE-HAWN, .	<i>A dog, from cu, a hound.</i>
KNOPUCK,	<i>A cat.</i>
EASH CLUTOCH,	<i>A dunghill cock, from eaph, male; and cleiteac, feathered.</i>
CRINE CAUN CLUTOCH, . .	<i>An egg, from cpineacan, a round object; and cleiteac, feathered.</i>
EASH GARA-BUCH, . . .	<i>A turkey-cock, from eaph gearbac, the scabby bird, from his rough head and legs.</i>
DEGLA,	<i>Intoxicating drink, from beag-lait (dah-llah), good drink.</i>
DEGLA-CULAHKE,	<i>Porter, beag-lait cul-ice (dah-llah cool-ih), back-biting and drink, as probably the craft did back-bite over this slow, tedious, and talkative drink; or from culaibca, sleepy, heavy drink, calculated to produce sleep.</i>
DOUN CAUCHA,	<i>Whiskey, from don (dhoun), a gift; cabaca, of friendship, that is, the gift of friendship, a treat, or, what would seem more in point, from caica, quarrelsome, i. e. the quarrelsome gift.</i>

BARELOGIR.

TRANSLATION.

TRISHA DEEGLA, . . .	<i>A footing, or drop of drink</i> , from τριψε διγλα, through thee we drink; the new, or strange craftsman was not properly installed, or free in the work until he paid his "footing," that is, to give the rest of the men a treat of drink.
TRISHA,	<i>A measure or treat.</i>
DEGLUING,	<i>Drinking strong drink.</i>
CARRA,	<i>Drunk</i> , from capabap (caravous), excess in drinking.
GAB-CARRA,	<i>Partly drunk</i> , from the same root.
CARRA WAUN,	<i>A drunken spree.</i>
EASH CARRA KEENAH, .	<i>A hungry man</i> , literally, a man drunk with the hunger.
BINNUE CAHA,	<i>Begging</i> , from beaneact, a blessing; and ca- tuzab (cahue), sorrow, i. e. the prayer of the sorrowful.
MAU-LU,	<i>Scolding</i> , from mol, loud, clamorous.
SPRIS-A-NUE,	<i>Fighting.</i>
SHE KUING DA VOUSA, .	<i>To beat a person.</i>
SHEK,	<i>Dying</i> , from écc (eag), death.
SHE-KU,	<i>Murder</i> , or <i>to spoil a piece of work.</i>
SHE-KUDE,	<i>To kill</i> , or <i>is killed.</i>
THAU SHE ERIN SHEK, .	<i>He is dying</i> , from ta pe ap in eag, he is on, or at the death.
THU LE YOU SHEKA, . .	<i>He is dead</i> , ta luiðe an écc, he is lying in death.
PYNKE,	<i>Money of any kind</i> , from pinçimioð (pinginne), pence.
LEEB-RE-CAUN,	<i>A book</i> , also a <i>pound note</i> , from leaðbraðan, a little book; and libra, a pound weight, pound in money.
BAR-CAWN,	Is also used in the same sense.
SCRAUB TREAII,	Is also a <i>pound</i> , from pcpioð, writing; and cpiað, fine.
SORAU,	<i>A shilling</i> , from pçpeabal, a reward; value not defined.
GAB SCRAUB,	<i>Sixpence.</i>
FOUNK,	<i>A penny.</i>
GABFOUNK,	<i>A halfpenny.</i>
THIMPELAUN,	<i>Anything round</i> ; it is also a measure of any kind, such as a pint, a quart, &c., &c.
MEA-NAUN,	<i>Micheal</i> , from Mitcealín.
NEATHUS,	<i>Ned</i> , or <i>Edmond.</i>
GIS-BAUN,	<i>John</i> , from Seaçan (Shaun), Jack.
AISH CRITH,	<i>A musician</i> , from aep, a man; and cpiuit, a harp.
DUE,	<i>Land</i> , ðep, land; or from buiðce, a country.
CAUGH,	<i>A small way or passage</i> , from cai, a passage.
CUSTRAMAUN,	<i>A road</i> , from copán, a foot-path.
CUSTRIG AGUDINE ALP, .	<i>Hurry to town</i> , from coipðneað tu ço ðciç analp (cusdre-hu-go-dee an alp), hasten to the town, or to the collection of houses.

BARELOGIR.

TRANSLATION.

ALPO-LEERA,	<i>Capital</i> , i. e. <i>Dublin</i> , from alp, a town, and lia- gan, Leinster, i. e. the capital of Leinster.
MOUL-EADTH,	<i>Day</i> , from mall-eab (moul-ay), slow time; as if the men felt the day long in passing.
SCKUEED,	<i>Night</i> , from pcat-nae (skaw-nay), shadow of yesterday.
SGAU-NID,	<i>The Sun</i> .
SCAU-NID REA,	<i>The Moon</i> .
GRIFINTHU,	<i>Foxy</i> .
COSH-DREA,	<i>Be off, run away</i> , from corupigh, to foot it.
SPUGNIG LEE MEEN, . .	<i>Six o'clock</i> , leave off work, from ptabig, stay, or stop; and liaban, a trowel.
OCHEE LUDA,	Is also used for the same purpose.
NE TO HU LUN NAW- GRE BOUL-DRE MON THE HEKE,	<i>A mad cuckold of a fellow</i> .
CAW-HEKE IN RUDGHE SCAB-AN-THU NA THEE- KA NA LIBOGUE, . . .	<i>What's smaller than the eye of a midge?</i>

In the "Ordnance Survey of the Parish of Templemore," p. 230, the writer (believed to be Dr. Petrie), speaking on the Grianan of Aileach, places the masonic dialect or Barelogirnasair much higher in the scale of antiquities than I have done. He says:—

"The ruined fort of Aileach presents an example of barbaric art, not imitative of the refinement of the Egyptians, the Greeks, or the Romans, but of that ruder and more distant effort at civilization, belonging to the heroic ages, of which so many vestiges have been recently found in various countries; an example of the architecture of that race who have left so many other evidences of their existence in Ireland, as in their religion, their language, called the *Masonic dialect*, and composed of Semitic words, and the Punic or early Greek-shaped swords and other antiquities of bronze, silver, and gold, so constantly discovered in the country. In the general characteristic of this ancient work the antiquary will at once recognise the features of the first efforts in architectural art, '*les ouvrages d'un art sans art*,' as they have been fancifully called, which, whether ascribed to the Titans, Cyclopeans, Pelasgians, or 'Wandering Architects,' are found to pervade so extensive a portion of the old world."

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

GENERAL MEETING, held in the Assembly Rooms, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, August 31st (by anticipation for September 7th), 1859,

THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF OSSORY, President of the Society, in the Chair.

The following new Members were elected :—

William F. J. Hort, Esq., R. M., Kilkenny: proposed by Joseph Greene, Esq.

The Rev. Charles Cuyler Anderson, Gillingham, Kent: proposed by the Rev. James Graves.

William Allen, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, 43, Lower Dominick-street, Dublin: proposed by Thomas Joseph Tenison, Esq., J. P.

Edward J. Maher, Esq., Littlefield, Jenkinstown: proposed by J. G. A. Prim, Esq.

John E. Fleming, Esq., Head Inspector of National Schools, Tramore: proposed by William H. Newell, Esq., LL. D.

Mr. Henry Jones, Clonmel: proposed by Mr. W. Lawless.

The Rev. James Graves reported that a meeting of Committee having taken place before the General Meeting, the proposed new apartments of the Society, being the premises recently used as the Royal Engineers' Office, William-street, had been inspected and fully approved of; and a resolution had been entered into authorizing their being rented at £14 per annum. Besides ample accommodation for the Museum and Library, the premises would afford space for a comfortable meeting-room for the Society. The Society was much indebted to the Mayor and Corporation for the use of the Assembly Rooms hitherto. The next meeting of the Society would be held in their own apartments.

On the motion of Mr. Tidmarsh, seconded by Mr. T. Power,

Mr. J. G. Robertson was requested, and consented, to act as Honorary Curator of the Society's Museum, &c.

It was then settled that, as soon as the Museum was arranged in its new location, it shall be open to the inspection of all Members, and friends introduced by them, on each Wednesday, from twelve to three o'clock.

The following presentations were received, and thanks voted to the donors:—

By the Very Rev. Richard Butler, D. D., Dean of Clonmacnoise: "*Origines Parochiales Scotiæ*," 3 vols., 4to; privately printed for the Bannatyne Club.

By the Kent Archæological Society: "*Archæologia Cantiana*," Vol. I.

By the Publisher: "*The Gentleman's Magazine*" for August.

By the Cambrian Archæological Association: "*Archæologia Cambrensis*," Third Series, No. 19.

By the Cambrian Institute: "*The Cambrian Journal*" for June, 1859.

By the Geological and Polytechnic Society of the West Riding of Yorkshire: their "*Proceedings*," for 1858-9.

By the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society: their "*Annual Report*" for 1858-9.

By the Royal Dublin Society: their "*Journal*," No. 14.

By Thomas J. Tenison, Esq., J. P.: "*The Report of the Armagh Natural History Society*," for 1858.

By the Publisher: "*The Builder*," Nos. 857-62.

By Evelyn Philip Shirley, Esq., M. P.: "*Loughfea*." London: privately printed, 1859.

Mr. William Wright presented rubbings of the ancient monuments of the Purcell family in the church of Coolcraheen, and those of Butler and Bradshaw, at the old church of Donoughmore, near Ballyraggett.

The Rev. Samuel Madden, Attanna, sent for exhibition an extremely rare specimen of gold ring-money, found on his glebe-lands, at Rosconnell, by the daughter of one of his tenants, whilst engaged in weeding potatoes. It was thirteen-sixteenths of an inch in diameter, and weighed 17 dwts. Troy. What constituted its extreme rarity was that it seemed to have been composed of alternate plates of white and yellow gold, soldered together, the divisions of which, radiating from the centre, showed that its annular form did not arise from a straight bar of gold being bent round, but from separate plates, each formed like the voussoir of an arch, being soldered together with great nicety and skill. The gold of which it was composed was of the finest quality, and its intrinsic value was

£2 14s. The Rev. Mr. Madden stated his wish to have it disposed of at such higher price as its archaeological value might command, for the benefit of the finder, it being his intention to waive his own right, as owner of the soil, in favour of his tenant.

The Rev. Samuel Hayman sent the following communication, and exhibited the second token therein referred to:—

“As supplemental to my Paper on the Youghal Tradesmen’s Tokens (pp. 222–232, *supra*), I should wish to notice two additional specimens which as yet remain undescribed. For the knowledge of the first I am indebted to the courtesy of a diligent collector, whose contributions have frequently graced these pages, Captain Edward Hoare, North Cork Rifles. Some time after the publication of my Paper, this gentleman wrote to me in reference to it, saying that he had in his cabinet several specimens of the Youghal Tokens, viz. (following my list):—1. John Gerald’s; 3. Peter Godwin’s; 7. John Luther’s; 8. John Merrick’s; and 9. Edward Perry’s. In regard to Peter Godwin’s, Captain Hoare kindly wrote:—

“I have two varieties of this token: one is exactly the same as that described by you; the other differs in size: it is smaller, and more neatly executed. The legend on the reverse reads thus—

IF . NOT . LIK’D . I’LL . CHAINGE . THE”.

I never saw but this one specimen, and I often fancied it was struck more as a pattern than for circulation, for it is little used, and is in perfect preservation. Perhaps, on finding that the word CHAINGE was wrongly spelled, the piece was condemned and called in, and the other specimen, which you have published, was substituted.’

“This second and smaller token of Peter Godwin is unnoticed in the Catalogues of Dr. Aquilla Smith and Mr. Boyne; and I would regard Captain Hoare’s specimen as unique. I regret that I am unable at present to engrave it. Its kind possessor, however, promises me that, so soon as his professional engagements at Aldershot will permit him to return home, and thus gain access once more to his cabinet, the token shall be forwarded to me, with liberty to use it in these pages.

“The other, undescribed, Youghal token is represented beneath. It was found, August 6, 1859, on Green’s-quay, Youghal, by a girl gathering chips and shavings, near a place where ship-carpenters were at work.



At first, owing to its lying among the chips, the Token was supposed to have been concealed within some chink or crevice in a mast, at which a seaman was working with his adze; but accurate investigation gave a more rational clue to its habitation, namely, the rubbish of an old house,

dropped on this part of the quay, as ballast for some trading vessel. The token is copper, and weighs 25 grains. It is thus inscribed:—

<i>Obverse.</i>	<i>Reverse.</i>
ABRAHAM . VAVGHAN . POST .	MASTER . OF . YAVGHALL (A . V) ¹
(<i>A mounted post-boy, blowing a horn.</i>)	

"On referring to the municipal list, I find that Abraham Vaughan served as Bailiff of Youghal in 1659 and 1662; but there is no record of his having been chosen Mayor. Among the Ronayne MSS., at Doughcloyne, the seat of Thomas Ronayne Sarsfield, Esq., is an Order from the Commissioners for the Settlement of Ireland, bearing date September 1, 1663, and addressed to the Mayor and Bailiffs of Youghal. It directed them to put James Ronayne Fitz John, who had been 'restored' 8th August previously (under the letters patent of Charles II., February 14, 1660-61), into possession of certain messuages in Youghal, to which he was entitled. First in the list I find—'One messuage, now in possession of Abraham Vaughan.'

"In the list of Youghal Tokens, already published in these 'Transactions,' was one struck by Thomas Vaughan (page 230), and the postmaster was probably his brother. Of Abraham Vaughan's Token no other specimen, save the one we engrave, is known to be in existence. That before us belongs to Mr. John Burke, the intelligent sexton of St. Mary's Collegiate Church, Youghal."

The following Papers were then read.

THE PLANTATION OF THE BARONY OF IDRONE, IN THE COUNTY OF CARLOW.

BY JOHN P. PRENDERGAST, ESQ.

SOME few years since the following sketch of the history of the barony of Idrone would, probably, have afforded more interest than it can pretend to now. The scenery it describes was then familiar to every traveller to the south of Ireland.

In the journey to Kilkenny, in the old coaching time, no one can forget the drive along the Barrow side from the town of Carlow to Leighlin Bridge, nor the narrow inconvenient bridge itself, built

¹ The Post-office in Ireland was first regularly established by an ordinance of Cromwell, directing that weekly packet-boats, carrying letters, should pass and re-pass between Milford and Waterford, and between Chester and Dublin respectively. The reader is referred for much valuable information on the subject to the "Introductory Memoir of the Dublin and Drogheda Railway," prefixed to

the first volume of Mr. D'Alton's excellent "History of Drogheda." In regard to the Youghal Post-office, I may be pardoned for preserving the name of an humble official, whose very portrait may have been represented on Abraham Vaughan's Token. I find in that record of mortality, the "Burials" in St. Mary's churchyard:—"1713. May 25, Darby Roan, the Post."

narrow for defence, with the ruins of the ancient castle and monastery standing beside it on the left bank of the river, to the south of the bridge.

The reader of old chronicles must have often thought, as he passed this ruined monastery and tower, of the scenes recorded in Holinshed, how Sir Edward Bellingham, Deputy of Ireland in the year 1547, finding that the Earl of Desmond refused to come to him at the Castle of Dublin, ordered it to be walled round, and, without saying his purpose, took up his quarters there with thirty or forty horse, and, riding off suddenly at night, surprised the Earl in his hall, and carried him back prisoner to Leighlin, on his way to Dublin;—how, twenty years later, Sir Peter Carew made it the chief place of his residence in the barony of Idrone, which he recovered from the Kavanaghs in the year 1568, and there kept almost open house, living “at a bountiful old rate, like a good old English gentleman,” as he truly may be said to have been. The traveller then had time (and time enough) to observe every feature of the scene, and fix it in his memory. Now he is whirled over the face of the country without the opportunity to mark an object in the view, or to ask its name or history.

To the interest springing from frequently passing the scenes here described, is, in some degree, owing the present notice of Idrone. As Imlac says to Rasselas, in his discussion on pilgrimages, “that by viewing the fields where great actions have been performed, men return with stronger impressions of the events,” so each notice met with of Leighlin and of Idrone, made the deeper impression on the memory from familiarity with the spots.

As from Hooker’s notices in Holinshed of Sir Peter Carew sprung the first interest concerning these scenes; so some unpublished memorials of Colonel Walter Bagnal, whose ancestor purchased Idrone from the nephew of Sir Peter Carew, strongly illustrative of the events of the Great Rebellion, or war, in Ireland, of 1641, induced further inquiries, which have gradually furnished matter that has spread to the dimensions of the present paper. In the course of these investigations, it need scarcely be said that the “Life and Times of Sir Peter Carew,” lately edited by J. Maclean, Esq., has been the source from whence the history of Sir Peter Carew’s recovery of the barony of Idrone has been drawn—a work that has been edited in a way to make it one of the most instructive books concerning the period to which it relates. As regards Ireland, this period is unfortunately a short one, comprising only seven years, from 1568 to 1571. Some further notices, both of the times previous and subsequent, are here attempted.

Were the history of Idrone properly written, it might furnish almost a miniature history of Ireland. As each individual man is called a microcosm, or world in miniature, as compared to the macrocosm, or world at large, so the true story of any one district like

Idrone would image forth the history of every other. Idrone offers peculiar inducements to such an attempt, for the Kavanaghs, the Carews, and the Bagnals, seem to have occupied it in succession from the earliest time¹ to the present hour, and though any such continuity of ownership may be said to be of rare occurrence in Ireland, it will be found that there was no lack of interruptions, and that the conflicts for ownership were as frequent as in other parts. Imperfect as is the present notice, it will scarcely fail to cause some reflection, that if this district, so near to Dublin, has up to so recent a period been the scene of so many changes, more distant parts must have been the theatre of greater. If the county of Carlow could be classed, up to the days of Henry VIII., among the counties "that obey not the king's laws," and have neither justice nor sheriffs among them under the king,² what must not have been the state of the more distant counties?

The county of Carlow, though the least in extent, was, in early days, one of the most important of the English counties in Ireland.

Through the county of Carlow lay the road connecting the settlements of the English in Munster, the richest and earliest in Ireland, with the seat of government in Dublin. The counties of Kilkenny, Waterford, Cork, Limerick, and Kerry, and even Wexford, must all be approached, in those days, by the bridge of Leighlin, which spans the river Barrow in the barony of Idrone, in the centre of the county of Carlow. Not only was there no other bridge over the Barrow higher up the stream than Leighlin Bridge, but the lands on the right bank, called now the Queen's County, were until the days of Philip and Mary in the hands of the O'Moores, a hostile and independent nation of Irish, who forbade a passage. And the mountains of Dublin and Wicklow formed, for many ages, an impassable barrier against any road more directly to the south, no less by the nature of the fastnesses than the spirit of the wild tribes of the O'Tooles and the O'Byrnes that inhabited them.

The county of Carlow formed part of the kingdom of Leinster, which Strongbow enjoyed in right of Eva, daughter of M'Murrough, and from Strongbow passed to William, Earl Marshal, who married Strongbow's only daughter and heiress, "which Earl Marshal," according to Baron Finglas, "enjoyed all Leinster in peace sixty years after the Conquest, and left the same obedient to the king's laws at his death, except certain of the blood and name of M'Murrough, which, by sufferance of the said Earl for alliance of their wives, were dwelling under tribute in the county of Carlow, as it were a barony, in a place called Idrone."³

¹ "Which they have kept synce before the birth of Christ," wrote Cowley (to Cecil) of the Kavanaghs. See p. 82, *supra*.

² "State Papers of Henry VIII.," vol. i.

(Ireland), page 8.

³ Harris's "Hibernica," page 81. 8vo. Dublin, 1770. Chief Baron Finglas wrote in the reign of Henry VII.

The kingdom of Leinster, after the Earl Marshal's death, having finally vested in his five daughters, was divided amongst them as coparceners, the eldest taking the county of Carlow; but the husbands of these five ladies, being all Englishmen residing on their possessions in England, never saw Ireland, and, leaving the Irish in possession, the Irish took the opportunity to retain the lands and jurisdiction for themselves. Within twenty years after the Earl Marshal's death, in the beginning of Edward II.'s reign, the Captain of the Kavanaghs, left in possession of part of Carlow by the Earl and Countess of Norfolk, kept that portion as his own, and got possession of a great part of the counties of Carlow and Wexford, and called himself M'Murrough.¹ The O'Tooles and the O'Byrnes, who occupied the Dublin and Wicklow mountains, which are conterminous with the county of Carlow, became his allies; and, growing in strength, they kept all the country between Carlow and the east coast as their own, which is thirty miles and more; "and so," adds Baron Finglas, "began the decay of Leinster."²

The possession of the Dublin, Wicklow, and Carlow mountains by the three tribes of the O'Byrnes, O'Tooles, and the Kavanaghs, in effect cut off the communication of the English with their settlements in Wexford and the south of Ireland. "They hindered the passage of the king's judges and officers who might otherwise have circulated in the parts beyond the Barrow, and thereby exiled the ministration of the king's law out of Carlow, situate in the midst of Leinster."³ "Whence," says Sir John Davis, "grew that Irish bye-word, that they dwelt by-west of the law that dwelt beyond the Barrow, which is within thirty miles of Dublin."⁴

From his position on the hills that approach the Barrow at Leighlin Bridge, M'Murrough commanded the passage to that place, and, from the days of King Edward III. until the end of the reign of Henry VIII., M'Murrough was paid a yearly stipend of 80 marks from the King's Exchequer, being, in fact, so much "black mail" paid to him for liberty to pass towards Leighlin Bridge, and to abstain from harrying the English settlers in his neighbourhood.

When this payment was not duly made, as sometimes happened from want of funds in the Exchequer, he proceeded to enforce it by attacking the English inhabitants in the counties in his neighbourhood, as in the fifty-first year of Edward III. (A.D. 1377), where there is an entry on the roll resolving that the Earl of Ormonde, Justiciary of Ireland, on account of the damages done in the counties of

¹ Harris's "Hibernica," page 82. 8vo. Dublin, 1770.

² Ibid.

³ "State Papers of Henry VIII.," vol. i. (Ireland), page 411. "Memorial, or a Note

for the wyning of Leynster." A. D. 1586.

⁴ "Discovery why Ireland was never brought under obedience to the Crown of England till the reign of King James I.," page 177. 8vo. Dublin, 1787.

Wexford, Kilkenny, Carlow, and Kildare, by Arthur Kavanagh, pretending to be chief captain of his nation, and claiming 80 marks a year of the king as his fee, and not to be appeased unless he is paid, do advance him one quarter in hand out of his, the said Earl's, own funds, and do retain him in the king's pay for one year.¹ It may be easily conceived how deeply galling to the English Government was such a state of things. Accordingly, in the following reign, when King Richard II. landed at Waterford with 4000 cavalry and 30,000 archers, he marched through the Kavanaghs' territory and accepted their fealty and submission, and made them engage themselves in penalties of several thousand marks, payable to the Papal Chamber, to give up unto the king, and his successors, all their lands which they held in Leinster, and before the first Sunday in Lent following to seek out and conquer other lands for themselves from amongst the king's enemies on the other side of the Barrow.²

This transaction was dated the 13th of February, 1394; but the troubles following the revolution by which King Richard II. was deposed, and Henry IV. succeeded to the throne, probably prevented the English from forcing the Kavanaghs to perform their engagement; for, in a statement of grievances presented by the Parliament of Ireland about twenty-five years afterwards, in the ninth year of King Henry V., to the king, they complain that, in spite of this engagement, the Kavanaghs, among others, and against their allegiance rebelled, and they suggest that the King should induce the Pope, whom they had evidently sought to interest by the extent of the great penalties in the bonds passed by the Irish, to declare a crusade against them. The terms of this curious instrument, which is dated A.D. 1421, are as follows:—

Item.—"Your said lieges shew to your high and royal majesty that, whereas at the first coming of your most noble predecessor, King Richard the Second, to the s^d land, most of the great chieftains of the Irish nation, that is to say, M'Murrough [Kavanagh], O'Neil, O'Breene of Thomond, O'Connor of Connaught, and divers other Irish, most humbly of their free will submitted and became liege-men to him and his heirs, Kings of England, for themselves, their children, kindred, and people for ever, and at that time did their liege homage; and also, for greater security bound themselves, of their own free will, by divers instruments, as appear in various forms, to the Most Holy Father, the Pope and his successors, for the firmly keeping their allegiance; the which instruments remain in your treasury of England, as your said lieges suppose; but since that time the s^d persons openly became outlaws and rebels, and wasted and destroyed your said lieges against the form aforesaid premised. Your said lieges, therefore, pray, if it shall please your most noble and gracious lordship, that you will write to and inform our most holy father the Pope, by your most gracious

¹ Patent Rolls of Chancery, 51st year of Edw. III., fol. 81-82.

² Sir John Davis's "Discovery," &c., p. 35. 8vo.

letters, the matters and things aforesaid, with the circumstances, *that a crusade be made against the said Irish enemies* for the relief and salvation of the s^d land, and of your lieges in this behalf, *and in perpetual destruction of the said enemies by the aid of God.*"¹

The English, however, were too much occupied with the wars in France, and with their troubles at home, to mind the state of Ireland; and the county of Carlow, which hitherto had evidently been occupied by many settlers of English descent, fell entirely into the hands of the native Irish. This appears by the following letter-missive from the Parliament of Ireland to the king, in the fourteenth year of the reign of Henry VI. (A.D. 1435).

This document, written in the old Chaucer English, represents the regular administration and jurisdiction of the English Government as confined to the neighbourhood of the capital:—

"Thies ben the articles of the message of Irelande.

"First, that it please our sov'aigne lorde, graciously consider how that his lande of Ireland is welnegh destrued, and inhabytyd with his enimyex and rebelx in so moch that y^r is not left in the nethir parties of the countees of Dyvelyn, Mith, Loueth, and Kyldare, that yonyn to gadyr, oute of the subjection of the s^d enemyes and rebelx, scarisly xxx miles in lengthe, and xx miles in brede, ther as a man may surely ride other [or] go in the said countees to answerre to the Kynge's writtes, and to his commandements.

"Also, the countee of Catherlagh in the south west partie of the citie of Dyvelyn [which] within this xxx year was oon of the keyes of the said lande, mydway betweene the said citie, and the out parties (that is to say, the countees of Kilkenny and Tipperary, and the province of Cashell also) is inhabyted with enemyes and rebelx, save the castels of Catherlagh and Tillagh; and within this lx yere y^r were in the said countee of Catherlagh cxlviii castelx and pyles defensible well voutyd, bataylled, and inhabyted, that now ben destrued, and under the subjection of the said enemyes."²

The English power had at this period reached its lowest point of depression, owing in a great degree to the civil wars of the Roses, which drew away from Ireland the greater portion of the Anglo-Irish nobility in the train of Richard Duke of York, to follow the fortunes of his house; and many of these families being totally extinguished on the various battle-fields, or having sold their possessions to enable them to go to the war, the Irish had not much ado to get back into their ancient territories, as described in this message of Parliament.

Among the first consequences of the ending of these wars was the attempt of the English Government to restore its jurisdiction in Ireland, a task which was intrusted to Gerald Earl of Kildare, who,

¹ Sir W. Betham's "Origin of the Constitutions of England, and of the Early Parliaments of Ireland," p. 337. 8vo. Dub. 1834.

² Id., p. 361.

as a follower of the fortunes of the house of York, rose to power with the success of that house, and had the management of civil and military affairs in Ireland for Edward IV., in the course of which he gained for his family such power and possessions, that it became at last too powerful for the state of a subject, and, like too lofty a building, fell, almost of its own weight. Next adjacent to his great possessions in the county of Kildare lay the county of Carlow, which he so far recovered to the king's obedience that all resistance by the Irish was abandoned; but there seems then to have followed the ever-recurring difficulty—the re-occupying the recovered lands with English. The heirs of the English owners resident out of Ireland did not care to come and occupy them; and the English in Ireland were so few, that the lands necessarily remained in the hands of the Irish. This tempted the ambition of the Earl of Kildare to acquire the county thus deserted by its ancient proprietors for himself, and he, accordingly, got a statute passed in a Parliament held before himself, as Lord Deputy, at Limerick in the twenty-second year of Edward IV., giving him all the lands of English absentees, from the town of Calvestown to the castle of Carlow, and so to the bridge of Leighlin (being all the best land in Carlow, and comprising the barony of Idrone), on the plea of their continued absence, unless they came over and undertook their improvement within twelve months. From the owners or claimants not thus disinherited, he took leases of their manors, holds, and castles,¹ and thus became lord of the whole county. To many of his family and retainers he, no doubt, made grants of lands, but he did not disturb the Kavanaghs in their possessions, and they and other Irish became his retainers and faithful allies, thereby increasing the power of his house.² The attempt to wrest this power from his successor, in Henry the Eighth's reign, produced the general rebellion in Ireland under his son, known as the rebellion of Silken Thomas.

Projects for reducing the Earl's great demesnes were commenced early in the sixteenth century, when the statute of Edward IV. was repealed,³ and his right to the estates of the English absentees in the

¹ See Stat. 28 Hen. VIII., c. 8 (Stat. of Absentees).

² "The Erl of Kildare, his brethern and kinsmen, have the Countees of Kildare and Catherlagh under them till it come unto the Bridge of Leighlin."—"Report of the State of Ireland made to King Henry VIII., A. D. 1534."—"State Papers of Henry VIII.," vol. i. (Ireland), p. 182, Paper 69.

³ From "Alani Registrum" (commonly called the "Liber Niger of Christ Church"), T. C. D., F. 1. 8, page 545:—

"An Act of Parl^t, made at Lymerick, the xxii year of Edward the fourth, befor the

Erl of Kildare, then being Deputy, containing in effect that because the s^d Erl submitted, he did releve and peaceably bring to the King's obedience the Countyes of Catherlaghe and Kyldare, and the lands of the same, from the hands, power, and oppression as well of the Kyng's Irish enemies as of his English rebels within his said land, which afterwards remained wast through negligence of the inheritors of many and divers parcellis of the same, that wold not endeavor themself, according to their interest, to rehabitt those lands. Wherefore it was then ordained that all such persons of the King's subjects pre-

county of Carlow, under that Act, was taken away, on the ground that they, being out of the kingdom, had no notice of the requirements of the Act. Their titles were restored, no doubt, in the hope that they would come over and re-inhabit them.

After the rebellion, however, which took place in the year 1534, the king probably regretted this enactment; for the consequence of it was, that these estates escaped the forfeiture which was made of all the Earl's lands and privileges; and as the chief lordship and the rights of a county palatine in the county of Carlow (which included the administration of justice in this county) had been by the repeal of the statute of Edward IV. revested in the heirs of the Earl Marshal, a fresh statute was required to vest them in the king. This was effected by the 28th of Henry VIII. c. 3, passed in the year 1537, and entitled "The Act of Absenties," &c. It sets forth the evils of the absenteeism. English noblemen, to whom great possessions in Ireland had come either by king's grants or by descent, being absentees, and not providing for the defence of their possessions, had suffered the wild Irishry, "being mortal and natural enemies to the kings of England, and to English dominion," in their absence, and through their negligence, to enter upon their estates to the strengthening of the Irish, almost to the destruction of the king's English subjects. In this manner Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolk, and the Lord Berkeley, his comparcioner, who hold as their ancient inheritance the seigniories and lordships of Catherlagh and Old Ross, and other manors in Ireland, have allowed the Irish to encroach upon them, so that the

tending any right or title in any Castles, towns, villages, lands, rents, or services, with their appurt^{ments}, should enter, and the same to re-inhabitt, with plouwing or other manner husbandry, within one twelve month, or elles from the town of Calveston unto the Castle of Catherlaghe, and so to the Bridge of Leghlin, then waste, and not inhabited in forme aforessaid, it sholde be laffull for the said Erle at all times after to enter in all and singular the premises, except such lands and tenements as appertained of right to Holy Church and place of Religion, to have and to hold to him and his heirs for ever, provide that if any such persons come within vi year then next after making reasonable [*sic*] of the costs done for the rehabilitation of the premises, or compound with the s^d Erle or his heirs. But xi years after . . . was granted by the said Act unto all manner of persons then being within xxi years of age. Now, for as much as the Supposaille of the said Act contained not all manner of truth, and the contents of the same, for diverse considerations in manner impossible to be performed by the

persons pretending title in the premises, neither the said Erle himself was able to re-inhabitt the said lands with the King's subjects, and as so [*sic*] agree or compound with the said Erle within the yeares limited in the said Act for re-inhabitting the said lands, for it was harde, for there was none indifferent judge limited thereunto but himselfe, and diverse lands within the said two counties did appertaine to the inheritance of sundry persons within Inglande which were not privy ne colde have notice of the said Act, being ought of the Lande. Therefore, be it enacted by the authority of this present Parlement, that the said be not hurtfull ne prejudiciall to any persons of Inglande then absent or since. But y^t [every] of them be in their first state."

It does not appear when the Act, proposed to be repealed, was passed. A marginal note in the copy in the "Liber Niger" says — "*Hæc derogatio facta est, 153 et 28°*," from which it might be concluded that it was made in the 23rd year of Henry VIII.; but this is doubtful.

king's highness that now is, and his father and grandfather, at divers times, have been at great danger to recover them, but, being absentees, they still allowed them to fall into the hands of the Irish, or made leases of their holds and manors to the late Earl of Kildare. The consequence of which was, that they came to Thomas Fitzgerald, his son and heir, who rebelled, with the purpose of taking the land of Ireland out of the king's possession, aided by the inhabitants of the said land. So that, for repressing the said Thomas Fitzgerald and his accomplices, and for winning the Castles of Carlow, Old Ross, Arklow, Tullagh in Offelim, Kilrush, and other fortresses, the king was enforced to send and keep there an army royal. Considering these inconveniences, therefore, and how little profits were received by these absentees, although, by their negligence, especially in the counties of Carlow and Wexford (places privileged by the king's noble progenitors, that the lords may hold pleas within the same, whereby the king's laws and writs be not obeyed there) no justice was administered, so that the king's enemies have his subjects there in serfage; considering also, that under the Statute of Richard II. the king might exact two-thirds of the yearly profits by reason of their absence, and that, if he were to insist upon it, the same would countervail the purchase of the estates; yet, for corroborating the king's title, the statute vests the lordship of Carlow, and the estates of other absentees there specified, in the king.

The suppression of Thomas Fitzgerald's rebellion may be considered as the commencement of the era of modern history for Ireland. The statesmen of England were now enabled to turn their whole attention to the improving of this country; and a complete replanting of the kingdom with fresh colonists from England was projected,¹ for which the extensive forfeitures of the house of Kildare, and the prostration of the Irish, who had been long supported by their alliance and friendship with the Geraldines, offered such good opportunities. For 250 years there had been no forfeitures. This

¹ Cowley, in his "Little Treatise on the re-adopting the King's dominion in Ireland, and to attain the further possessions never had, and how to retayne and inhabit the same," suggests (A.D. 1536) that they should make their war, and begin their enterprise and conquest upon O'Byrne (of the county of Wicklow). "And because I would move how to inhabit as they shall proceed, the town of Wicklow is defensible enough: and to inhabit the same with four score English house holders, and the residue to be of the English pale, and that every of the same do have 100 acres of the lands next above the town, which shall be a good living for them, and a surety for all the country." A town with English to be built in the midst of O'Byrne's

country. "The castles and piles of defence to be made upon the passes and streights of the country, and gentlemen to have them for certain service to be done for them: then the heart of the country to be set for profit, and inhabited with a convenient number, and the first two years the number must be the more, till they wear out the Irishery in exile," Arklow to be taken and inhabited, and Ferns and other towns. "*Then shall all Leinster be clear English, without any of the Irish among them.*" Then he proceeds through Ulster, Munster, and Connaught, in like manner, whose townspeople are to be "exiled," the walls of the town repaired, and then inhabited with English. But he adds, as to these three latter provinces:—"These countries shall not

was the cause, it was said, why the Irish so easily rebelled.¹ The blood of the first conquest was worn out.² Younger sons of good houses in England must come over with their followers, and renew the scheme of the first conquerors.³ There must be fresh plantations. There is no reformation like to that.⁴

The scheme was particularly aimed against the native Irish, and, above all, against the allies of the Geraldines in the county of Carlow and Wexford, and the mountains of Dublin, who were to be the first exterminated; afterwards, all the Irish on this side the Shannon. Such were the plans and projects of the English statesmen of that day in Ireland. The king, however, under the advice of St. Leger, entered into compositions with the Irish, and seems to have confined his confiscations to the estates of the Geraldines. The younger branches of this house, notwithstanding the execution of Thomas Fitzgerald and his five uncles in London, were not so cowed, but that in 1546 they were again in rebellion on finding themselves and their families reduced to destitution, and their properties in the hands of new settlers. The matter is put in simple but expressive language by the Irish annalists:—

“A. D. 1546.—Many of the Geraldines, namely, William, the son of James, son of the Earl of Kildare; and Maurice of the wood, the son of James Meirgeach, the son of the Earl, and other young men along with them, rose against the English, resolved to be revenged of them for their expulsion from their estates; they committed innumerable depredations, burning Ballymore Eustace, plundering Rathvilly and the neighbourhood, and burning Rathangan, on which occasion they carried away many thousand head of cattle, too numerous to mention.”⁵

These “young men,” who were the adherents of Geraldines in this rebellion, were their Irish cousins and kinsmen, the O'Moores and O'Connors, and dearly they paid for their affection to the house of Kildare. Perhaps, however, their interests engaged them to their undoing as well as their affections.

need be all inhabited with Englishmen, but may be mixed with divers born in the English Pale, in cities and borough towns, and in the Earl of Ossory's country.” “And [he concludes] so establish for ever continual laudable order, according to the laws of God, and this His realm.”—“State Papers of Henry VIII.,” vol. i. (Ireland), pp. 828–828.

¹ *Alen to King Henry VIII.*, id., p. 373.

² *Deputy and Council to King Henry VIII.*, id., p. 388, Paper 133.

³ “Also there must be selected certain gentlemen of England, younger brethren of good discretion, which have little or nothing to dispend there, to the intent that they shall trust to nothing elsewhere but to such lands as the king shall appoint them here, and

every of them to chuse such men as will tarry with them and inhabit.”—A. D. 1536. Council of Ireland to the King, id., p. 418.

⁴ “The county of Kildare is much waste and void of inhabitants: for here is no farmers that is able to inhabit, which is the greatest decay now of this country. But would God that it would please the King's Highness to send Englishmen to inhabit here: then I would not doubt but his grace could have here a good country, and also unto his grace a profit, for unto that there is no way to the reformation of this land”—Alderman Francis Herbert to Crumwell, A. D. 1535. Id., p. 308, Paper 120.

⁵ “Annals of the Four Masters,” by Owen Connellan. 1 vol., 4to, p. 404.

They must have foreseen that the project for replanting Ireland was delayed only, not abandoned,¹ and that two such systems as the feudal, arising out of foreign conquest, and the clan or family form of possession and government, depending on native right, could not co-exist, unless by the aid and alliance of a house like that of the Geraldines having a common interest against the invasion of new settlers who were to supersede the ancient English, grown in some degree as Irish as the Irish themselves. After one short year of rebellion the Geraldines, with O'Connor and O'Moore, were subdued by the English forces under Sir Edward Bellingham, the Deputy for Edward VI.; and, still to follow the Irish annalists, O'Connor and O'Moore—

“Went to England along with the Lieutenant, at the mercy of the king. The king gave their estates, viz., Leix and Offailey, to the Lieutenant and his kinsmen, the Bellinghams, who built two large courts, namely, the Camp in Leix,² and the Dangan in Offailey.”

“They then began,” the annalist naively continues, “to let those lands for rent to the English and Irish, as if they had been their own rightful inheritance, after having dispossessed and expelled their hereditary heirs, O'Connor and O'Moore, with their families and all their kindred.”

It were wearisome to follow the rebellious and agrarian outrages that this mistaken view of the law tempted the O'Moores and O'Connors to engage in. Suffice it to say that, in spite of the Act of Parliament of King Philip and Queen Mary, allotting the O'Connors' territory to English settlers, and calling it the King's County, and O'Moore's country to other settlers from England, and denominating it the Queen's County, they continued to interrupt the improvement of the district by rendering the lives and properties of the new inhabitants insecure, until the race was at last nearly extinguished by Sir Henry Sidney, upon Rory O'Moore's rebellion, in Queen Elizabeth's day.

The scheme of plantation, thus commenced by the settling of the King's and Queen's Counties, could scarce fail to be followed by most important consequences. It alarmed all the native Irish; and it set all the adventurers, with whom England then abounded, on the track of seeking their fortunes in the conflicts and forfeitures sure to ensue in Ireland. Ireland, in Queen Elizabeth's reign, divided

¹ In 1541, Sir Thomas Cusack, in his Paper to the Privy Council, recommending that grants be made to the Irish of the lands in their occupation, as the best means of preventing their frequent rebellions, grounds his advice thus:—“Forasmuch as the Irishmen in Ireland be of opinion among themselves that the Englishmen *will one day banish them, and put them from their lands for*

ever, so that they were never in assurance of themselves . . . which causeth them, when opportunity serves, to persevere in war and mischief.”—“State Papers of Henry VIII.,” vol. ii. (Ireland), p. 326.

² Afterwards called Maryborough, chief town of the Queen's County.

³ Afterwards called Philipstown, chief town of the King's County.

with America, then lately opened to the observation of Europe, the attention of the enterprising and ambitious. Each country had its attractions. If America presented the hopes of an El Dorado, and all the charms of a new and undiscovered country, Ireland lay near at hand, and was known to possess a most fertile soil. It only added zest to the undertaking that the lands had to be fought for, or maintained by the skill and courage of the new planter.

Every adventurer that would engage to plant the lands he might obtain in Ireland with English settlers was soon sure of a favourable hearing. Among the earliest of these adventurers was Sir Peter Carew, who, about the year 1568, set up a claim to the barony of Idrone, in the county of Carlow. This was an extensive district, comprising the western part of the county of Carlow, lying along the River Barrow, bounded on the east by the course of the small River Burren, and measuring about ten miles in breadth, and in length from the town of Carlow, its extreme northern point, to the town of Borris, its southern extremity (both lying on the Barrow), about twelve miles. At Leighlin, which lay half way between Carlow and Borris, the Barrow was spanned by the important pass of Leighlin Bridge, leading from Dublin to the city of Kilkenny, then and long afterwards the only stone bridge across that river.

The only part of the county that lay west of the Barrow was a small part of the barony, now called Idrone West, known in the times we speak of as the Dullough, cut off by the Barrow from the rest of the county, and lying to the county of Kilkenny. This part was very differently occupied from the rest of Idrone, from which latter cause flowed some very serious consequences. The whole of the barony, except the Dulloch, was occupied by the Kavanaghs, deducing their genealogy and race from Mac Murrough, King of Leinster. They had been in occupation of it, according to the English account, as we have seen, from the death of William, Earl Marshal, the younger, in the reign of King Henry III. It is more probable, however, that of part of it they had never been out of possession. The early conquerors were too few to do more than dwell amongst a native population, who became their tenants and vassals. When the new lords were driven out, or left their settlements, the native race resumed their sway. The Kavanaghs, as of the race of M'Murrough, claimed kindred with Strongbow, who married M'Murrough's daughter, and founded his rights to Leinster through her. They were treated with distinction. Though Strongbow took for himself M'Murrough's demesne-lands of Ferns, as his heir, and distributed to his English followers many a fair estate, taken from those tribes of Leinster that resisted his progress, the M'Murroughs were still on his side, and were left, probably, in possession of their lands, as one of them, we find, was even made by

him his Seneschal of Leinster, with the administration of justice to the Irish.¹

The part which the Kavanaghs played in the first settlement of Ireland, as friends of the English, seems to have long stood them in some stead. Though threatened with extermination in the time of Richard II. and of Henry V., these threats were not put in execution. They were renewed in Henry VIII.'s day, after the suppressing of Thomas Fitzgerald's rebellion; but they were still delayed. When St. Leger was taunted by Allen, the Master of the Rolls, with not enlarging the Pale by putting this plan of extermination, which Allen had so often recommended, in execution, he replied: "His (Allen's) own hand is to the letter written to the King's Majesty for knowledge whether I and the retinue there should during these warres attempt the banishment of those Irishmen that first brought Englishmen into the land of Ireland."² In this occupation they continued at the time when Sir Peter Carew came over to assert his claims.

The Dullough, or that portion of the barony of Idrone cut off by the Barrow, and lying close to Kilkenny,³ was in possession of Sir Edmund Butler, brother of the Earl of Ormond, who dwelt at the Castle of Cloghgrennan, the chief place of this district, and derived it from his father, who had recovered it from the Irish. To all this territory Sir Peter Carew laid claim, under a title derived from about sixty years after the first conquest of Ireland, a title more than 300 years old, during all which time it does not appear that any of his ancestors had ever been resident in Ireland, or in possession of the lands.

It was alleged that on the failure of issue male of Strongbow, which occurred in the year 1245,⁴ the county of Carlow devolved upon Margaret Countess of Norfolk. It was alleged that the Countess of Norfolk granted the barony of Idrone to Digon, whose daughter and heir, Avice, married Nicholas Carew in the reign of Edward I., whereby the Carews became seised of the barony.⁵ It was shown that several of the Carews, Sir Peter's ancestors, had

¹ "De Leynistere le pleis ballout
A Dovenald Kevenath le fitz Dermod."
[The Count] gave the pleas of Leinster
To Donald Kavanagh, Dermod's son.
—Norman Geste of the "Conquest of Ire-
land," lines 2175–6. 12mo. London :
1836.

² "State Papers of Henry VIII.," vol. ii.
(Ireland), p. 571, Paper 445.

³ Now called the barony of Idrone West.

⁴ Harris's Hlb., p. 81, a., E.

⁵ The title of Sir Peter Carew is alleged to
be derived (in the account given in the "Life
and Times of Sir P. Carew," by Maclean)

to the Carews, through Digon, Baron of
Idrone (see id., p. 83, a. 8). The following
is the account given by Harris:—

"Upon the failure of the issue male of
Strongbow, the whole kingdom of Leinster
was divided between the five daughters, and
the county of Carlow became the property of
Margaret Countess of Norfolk, who granted
Idrone, by certain services in fee, to the Ca-
rews. Sir John Carew died seised of this
barony, anno 36 Ed. III., and Sir Leonard Ca-
rew died seised of it in the 43rd year of that
king. All this appears by an inquisition
taken anno 18 Ric. II., though enrolled in

been called into the Court of Exchequer in Ireland to answer the rents and royal services due for the same.¹ But it was in actual proof that since the death of Sir Leonard Carew in the 43 Edward III. (the year 1369), the lands were in the absolute possession of the Kavanaghs, and the payment of the rents and services by the Carews was no proof of occupation, being done probably to keep up their title, and is quite consistent with their being out of possession then and previously.

In the year 1567 Sir Peter Carew sought liberty from Queen Elizabeth and the Council to put his claim in suit in Ireland, a request that was not only gladly granted, but the Queen and Council sent their several letters to the Lord Deputy, and to all her officers, for his furtherance and help therein.²

The situation of the barony of Idrone formed so important a key, as well to the ancient possessions of the English in the south of Ireland, as to the new and still disturbed settlement in the Queen's County, that the Queen was well pleased it should come to the hands of so distinguished a man as Sir Peter Carew. He was the younger son of Sir William Carew, of Mohun's Ottery, in Devonshire, where he was born in the year 1514. He had been a prime favourite of her father's—a gentleman of his privy chamber—had accompanied him to the Field of the Cloth of Gold,—in whose society and conversation the king all his life delighted. He was a distinguished warrior, traveller, and knight errant, who had visited most of the countries and courts of Europe. His first essay of arms, when quite a youth, was in the train of a French nobleman at the fatal battle of Pavia; after the destruction of the French host, including his leader, and the capture of King Francis I., he went over on the field to the Emperor's side, and was at the sack of Rome, as page to the Constable Bourbon. He went as a volunteer to the war between the King of Hungary and the Turks, and

the 11th Eliz., by which also it is found that, upon the death of Sir Leonard Carew, Mac Morough, *alias* Cavenagh, chieftain of his name, possessed himself of the said barony, and (as the inquisition speaks) held it *manu forte*, by the strong hand. In the 11th year of Q. Elizabeth, Sir Peter Carew, lineal descendant of the above-mentioned Carews, exhibited a bill before the Lord Deputy and Council for the recovery of the said barony against five of the Cavenaghs, who were then in possession of it, and pretended a right thereunto, derived from their ancestors both before and since the Conquest. But, upon a full hearing before the Lord Chancellor Weston, the three chief judges, and several others of the Council, a decree passed for Sir Peter Carew, not only upon the evidence of the inquisition before mentioned, but upon

divers others other records, by which it appeared that the Carews answered in the Court of Exchequer for the rents and royal services due for the said barony, till they were disseised in time of common rebellion by the Mac Moroughs, who pretended a title thereto by descent from Dermot ny Gall M'Morough, the last King of Leinster, which they offered no proof of. And the decree takes notice that such pretended title could not be true, because King Dermot had but one daughter and heir, who was married to Earl Strongbow, from whom the said Mac Murrongs were not descended."—Harris's "Hibernica," p. 30, n. g; Sir G. Carew's translation of the "Norman Geste."

¹ "Life and Times of Sir P. Carew," p. 83, n. 3.

² *Id.*, p. 72.

was present at the siege of Buda with the King of Hungary's forces, having first travelled overland from England, at great risk, in disguise, to Constantinople to see the majesty of the Turk's court, and was entertained at the courts of Milan, Venice, Vienna, and elsewhere in that journey. He next fought as captain of a troop of horse in Flanders, led and clothed by his elder brother, called, from their accoutrements, "The Black Horse." In the year following he became captain of a ship of war, and fought a hot action at sea with the French, and at the attack of Treport, in the following year, was the second to mount and carry the fortified heights, for which he was knighted on the field. He was skilled in knightly and courtly accomplishments, fought in the lists abroad and at home, and was employed on various embassies. In Queen Mary's time he fought against the rebels, yet fell under suspicion of harbouring designs, at his seat in Devonshire, to oppose the landing of Philip of Spain when coming over for his most unpopular marriage with the Queen, for which he was obliged to fly to the Continent; yet afterwards he justified himself, and was in various public employments under her. He attended the court of Queen Elizabeth at her accession, and was most favourably regarded by her; but about this time, in the year 1560, he returned to his estate of Mohun's Ottery, in Devonshire, to rest himself, and to attend to his private affairs.

"And being now at some leisure," his biographer adds, "he bethought himself of such lands as he was persuaded he should have by inheritance within the realm of Ireland."¹

One can imagine Sir Peter at this ripe stage of his existence, in the quiet of Mohun's Ottery, reflecting on the labours and dangers of his past life, the expenses he had incurred, the opportunities of increasing his fortune that he had neglected, and then turning his thoughts to the repairing his estate; for at this period of life (he was now fifty years of age) men begin to feel that, though courage and address are qualities that bring honour to youth and manhood, it is riches that dignify age.

In his charter chest at Mohun's Ottery, among the old grants in Norman French from William the Conqueror to his ancestors, the Mohuns, from whom the Carews derived their Ottery estate, he must often have heard of the many evidences regarding the great territories formerly possessed by his ancestors in Ireland. And, notwithstanding it was many a hundred years since the family had any footing there, yet the laws of prescription in Ireland were different from those of England, and long adverse possession was no bar against recovering the lands.² Every encouragement, too, was

¹ "Life and Times of Sir P. Carew," p. 71.

² "When he (Hooker, the writer) saw all things to frame as well, and that nothing

could be found to prejudice or impeach his title, but only prescription, which in that land letteth not."—*Id.*, p. 75.

given by the Queen to Englishmen seeking post-undertaking to plant their estates with English.

Unskilled himself to decipher old documents as it were, to his friends the want of some expert to instruct him, Sir Peter was at length informed. Vowel, *alias* Hooker, of Exeter, was a man great in old records and ancient writings;¹ and upon his three old writings of evidence concerning the said had been much trodden under foot, Sir Peter with him, that he committed unto him the view of his evidences, from which he made out his pedigree.

Hooker he accordingly employed to go over and search the records in Dublin, and to conduct his faithful servant of Sir Peter's we have not only recovery of the barony of Idrone, and his dealing with the *naghs*,² but a history of the affairs of Ireland in a separate work, an admirable biography of his master lately admirably edited,³ with the addition of original together with the correspondence of Sir Peter Carew and others—documents furnishing a complete history of his interesting transactions.

Hooker landed at Waterford in the month of October after a search of some weeks among the records of the Castle of Dublin, having satisfactorily prepared for Sir Peter Carew to come over and bring the suit, who, not a little rejoicing, embarked, and arrived at Waterford in the beginning of November. From thence he came to Dublin (stopping for some time at Leighlin Bridge, the scene of his future labours), and took quarters at a house in Mary's-abbey, which Hooker found for him, where he lived at a bountiful rate, and saw

¹ "Life and Times of Sir P. Carew," p. 71.

² See "Supplement of the Affairs of Ireland, from the death of King Henry VIII., in the year 1546, to this present year, 1586." By John Hooker, *alias* Vowel; in Holinshed's "Chronicle," vol. ii.

³ "The Life and Times of Sir Peter Carew, Knt. (from the original Manuscripts); with a Historical Introduction, and Elucidatory Notes." By John Maclean, Esq., F. S. A., Member of the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, &c., &c., and Keeper of the Records of Her Majesty's Ordnance in the Tower of London. 8vo. London: Bell and Daldy, 186, Fleet-street. 1857.

⁴ Hooker, knowing his master's tastes, apprizes him that he had better bring a good cook with him when coming to Dublin.

"Lykewyze I have t
that if Syr Gawen Car
from you, that you do
surer for his Nychol
voyage will not, as I t
—Hooker to Sir P. Ca
May, 1568. Ib., A
says elsewhere:—"For
to him, that as he cou
within the rule of libe
he, many times, satisf
ciency, for if any perso
any time invited at hi
same were sufficiently
and plenty, yet he th
enough, but all was t
himself he was of a ver
contented with that wh
"Life and Times of Sir

pending the return of the Lord Deputy, Sir Henry Sidney, from England; for he had resolved to bring his suit before the Lord Deputy and Council, instead of proceeding by regular suit at law. This mode of proceeding gave rise to great alarms, as the tribunal selected was composed of mere officers of the Queen, already instructed by her letters to favour Sir Peter in every way they could. They were bound by no rules, and were subject to no appeal. Had it been the Kavanaghs only that were concerned, there would, probably, have been little question raised, but Sir Peter Carew's claims were not confined to the barony of Idrone: they extended to a fine estate within the English Pale, called the manor of Maston, or Mayeston, in the county of Meath, near Trim, about fifteen miles from Dublin, long in the possession of the influential English family of Cheevers, and then occupied by Sir Christopher Cheevers. He also alleged a title to half the county of Cork, derived under the grant of King Henry II. to Fitzstephen his ancestor, in which dwelt the Lords of Barrymore, and many old English of extensive power and connexions, besides which it may be remembered that the small but important part of the barony of Idrone lying west of the Barrow, called the Dullough, was in the possession of Sir Edmund Butler, of Cloghgreennan, brother of the Earl of Ormond.

It is easy to conceive what stirs Sir Peter Carew's proceedings must have created when so many titles of powerful families were challenged. During the three months he resided in St. Mary's-abbey, waiting to commence his suits, the history of his claims spread consternation far and wide. Hooker gives an anecdote illustrative of it, that occurred at this time:—

“It happened,” he says, “that on a time that Sir Peter was riding on his foot-cloth through the streets of Dublin, an old gentlewoman sat at her door as he passed by, and, talking with one of her neighbours, saith, ‘Ye have heard that it is an old saying that a dead man should rise again, and lo!’ saith she, pointing to Sir Peter, ‘yonder he is: for his ancestors were great lords, and had great possessions in this realm, but having not been heard of these two or three hundred years, it was thought they had been all dead, and none left alive to claim the same; but now this man is risen, as it were, from the dead, and is awaked, and mindeth to *sturre* them out of their nests which thought to lie all at their rests.’”²

Sir Peter Carew bethought himself, while he lay at leisure in Dublin, whether it were better to begin in the suit for the barony of Idrone or with Sir Christopher Cheevers for the lordship of Maston, for, as concerning his claim for the great seigniories in Munster, the same were of such weight and importance, it was not yet to be dealt with; in other words, there was danger of raising a rebellion.

¹ The italics are Hooker's.

² “Life and Times of Sir P. Carew,” p. 78.

He resolved, Hooker says, to begin with the manor of Maston, because, as Sir Christopher Cheevers was a gentleman of good countenance, and wealthy, and well allied, especially with lawyers, if he prevailed against him, the rest would the sooner yield. So, sending for Sir Christopher, he told him that the house and lands which Sir Christopher then held were not his, but Sir Peter's, and that he had good charts to show for the same, and was, therefore, come to claim them.

One can well conceive how Sir Christopher was "astonied"¹ by Sir Peter's demand. Hooker adds that, though touched to the quick, he had been so courteously dealt with by Sir Peter, that he thanked Sir Peter for it. He refused, however, to depart from his estate otherwise than by law.

The influence of Sir Christopher Cheevers and the other families of English descent in Ireland, whose fortunes were now imperilled, was so great, that no lawyer of any note would be of counsel with Sir Peter, save one, John Synnott, of Wexford.² He was, accordingly, obliged to send to England for Mr. William Peryan, an outer barrister of the Middle Temple, and born in the city of Exeter, and he, with Mr. Synnott's aid, framed a bill, and exhibited the same before the Lord Deputy and Council. A precept was forthwith sent unto him for his appearance, and at the day appointed (3rd November, 1568), Sir Christopher Cheevers ("with his eight counsellors," adds Hooker, with a triumphant sneer) appeared, but they refused to answer the bill, because they said that court was no court for the ordinary trial of lands, and therefore the Lord Deputy and Council were no competent judges; secondarily, that no person should be impleaded for any lands but by the course of the common law, and not otherwise; and lastly, that the common law being every man's inheritance, no man should be abridged thereof. Of this opinion were the two Chief Justices, Sir John Plunket, of Dunsoghly, in the county of Dublin, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and Sir Robert Dillon, of Newtown, in the county of Meath, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, who sat as members at the Council Board. Mr. Peryan, however, in reply, insisted on the Queen's prerogative to remove any cause depending in any court before herself, and pleaded precedents. The Queen's prerogative being now called in question, the two Chief Justices and the Queen's learned counsel were commanded by a day (Monday, 8th November, 1568), to advertise the Lord Deputy whether he might proceed to hear and determine any such matters. The question gave rise to great discussion. On Saturday, the 6th of November, the two Chief Justices dined at the Inns of Court, and, after dinner, propounded it to the gentlemen and students there; and, though Jus-

¹ "Life and Times of Sir P. Carew," p. 79.

² *Id.*, p. 80.

tice Talbot, of the Common Pleas, stood up and asserted that the Lord Deputy and Council might hear and determine any cause, the general sense was against the power of the Deputy and Council; and of such opinion, no doubt, the two Chief Justices continued to be; for they did not appear at the Council-table on Monday, the 8th (the day appointed), or give any answer.¹

On Tuesday, however, secretly they gave judgment, that the Lord Deputy and Council might try the cause.² This, in effect, was for Sir Peter Carew to win the suit, and Sir Christopher Cheevers instantly offered to compromise, to which, however, Sir Peter would never yield, until Sir Christopher himself did, in most humble suit, pray and desire the same, alleging the undoing of himself, his wife, and children, if the lands should be evicted of him. Upon this submission, Sir Peter Carew compromised his claim with Sir Christopher Cheevers on easy terms, leaving him in possession of the lands.

These proceedings of the Lord Deputy and Council and Sir Peter Carew concerning the manor of Maston are related at some length, as they more regarded the barony of Idrone than Maston. They were, in fact, intended to subdue the resistance expected from Sir Edmund Butler, who was in possession of that part of Idrone called the Dullough.

The precedent was of comparatively little moment in dealing with the Kavanaghs. They were sure, in any event, to be brought before a somewhat partial tribunal of judges and juries of English birth or race. But Sir Edmund Butler had so powerful an interest in the country with men of all races and ranks, that it was apprehended it might be difficult to find a jury to give a verdict against him.

The precedent thus established was intended, accordingly, to deprive him of this ancient constitutional safeguard. His proud spirit, however, could not brook the prospect of being abridged of the laws, which he considered his birthright and inheritance no less than his lands, in order that Sir Peter Carew might be enriched, or he be brought, like Sir Christopher Cheevers, an humble suitor for his ancestral estate to Sir Peter. As Sir Edmund Butler, therefore, sought to extenuate or justify the rebellion which afterwards ensued (popularly known as the Butler's wars, or Sir Peter Carew's

¹ "Life and Times of Sir P. Carew," p. 81, n. 2.

² It was plainly a usurpation, and hitherto unknown to lawyers, as may appear from the following circumstance that Hooker mentions incidentally when writing to Sir Peter Carew, shortly after his arrival in Dublin:—
"Mr. Draycot, Master of the Rolls, like-

wise saluteth you, who wishes you success in your affairs, so that it be not to your great over charge, for he having regard only to the law, measureth all things by the charge thereof. But we have and must have another way to the wood."—Hooker to Carew from Dublin, 26 May, 1568. "Life, &c. Appendix, p. 203.

war¹), on the ground that the Lord Deputy and Co him of the protection of the laws by usurping the ancient courts of the kingdom appointed to try may be fit here to say a word upon the question of Sir Henry Sidney, the more particularly as it came to be considered about seventy years later Earl of Strafford, who was charged, among other d acts, with bringing men's titles to inheritance for self, in the Court of Castle Chamber.

Now it is well known that the Court of Com original court for the trial of titles to land in these by legal fictions the same jurisdiction has been f times exercised by the Courts of Queen's Bench To conquered countries, however, when formed plantations, the Queen gives laws, and to her and h are, as at this day, all appeals from the colonies. the lands in Ireland, conquered from the Irish in Tudors and the Stuarts, and formed into plantatio be under the jurisdiction of the Lord Deputy and C senting the Queen. This was the Earl of Strafford charge of having threatened the Earl of Cork with i for a contempt, for having commenced an action s back an estate, from which he had been put by colo the said Earl of Strafford and the Council-table.² the testimony of Lord Ranelagh and others, that t always had cognizance of the causes of the Church plantation.³

But Sir Henry Sidney boldly claimed the right the jurisdiction of the courts of law. The title o Cheever's lands was no plantation question, but s tance in the English Pale. It was the first great in this direction, as the claim of Sir Peter Carew sersion of old dormant obsolete titles which beca frequent, and culminated in the forfeitures in Conn Strafford.

After compromising the claim for Maston wit

¹ "Lagenienses omnibus enormitatibus de-
diti quidam dixerunt 'Peter Carew his wars,'
alii dixerunt 'Edmund Butler his warrea.' Ca-
vanenses hic diaboli contra Petrum Carew."
—"Annals of Thad. Dowling, Chancellor of
the Diocese of Leighlin."

² "That Richard Earl of Cork having sued
out process in course of law for recovery of
his possession, from which he was put by co-
lour of an order by the said Earl of Strafford
and the Council-table of the said realm of

Ireland, upon a pap
proceeding, did, on
eleventh year of h
threaten the said E
the said realm) to
would surcease his
or question his orde
Trial, in Rushwort
4th Article.

³ Id., p. 174.

Cheevers, Sir Peter proceeded with his suit against the Kavanaghs, against whom he had exhibited his bill, and to which they had answered. In this case there was also a plea to the jurisdiction, which of course was overruled, but no compromise accepted.

The following is an abstract of the proceedings, taken from the Carew MSS., Lambeth Library:—

"Moroghe Mac Gerald Sutton (Kavanagh), Byran Mac Donoghe, Moroghe Oge, of the Garguill; William Tallan, of Argha; and Moroghe Oge, of Ballyloo, appear and answer—complain of the Court—and plead that they came of Dermogald, who was before the Conquest."—Fol. 54.

"Petition of Moriartagh Mac Cahir Kavanagh, of the Garryhill; Moriartagh Oge Kavanagh, of Ballylowe; Morgh Mac Gerald Kavanagh, of Bally []; and Bryan Mac Donogh Kavanagh, of Ballilloghan, gents., and divers others, praying for a hearing and justice; and in the meantime to will the said Sir Peter Carew to surcease to vex them any further. *And this for the love of God, and in way of charity.*"—Fol. 57.

"23 January, 1st day of Term, they appeared, and shewed their title from Dermicius Murchardus, whom they call Dermogall, which genealogie being but frivolous and vain, it was declared by the Lord Deputy and Council that their title was void, and that Sir Peter Carew ought to have possession."—Fol. 57.

"And in the end the judgment (says Hooker) was given for him against them, and by a decree of the Lord Deputy and Council he pronounced to be the right lord of the barony of Idrone, as of his lawful and ancient inheritance, and before the feast of Christmas he was in full possession of the same by a warrant directed by the L^d Deputy and Council to Henry Davells, Esq., then Sheriff of the county of Catherlough."

We must now consider Sir Peter Carew in his character of resident owner, and the governor of this noble principality of Idrone, excepting always the Dullough or part west of the Barrow, of which more hereafter.

It extended, as we have seen, from east to west about ten miles, and from north to south about twelve miles. The following is the description Hooker sent of it to Sir Peter, when encouraging him to come over and follow up the suit he had so ably prepared for him:—

"The soyle and countrie of that barronny is very large and great, and yn all Europa not a more pleasau^t, sweter, or frutefuller Lande; the same being referted with all things necessarye for man yn any respect, sirvinge for pleasure or neede, ffor huntinge the stagge, the hare, the fox, the wolff, for your pleasure at will; for hawkinge with all kinds of hawkes at partridge, rayle, feasant, crene, byttern, and a number of other foules as miche as can be wished and desired: ffor fyshinge, there is as miche as any fresh water can give; the seas ar somewhat dystant from this countrie of

Hydrone, but yet on the one side a goodly river, call through the whole countrie, and this so serveth the they so conveighe all their comodities and marchau or from Waterford, even to the house of Laghlyn, wh full upon the said river."¹

This house of Leighlin, which stood on the Barrow, to the south of the bridge, had formerly (asserted) been the house of Sir Peter's ancestors, by them made a monastery for Grey Friars, and, by then in the Queen's hands.

Adjoining it was a castle, built by Sir Edward Bellingham, subduing of the O'Moores and O'Connors, in the VI., to command the ancient bridge,² and thus to be in check, and to support the English planters in the colony of the Queen's County. Sir Peter got him the Queen, Constable of the Castle of Leighlin, an abode there; and in consideration of being freed of forty-six shillings and eight pence, payable for undertook to keep up the garrison himself, and the Queen of 800 marks a year, receiving only the Constable's salary, probably for himself.³ At the application to Sir William Cecil for a fee-farm grant, which lay in the very midst of his barony, and were granted, to expend money both in fortifying

¹ "Life and Times of Sir P. Carew," p. 199.

² A. D. 1546: Sir Edward Bellingham was sent over to Ireland by King Edward VI., to be Lord Deputy. "For the more speedie service to be done therein at all times needful, he kept sundrie stables of horses, one at Leighlin, one at Leix, some in one place, and some in another, as he thought most meet for service. . . . It happened that, upon some occasion, he sent for the Earl of Desmond, who refused to come unto him, whereupon, calling unto him his companie, as he thought good, and without making him acquainted what he minded to do, took horse and rode to Leighlin Bridge. *The Abbey there (being suppressed), he caused to be enclosed with a wall, and made there a fort.* In that house he had a stable of 20 or 30 horses, and there he furnished himself and all his men with horses and other furniture, and forthwith rode into Munster, unto the house of the Earl, being then Christmas, and, being unlooked for and unthought of, he went in to the Earl, whom he found sitting by the fire, and took him and carried him to Dublin."—Holinshed, "Chronicle" (Hooker's continuation), p. 824.

On visiting this August, 1859, the fo commanded the brid ing. A considerable Sir Edward Bellingham Abbey, remains, p side. It enclosed ground, and the preserved by Miss Roche, of the ancient Abbey remains, except bits and fragments of o and there into some sty was lying the c Sir Edward Bellingham thick, and the mason difficult to remove corner of the squaring tower, nearly Another stood at t there only now remaining east. The dimensions enclosure are still incumbered.

³ "Life and Times of Sir P. Carew," appendix, pp. 212, 213.

house, which was but bare walls, and to build a town there, and replenish it with all sorts of artificers—a request which was refused, however, on the ground that the castle was one which ought always to remain at the Queen's command.¹ Leighlin probably never saw such times, either before or since, as during Sir Peter's residence. He kept continually, of his own private family, above or near a hundred persons in his house. He had always in readiness forty horsemen well appointed, besides footmen, and commonly a hundred kerns. He had all his country at command, by which means he chased and pursued such as lay upon the borders of his country, that they (if any had offended) would come and submit themselves simply to his mercy; and the residue willing to serve him at all needs. If any nobleman or others did pass by his house there, he first stayed, and was entertained according to his calling, for his cellar-door was never shut, and his buttery always open to all comers of any credit.²

Sir Peter Carew's dealings with his Irish tenants and dependants, the Kavanaghs, can make us readily believe in the pleasing picture which Hooker presents of the relations between them and their new lord. He seems to have compensated for the bitterness they felt at losing the possessions they had so long enjoyed by the moderation and justness of his proceedings. To the principal gentlemen of the Kavanaghs he gave freeholds. For the residue, every of them, what he had before, he took it again under writing by lease, yielding such rents, duties, and services as it pleased him to reserve.³ He divided the whole barony into manors, with courts baron for maintenance of peace and quiet among them according to the laws of England, which, before that time, were not known.

Add to this (and those that know Irishmen know the store they set on courtesy and generosity), he so courteously dealt with, and so friendly treated his tenants, the Kavanaghs, that they counted themselves happy and blessed to be under his government.⁴

But we must now turn to a less pleasing picture in that part of the barony called the Dullough. Sir Peter Carew, by the decree of the Council, had recovered the whole of the barony, including this portion which was in possession of Sir Edmund Butler, and had been given to him by the Earl of Ormond, his father. Sir Peter attempted to compromise his claim with Sir Edmund, saying "that

¹ Mem. Roll, 10th, 11th, 12th Elizabeth, mentioning that Sir Peter Carew was about planting his lately recovered property of Odrone, in the county of Carlow, with English (very profitable for the regiment of that kingdom), and that he prayed that he might have a grant of the Queen's Castle of Laughlin, which he had kept for one year and three quarters without wages. The Queen refuses, as it is unmeet, "it being a place

specially chosen and fortified heretofore upon the first eviction of Lease and Offally, and always thought meet to remain at our command." Given at Oatlands, 1st June, 1570. The Roll is preserved in the Court of Exchequer in Ireland.

² Hooker, in Holinshed's "Chronicle," vol. vi., pp. 376-378. 4to. London: 1807.

³ Id., p. 377.

⁴ Id., p. 377.

he would neither dispossess nor trouble him at as both their titles were submitted to the Earl brother, and then, if Sir Edmund Butler's title good, he should quietly enjoy the lands; but, on right lay on him, Sir Peter, yet he would deal as and so like a gentleman with him, that both his brother should well like of it. Nevertheless,"

"Sir Edmund, whose bent was another way, of Peter, nor digest his manners, nor allow of his offer."

It is plain that Sir Edmund disdained to hold gift of Sir Peter Carew. He complained that Sir land under colour of an order of the Lord Deputy and Sir Edmund asserted that he would let him recover it, but Sir Henry Sidney (so Sir Edmund extreme in bolstering and aiding Sir Peter Carew seeking without any order or process of law utter him of his living by force.

It must be admitted, however, that there was sense of insecurity produced throughout the country, in respect of their estates, by the proceedings of Sir Peter Carew;¹ and Sir Edmund Butler was the more insistent, as feeling himself the more immediate and champion of the general cause. It is to be remembered that Sir Peter Carew was seeking for the western half of Cork, under an old title derived from King Henry the estates of the Earl of Desmond, Lord Barry Fitzmorris, Fitzgerald, of Mac Carty More, of the O'livans, and others, were involved.² The Queen of England had indeed suspended Sir Peter's proceedings in Munster lands, on account of the imminent danger of a rebellion there. But yet, for all this, the ferment, and in the summer of 1569 Sir Edmund claimed a rebel for not coming in on Sir Henry and an immediate open rebellion, led by him and others, was the consequence.³

¹ "Life and Times of Sir P. Carew," p. 88.

² Id., p. 245.

³ Id., p. 223.

⁴ "I assure you Sir Peter's dealing for his land hath made all the lords and men of living dwelling out of the Pale think there is a conquest meant to be made of all their countries."—Earl of Ormond to Sir Wm. Cecil, 24th July, 1569.

⁵ "Life and Times of Sir Peter Carew," &c., Appendix, p. 276.

⁶ The following is his own account, certified to the Queen by the Earl of Ormond and

six other gentlemen subscribed:—

"The first of September, Sir Edmund being by me sent for, kenny (and after the Queen was alive and reported to be de complaint to me of my Lord Deputy who (as he said) v spoil him of all his any order of law

While Sir Edmund was absent in arms in the county of Kilkenny, or had fled, as he says, to shun the danger threatened by the Lord Deputy, three companies of foot were sent to Sir Peter Carew at Leighlin, one of which he sent to Cloghgreennan Castle, which is about three miles from Leighlin, to summon it to surrender. This being refused, the whole force under Sir Peter's orders marched to besiege it, when Sir Peter placed his calivers so cleverly against the loop-holes, that the Cloghgreennan garrison, which consisted of only eight men,¹ could not, at last, dare to shoot, from the numbers thus slain. Meantime, he caused men with hurdles on their backs to approach the castle and undermine it, which the men within perceiving, desired they might come out and talk with the general, which being granted, one came forth, but no agreement was come to. "As he was going into the castle door, and having made fast the inner door, would have drawn the chain of the outward door, which, as the manner of the country is, was all of iron, one Baker, a soldier, did so near and short follow him, that before he could draw the outer door, he had hurled a great block between the two doors, so that they could not be closed.² And by that means they made entry into the castle, and recovered it, the spoil whereof was given to the soldiers,³ and the custody committed to Sir Peter with the territory to the same appertaining to the use of the Queen."⁴

Shortly after this occurrence, Sir Peter Carew went over to England to obtain the Queen's license to put his claim to the Munster lands in suit, but she, charging him to be the cause of the Butlers' wars and rebellion, and fearing that a fresh rebellion might be the consequence of giving him permission, detained him in England for four years. At last she was persuaded to direct the Lord Deputy and Council to examine into Sir Peter's title, and if it

could to deprive him of his life, and proclaimed him traitor to the Queen's Majesty, which grieved him most of all, having no cause or good ground so to do, saving only for that he shunned to come to my Lord Deputy's presence, whom he feared upon divers threatening words to take away his life and living without process of law, which was the cause he did shun him, thinking that he would detain him until he had surrendered his land to Sir Peter Carew."—"Life and Times of Sir Peter Carew," &c., Appendix, p. 284.

¹ Id., p. 215.

² Id., p. 98.

³ The Earl of Ormond says, in his account to Sir Wm. Cecil:—"Sir Peter the third time gathered a great company, my brother being from home, and assaulted my brother's house, having in it but eight men, and won

it, and put them to the sword, and also did execution upon all the women and children that were in the house, and among all there was an honest gentleman's son in the house, not three years old, that was also murdered."—"Life and Times of Sir P. Carew," Appendix, p. 215. "The Turke," says Sir Edmund Butler, writing to Sir Wm. Fitzwilliam, Deputy of Ireland, "could not shew more extremity."—Id., p. 245.

⁴ On the last day of February, 1569-70, Sir Edmund Butler, and Pierce his brother, made submission to Sir Henry Sidney. The Dullough, with Cloghgreennan, remained still in the possession of Sir Peter Carew on the 20th January, 1572-3 (see Hooker's letter of that date, "Life and Times of Sir P. Carew," p. 259), but probably for the use of the Queen, as Sir Edmund Butler got back the possession of it at a future time.

should appear to them to be founded in justice, to consider whether they could induce the parties in possession to come to some compromise or agreement with Sir Peter. Sir John Perrot, then President of Munster, to whom the question was referred, declined dealing in the matter. He had been requested to feel the disposition and temper of any that he might consider the most tractable.

"My Lord," he answered, "to begin to feel any one! They are not so senseless but they will immediately judge thereby, that in the end they shall all be touched."¹ And he reminded them what stirs grew, upon a like occasion, when the Earl of Desmond's title was had in question by Sir Henry Sidney, "the flame of which fire could never be quenched until within these fourteen days. Yet," he continued, "there was at this time dealing but with one (alluding to the Earl of Desmond), being a civil man, where now most of the wildest and strongest in Munster should be touched therewith." That the Lord President's fears were not unfounded, will appear by a glance at the subjoined schedule of—

"The parcells of landes within the Province of Corke which S^r Peter Carew maketh clayme unto:—

	Imokelly, wherein standeth the Castell of Corkebege of Ocastell—corch, which fitz Edmonda, called y ^e Seneschall, houldeth.	fitzgerald.
20 horsemen, 400 footmen.	Tryebarry barough, which Barrymore houldeth.	Barry.
20 horsemen, 400 footmen.	Musgrave's country, which Sir Gorman teige, knight, houldeth.	McCarty.
4 horsemen, 40 footmen.	Kynally, which is barry oge's country. Frey coursey, which the Lo. Coursey houldeth.	Courcey.
2 horsemen, 40 footmen.	Kynelbeke, which O'Mahon of Carby houldeth.	Omahon. McCarty Reaghe.
20 horsemen, 200 footmen.	Carbrye, which McCarty Raye houldeth.	Odriacol.
2 horsemen, 40 footmen.	Collymore, Collybeg: Odriacolmore and Odriaco: oge houldeth.	McCarty Ray's country.
	Ivaghe, which Omahun a-neere houldeth.	Omahon.
60 footmen.	Synnagh, Odone-no-vane. Rynno. Wryvter bary, which the Dallys being Rimers do hould.	Odonovane.
200 footmen.	Bantry, Osolifant beare. Beare, which he also houldeth.	Osolevan.
24 footmen.	Clandenorro.	McCarty more's country.
24 footmen.	Clannorogh, which McKynns do hould.	Osulevan.
200 footmen.	Cleighe, boyghe, which Osolyfant more houldeth.	McCarty more.
800 footmen.	Iveraghe, which McCarty more, Earl of Clancr houldeth.	Fitzgerald.
800 footmen.	Kerry, wherein is Castell Magno, the Earl of Desmond's.	Fitzmorice.
800 footmen.	Clanne Morys, which the Lo: fitzmorys houldeth.	

¹ "Life and Times of Sir P. Carew," p. 275.

60 footmen.	Raght Knightmore, which O'Connor of O'Kerry holdeth.	} O'Connor Kerry. M'Donoghie Cartie. Fitzgerald. ¹
300 footmen.	Mc Conoghe's country, which is Dohal- leys.	
	Cosh Breode, which the Earl of Desmond holdeth.	

Accordingly, the question was not allowed to be stirred. In the following year, however, Sir Peter Carew came over in the Earl of Essex's expedition to Ulster, and, having got leave of absence, proceeded to his house at Leighlin, whither he directed Hooker to come to him from England, and employed him to proceed to Cork, and discreetly to deal with the Munster lords and gentlemen for a settlement. Hooker arrived in Cork at the time the commissioners of that province kept sessions, and by that means most of the gentlemen of that country were there, including the Earl of Desmond, the Lord Courcy, Lord Barry, Mac Carty Reagh, and others, who all pretended much joy and gladness that Sir Peter Carew should come and dwell among them: and sundry of them agreed to submit themselves and their lands to his devotion, and take them at such rents as he should assess, and for their arrears of rent would give him three thousand kine, which they accounted to be one year's rent of the lands they held, not including the lands which the Earl of Desmond held, and Mac Carty More, and others, which far exceeded theirs.²

Hooker now hired two houses for Sir Peter, one in Cork, and the other in Kinsale, and, in order to prepare for that noble housekeeping for which Sir Peter was famed, he purchased a cargo of sugar and spices then lying on board a Bristol ship in the haven of Cork, and another of sack, on board a ship from Exeter.³

The gentlemen of the country promised beeves, muttons, porks, wheat, malt, wood, and all other necessaries for the house; and so there he stayed in the town awaiting daily for the coming of the said Sir Peter.

Sir Peter, preparatory to taking possession of his Munster seignories, had made over his barony of Idrone to his nephew, Sir Peter Carew, and provided himself with a house in Ross, on the noble river formed by the junction of the Nore and Barrow; and thence, on hearing of Hooker's success, whereof he rejoiced very much, he freighted forthwith a bark of one Andrew Pyperdos for the transporting of his household stuff into Munster, intending to follow immediately.

But Hooker awaited his coming in vain: Sir Peter suddenly fell sick of an imposthume in the bladder, and after patiently abiding

¹ "Life and Times of Sir Peter Carew,"
Appendix, p. 276.

² Id., p. 102.
³ Id., p. 105.

its extreme agonies, and the pain of an incision, he died before Hooker, whom he longed to see, and had sent for, could arrive. For Hooker, there rested nothing else than to see his dear friend, and an honourable gentleman, to be honourably interred and buried, wherefore, his body being embowelled and thoroughly seared, he was then chested, and so remained, and kept in the house where he died, from the 27th of November, 1575 (on which day he died), until the 15th of December then following, on which day he was, by water, carried from Ross into the city of Waterford, and there buried in all such honourable order as to so honourable a personage did appertain, the Lord Deputy and Council of the realm, with all his gentlemen and soldiers, attending upon him, and the Mayor of the city, with all his brethren, and an infinite number of people, being present thereat.¹

Sir Henry Sidney, when he saw his corpse put into the grave, said,—“Here lieth now in his last rest a most worthy and noble gentle knight, whose faith to his prince was never yet stained, his truth to his country never spotted, and his valiantness in service never doubted; a better subject the prince never had.”²

But perhaps his best eulogy was his just and generous treatment of his Irish tenants and dependents, for as has been well said, whilst worldly prudence will direct our behaviour towards our superiors, and politeness towards our equals, there is little beside the consideration of duty, or an habitual humanity which comes into the place of consideration, to produce a proper conduct towards those who are beneath us and dependent on us. Nor did he want incitements to a contrary course, for Sir Henry Sidney seems to have

¹ “The manner and solemnity whereof was as follows: foremost went all the soldiers, namely, the calyvers and the pikemen, by two and two, the mouths of their pieces and the sharp end of their pikes downward; then the trumpeter, clothed in black, sounding the dead sound. After him one raised his banner, and then his men went by, two and two, all in black. Then followed two, carrying his pennon and his standard, and after them went four gentlemen, who carried his whole achievement: the first, his helm and crest; the second, his target; the third, his sword; and the last, his coat of arms. After them was carried the corpse by four of his men, in black, garnished with scutcheons of his arms, and next to the same followed the mourners, and then the Lord Deputy, with the sword before him, and the Council, and the Mayor, and his brethren, and the residue of the company. As soon as the corpse was brought into the church, it was placed in the middle, next before the pulpit, and all the aforesaid ensigns placed round about the

same during the time of the sermon. After the same ended, the corpse was carried in like order to the grave, which was on the south side of the chancel, next the altar, and then all his achievements orderly offered up to the Dean of the church, who then buried the corpse. As soon as the earth began to be cast in, all the trumpeters, being six in number, sounded the whole time of his burial, being almost the space of a quarter of an hour; then, as they had ended, the drums struck up, and therewith all the soldiers discharged their pieces four or five times together, wherewith the church was so full of smoke that one could scarce discern another. Lastly, a number of chambers which were in the churchyard, and all the great ordnance in the town, and in the ships in the river at the quay, were also discharged. All these things being performed, they all returned to the house from which they brought the corpse in the same order as before they went.”—*“Life of Sir P. Carew,”* pp. 107, 108.

² *Id.*, p. 109.

considered his humanity a reproach to him.¹ Let the testimony, then, of Brian Mac Cahir Kavanagh be to Sir Peter's enduring praise, who, weaned from rebellion, became his faithful servant and counsellor, and so faithfully he served, and so much he honoured Sir Peter Carew, that after his death, being as one maimed, he consumed and pined away, and died.²

(To be continued.)

THE DISASTER OF WICKLOW.

BY DANIEL MAC CARTHY, ESQ.

THE year 1599, the two-and-fortieth of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, was a remarkable year in our Irish history. "Now was the condition of Ireland," writes Camden, "in a manner desperate, for almost the whole nation was broke out into rebellion. It was therefore seriously consulted of in England who was the fittest man to employ for the quenching of this rebellion. The Queen resolved to make the Earl of Essex her Lord Deputy of Ireland and General of the army. An army was appointed him, as great as he could require, and such a one as Ireland had never seen before, to wit 16,000 foot, and 1300 horse, which was also afterwards made up to 2000. He had instructions to pass by all other rebels whatsoever, and bend his whole force against Tir Oen, the arch Rebel." Essex landed in Ireland about the end of March, and, after consultation with the Lords of the Council at Dublin, the same sensitive men who had wept over their despatches touching the mournful "Jorney of the Blackwater," a few months before—he, "contrary to his instructions, advanced with all his forces against certain petty rebels of Munster; he took Cahir Castle, which was a receptacle of the rebels; he spread a great terror of himself far and near, driving away great numbers of cattle, and dispersing the rebels round about into the woods and thickets. He returned to Dublin with his army so wasted that he was forced to demand a new supply of men." Of this notable military promenade of the English army into Munster, the documents in the State Paper Office are strangely silent. It is

¹ After expressing to Sir Peter Carew his resolution, with as good severity as he could, "to sweep the house after this general rebellion," Sir Henry Sidney adds: "The like good will have I to general reformations, if God would send me such assistance [assistance, qu. ?] as my heart desireth, in which my aid you lack, I assure you, to my

great grief, and therefore it shall be good that you either rid yourself quiet [quite, qu. ?] of it, or to follow it as appertaineth."—Sir H. Sidney to Sir P. Carew, from Dublin, 28th May, 1570. "Life and Times of Sir P. Carew," Appendix, p. 241.
² Hooker, in Holinshed, vol. vi. (Ireland), p. 372.

not surprising that Essex should have felt relu-
about it in his despatches; but Essex had a ho-
at the head of them; and a powerful party at C
his appointment to Ireland, "knowing that the
way to overthrow a man grown popular than by
ward in a business which he is unable and unfit
surprising that none of the letters written at the t
contain a word of ridicule at this application of an
est ever known in Ireland," and which had been t
to revenge the disgrace of the Blackwater. That
did upon various occasions encounter the native
is undoubted; and the condition in which it was l
—"his men wearied out, distressed, and their cor-
wasted, whereby the Queen was very ill-satisfied, a
at this expedition, by which so great loss had been
ables us, as well as the silence of Essex, to judge on
superiority in these engagements. That in the da-
van wrote, there were traditions in the south of Ire-
assaults by the Irish on the retiring English arm-
historians chose to ignore, is certain: that some of
the ear of Cox from other sources than the author
to discredit, seems evident from the admission re-
the conclusion of the following paragraph:—"C
that Essex's army was 7000 foot, and 900 horse,
O'Moor, with 500 men, fell upon his rear at Ba-
Gap of Feathers, and did good execution, and too
feathers, which occasioned that name to be give
battel; that the Earl of Desmond (the Sougan Es-
Bourk came to the relief of Cahir, whereby that si-
that Essex marched to Lymerick, and thence to
Desmond and Daniel Mac Carthy More¹ laid an-
the ill-management whereof raised a feud between
and Pierce Lacy, wherein the former was slain. I
was near Crome, where Henry Morris was slain
days Desmond pursued Essex his rear; but ther-
be given to that author, *and yet some things that
lowed to be true.*"

Most diligently has search been made through
the time for some mention of this passage of arms
thers; but Essex had forgotten it when he wrote
the Council of Dublin were at their wit's end to di-
guage in which to communicate to their Royal M

¹ He was a character thoroughly well known to the English Cabinet as "the base son of the Earl of Clancar;" and was the especial torment of Munster, and the takers in that pro-

currence, a fresh story of the conduct of her troops, which had been wholly as remarkable as on the memorable "Journey of the Blackwater." Upon that occasion, the recollection of which still rankled in the mind of Elizabeth, they had penned a series of despatches, in which they had exhausted all the known terms of lamentation and alarm; and in reply the Queen had informed them that they ought to be ashamed of themselves, and she had no doubt they would be when they recovered their senses. Upon that day of evil memory the English forces had been outnumbered, as well as outmanœuvred, by the forces of O'Neill; but now 1500 of her soldiers, infantry and choice cavalry, commanded by one of the most experienced of her officers, the governor of a province, had been met by an Irish force of 200 footmen! and had—exceedingly embarrassed the Lords to describe the particulars of the meeting. Hence was the story of the Field of Feathers told only round the watch-fires of Desmond in the woods of Arlow.

"Being now resolved," says Camden, "to turn the war upon Tir Oen, he (Essex) commanded Sir Coniers Clifford, Governour of Connaught, to march with his light-armed companies towards Bellick, that the rebels' forces might be distracted. Clifford, at the head of 1400 foot and 100 horse, was met somewhere within the defiles of the Curlew Hills by O'Rourke, son of the man who, having trailed the image of Elizabeth at his horse's tail, had been captured and hanged.¹ The forces of O'Rourke were 200 men!—Never was a defeat more signal, victory more honourable to the Irish, or a revenge sweeter than the revenge of O'Rourke! "Of the English, 140 men were slain, together with Clifford himself, and Sir Alexander Ratcliffe, of Odsal, and as many wounded; nay, they had all been lost but for the valour of the horse."

¹ Brien O'Rourke, a great Lord of Brenny, in Ireland, was now arraigned in Westminster Hall. He was charged to have excited and encouraged Alexander McConell and others against the Queen; that he had commanded the Queen's picture, painted in a table, to be hung at a horse's tail, and hurried about the streets in scorn, and at last disgracefully cut in pieces; that he had entertained in his house certain Spaniards that were shipwrecked, contrary to the Lord Deputy's proclamation, &c. Being made to understand these accusations by an interpreter (for he understood not English), out of a barbarous insolency he refused to submit himself to a trial by twelve men, unless (amongst other conditions) the Queen herself would sit as Judge upon the bench. When the Lord Chief Justice of England had answered him by an interpreter, that if he refused to submit himself positively to a trial by twelve men, they were, notwithstanding, by law, to

give judgment according to the articles of the indictment, he made no other reply but this,—“If they thought good, let it be so.” Sentence of death being given against him, some few days after he suffered a traitor's death at Tyburn, obstinately and without remorse, scoffing at Meilery Creaah (Meiler M'Grath), Archbishop of Cassils (who began in the Irish tongue to minister comfort to him), as a man of uncertain faith and credit, and a depraved life, who had broken his vow by abjuring the rule of the Franciscans.—See Camden. Respecting this chieftain, the historian, Sir Richard Cox, has collected “two pleasant stories;” the pleasantry of one of them is undiscoverable; the other, which is taken from Bacon's “Essays” is, that O'Rourke gravely petitioned the Queen, not for life or pardon, but that he might be hanged with a gad, or withe, after his own country's fashion, which, doubtless, was readily granted him.

Frequent allusion is made to this defeat, by Essex and of the Council, but no detailed account is extant. It is incredible that no official report made of such a disaster. If written, it has been lost by chance! for it must have been composed by the dictated to Sir Geoffrey Fenton that rueful do the defeat of Bagnal at Armagh; and it would have been to see how those luckless correspondents had perished which her Majesty gave them upon that occasion. Tir Oen had taught his Irish chieftains how to how to turn victory to account: this he had shown competent to teach. It was something, however taught, for them to have learned so much, the more learned it thoroughly. O'Neil had rendered no plashed passes of the Blackwater; O'Rourke that defile in the Curlew Hills; Desmond, and I Mac Carthy More, boasted of their victory at B having chased the Lord Deputy and his forces out now another petty Irish chieftain, one of the O'By blaze of glory over these mere Irish, which neither deal, nor the Lords exaggerate, nor Camden ignore credit.

"In June," says Cox, "Sir Henry Harrington young captains, with 600 men left in the Glynns from the O'Briens [O'Byrnes] by their own fault, *ished by decimation*, and the execution of an Irish I. Walshe, on whom the blame of that disaster was

Camden informs us that "a great defeat was the cowardice of some under the leading of Henry authors whereof he (Essex) punished with the sword. The decimation was a gloss of Sir Richard Cox. son to believe that Essex committed any act so barbarous. Lord Deputy and his 7000 soldiers been scattered. O'Byrne, we might have known no more of his battle of the field of the Gap of Feathers, and the assassination of Donell the base son of the Earl of Clancare, upon columns. But the royal arms had suffered too deep faded reputation of Essex had too great need of a last public scandal to be hushed; hence all the details of the adventure of Harrington were written to the Queen

¹ Cox was right: Essex wrote, on the 11th of July, to the Council, stating that Pierce Walsh, Lieutenant to Captain Adam Loftus, had been executed; the other captains and officers cashiered and imprisoned;

the common soldiers but that most of them and, for example's sake, *executed*. — Devereux vol. ii., p. 51.—ED.

our instruction, and for the better adjusting of the balance in which, for 300 years, English historians have weighed the reputations of their forefathers and of ours.

The following are the despatches from Ireland on this occasion, now preserved in the State Paper Office:—

"1599, June 2.—*The COUNSAILE of IRELANDE to the Lls.*

L. Lieftennant to lye in garrison at Wickloe, in the Byrnes contrey, the comaunde of 500 foote, and 60 horse of the ordinarie forces of the armie, tooke occasion to m^{ch}e from his garrison place upon Monday xxvij of the last moneth, w^h his said companies, and beinge encamped neere the Ranelogh,¹ the rebell Phelim M^cFeogh havinge drawn beinge head a great force of his owne and other traitors at that instaunt, beinge the xxixth, sett upon S^r Henry and his whole regim^t w^h all there forces, and brake them, w^h a lamentable slaughter of the moste p^{te} of the companies of foote, as may appe to yo^r lls by his owne lre written to us thereof, the doble whereof wee send herew^h to yo^r lls, and have likewise adu^ltised the same to the L. Lieftenaunt, who we understand is at this p^{nt}e in Mounster, farr absent from this place. Touchinge this desaster of Wickloe, wee meane, God willinge, to proceed to a more thorow examination thereof, against his L. yetorne, to thend that the cheif offenders therein beinge truelie discouled, his L. may inflict punnishm^t accordingly."

"*The copie of S^r HENRY HARRINGTON his lre of the 29 of May, directed to the L. CHANCELLOR, touchinge the overthrowe given to his Regiment by the enemy.*

"My good L.—I cannot but w^h greef write unto yo^r Lp of this unfortunate day. Cominge from our Campe, w^hin a myle and a half of the greate water,² retourninge to o^r garizon place, was hostly pursued by the traitors, whose forces weare farr stronger then o^r; marcheing on o^r way, all along we entertained skirmishe wth them, w^h winges of loose battayle w^h o^r w^hin a mile and a half of Wickloe, where the most p^{te} of o^r men weare lost, many of o^r horsemen sore hurte, and throughe the cowardlines of o^r armed men, that few wold ones cowche their pykes, or offer to stricke one stroke for their lives, do what their leaders brought of by the longe abyde yt, untill their men quitt them, and they brought of by the horsemen. Noe Cap^{tn} lost, but Cap^{tn} Wardman; Cap^{tn} Loftus hurte in the legg, but I hope w^hout daunger; he lies in the castell of Wyckloe, wantinge a good surgion, of w^h I wishe yo^r Lp to have care. My nephue Montague, w^h his horsemen, served very well, els had yt ben worse then yt was, for when their battayle came to joyne w^h o^r, he brake through the

¹ Now Ranelagh, anciently the country of the Gabhal Raghnaill. See "Ortelius Im-

proved," and "the Inquisitions" of Wicklow.
² Now the Owmamora.

head of them, in w^h himself was stroken in the syde
ceaved two blowes of a sword, so as he gott o^r battayl
wold they neu^r stand, no^r ones tourne a pyke, but
then w^h his horsemen went up to the coulo^r, being
by thenemy, and brought all away w^h their drom
Loftus, the w^h his liveteñt brought away w^h hi
humbly take leave.

"From Newcastle, the xxixth of May, 1599.

"Yo^r Lp. to be comaund

"H^h

"To the right Honnōable my
very good L. the L. Chauncellor."

"Cap^m Loftus is dead since this lre, of hurts reū i

"1599, 13 Junii.—M^r IH^r CLIFFORD to CECIL, J

"His Lo. (Essex) toke as greate care of the borders,
as myght be, both for the defence of the subiecte, as
Rebells, yett we p^rvaylle but lyttle, for upon his Lo.
lyn he appoynted S^r Henry Harrington w^h fyve hunder
men, and three score and eight horsemen, for the psec
M^r Hughe's sonnes, and the rest of the rebells aboute th
succomstance of w^h service, I presume, is well knowne
this muche I will make bould to lett you understande
had no soner discovered the enemye, but they were p^rs
such a feare that they caste awaye ther armes, and wou
blowe for their lyves, *yett the enemye noe more in number*
there the greatest p^rte of that number was slayne, w^h
Lo Chauncellor's sonne, and Cap^m Warmane, *yett the en*
a dossen horse; His Lo. did also leave att the newe for
hundred men, and att the forte in Affally^s with S^r
seven hundred men, yett the ennemye is so stronge
loke out of the forte. Also ther is att Ardey^s fower hu
Dundalke as many w^h the Lo. Cromewell, wher the
thursday laste to the very gatts of the Towne, and toke
cattle that was there, w^hout anye resystaunce."

1599. July 12th. S^r HENRY HARRINGTON to S^r R

"It maie please yo^r Honor. My L. Lyveteñt sone af
dispersed the army into seu^rall pts of the Realme, apoin
ders as to his L. semed fytt for the prosecution of the
w^h yt pleased his Lp. to apointe me for one to garrizo
ryne towne w^hin my governem^t of the Byrnes, where
haue vij^c foote, and fyftie horsse, of w^h iij^c should haue
his L. taking a iorney into Mounster, from whence he r
wickes, and lefte w^h me but iiij^{or} newe companyes, and

¹ Now Maryborough.

² Now Philipstown.

his company of foote, who weare all Irish, and most of them lately come from the Rebells. My self, w^hout either horsses or foote, or any penny of entertaynem^t, after I had settled all thinges in the garrison, that weare fytt, p^tly to refreische the soldiours, and exercise them w^h thorder of a campe, and to confront thenemy, and for some other reasons for service, I drewe them towards the rebells country into the playne some fyve miles, where, understanding of all the rebells in those p^ts gathering aheade against me, the next daie I rose to march homewards, the rebells lodgings not twoe miles from me, as soon as o^r men was on foote, they came after me; we had not marched a mile but theire shot overtooke us, and entertayned skirmyshe w^h us the space of twoe miles, w^h we lightly putt of w^h o^r horsses and loose wings w^hout the losse of any one man, the rebells battaile consistinge about ij^o pykes and targatyres, crossed all alongest a bogg, the nearest waie to gett a forde in o^r highway before us, w^h I pecaving tooke w^h me fortie or fyftie muskatyres, and possessed the forde, and lodged the shott at rest veary convenyently in a straye of the high waie, gevinge them direction not to dischardg at ones, but by p^ts as they sawe the rebells approche. O^r battaile and horsses being somewhat farr of, and the rebells still comyng on, I sent to them to marche somewhat faster, not only that they might w^hout trouble passe the forde, but that the horsses might be most convenyentlie placed to chardg, but also that the foote might recover the ryainge of a hill beyond the straye, where they might stand in battaile, and fyttest to send seconds to the Rere, where I had apointed most of the comaunders to be, but some loose men of the rebells comynge upp before theire battaile above xij score, all o^r shott in the rere shott of at ones, and so instantly throwe away theire peeces; most of o^r men in the rere being of Cap^m Loftus company, fledd a contrary waie, at this instant also Cap^m Loftus his Lyveteñnt, longe before havinge (unknownen to me) quitt his place, came upp to his Captens cullo^r and ronne awaie w^h them on horsebacke towards Wickloe, all his pykes that weare in the battaile therew^h brake their ranks and fledd w^h hym, w^h so disordered the battaile and possessed o^r newe men w^h such feare as w^h all that ever I or theire Captens could do, could never make one of them ones to turne his face towards the rebells. Notw^hstanding that o^r horsses that weare in the Rere charged twyse betweene bothe Battailles, whereby they wonne o^r men breathe, and ground enough to have better resolved, but they rather took that as an oportunyty to stripp themselves, not only of theire weopons, but clothes, all w^h course of theire cowardnes is sufficiently proved not only by the severall depositions of the Captens, but by triall of the most orderly and solempne marshall courte that my L. Lyveteñnt had called upon yt, and execution done not only upon the lyvetñnt; but on dyvers other Soldiours for the same, who in their basenes practising amongst them selves, one of them in hope by some excuse to save his lyffe by ymputing fault in me (as is confessed by some of them since) should say at his deathe that he ronned not untill I bid hym shyfte for hymself, but the tyme and place beinge dulia examyned was sufficiently proved could not be, and where the orriginall cause of this overthrowe began, is at lardg sett downe in these severall reports of the Captens theire pnt, w^h I herew^hall send yo^r hon^r. Yet am I comyttyed and remayne a prysoner w^h the marshall, never as yet called in question, or any thing objected by my L.

Lyvetfint against me; not doubting nowe but his L^y harde this cawse what of all sydes is to be chardged, to his favo^r, w^h is as much as I desyre, for, as I am I will so holde me, after thirtie yeres service to have a iustt ponyshm^t layd upon me. My desyre was to l^{et} ter daies service, w^h had ben, yf o^r men would have her Mat^{ty} is mightely informed against me; I doubt rayse me some honno^rable frend to move her highnes depended upon my Lo. yo^r father, since I was two nowe on yo^rself: yf I fre not myself of any ymputa chardged w^hall for this matter lett me never have yo^r beseching that yo^r w^h the rest of my good Lords w^{ry}te yo^r honno^rable l^{ives} hether for my enlardgm^t grace, w^h I shall accompt as yo^r hono^r most espetial And so I humbly take leave w^h my prayer to God for honno^r and happynes.

"Dublin, the xijth of July, 1599.

"Yo^r Honno^r for ever to be co

"HENR

1599. "*Enclosure in July 12.*—CAPTAIN LINLYN

"The trew discourse of the s^{er}vise at Wickloe—Mun of Maye, Sir Henrye Harrington beinge comand^r at V y^e garrison, beinge y^e Regim^t of S^r Alexand^r Ratlyff, companie, Captin Loftis his companie, Captin Mallerie tin Lynlye his companie, Captin Wardman his com Mountague his horss, leavinge a convenient warde in th y^e stoare of munition and victuall laye. And this day order of marche, the strength of foote consistinge 400 and 50 horss, wee marched directlie towards Randel hadd marched but 6 miles, S^r Henrye and y^e horss bein chose owte a place to encampe in, wheare o^r baggage o^r battle came in and encamped about some 2 or 3 of y o^r campe was a mile, or something bett^r frō y^e passa laugh, upon w^h forde the rebells hadd fortified. S^r beinge desierous to discover their fortificacion, an cawsed o^r horss to be made redie, and 100 foote, but t vertized by some of y^e countrie, the foote steyed in syde of y^e bogg; soe he goinge w^h y^e horss verie nere litle or nothing, but returned p^{ri}ntlie to y^e campe, an eavenninge we placed o^r gards to o^r best advantage, allarm, placed dubble centernells, one the bogg, w^h a them, our skoute of horss being owte, about 11 of y give intelligence, but the ennymie comynge almost as the allarm w^h a value of shott into o^r m^{ar}kett place, bu they retyered, and not longe aft^r came againe w^h y

¹ The country of Gabhal Raghnaill was now Anglicized Ragh the country about Glenmalure, in Wicklow, fined in the "Wickl

stayed not longe, w'h when we saw we strengtened o' gards, and y' rest retreated to their cullors. In y' morninge, aboute 8 of the clock, S' Henrye Harrington, yet desierous to take a bett' vew of the forte, comanded y' horsmen to be redie, and being asked what foote he would have, he sayd, none but Morgh M'Teag's kearne, and 20 of Captin Loftes his shott, w'h being made reddie, they went one. All y' Captines goinge w'h him, but Captin Wardman and my selfe, and having given order to eufie Capt to be in aredines uppon any occation, Capt Wardman and I went to my cabbin, wheare we sate talking; in y' meane tyme Capt Loftes his ensigne drew owte some 40 men one thother syde of y' bogge opposate against y' hors w'h at last a souldyer came and towld of all newes, whereof we went forth, and seeing them gone a prettie waye, and not knowing wheth' theire hadd byn any furth' direction gyven by S'. Henrye Harrington, we lett them goe, knowing they could not pass but in his sight, w'h, when he sawe, he sent a horseman to me to know wheth' I hadd sent them or noe, and to send for them backe; I sent both y' horseman and a footman of theire owne companie, p'sentlie came theire Leivtūnt ryding frō S' Henrye, as I thought, w'h an intent to cale them back, and then Sir Henrye himself coming into y' campe, I mett him, and tould him that yf ensignes or any oth' officer might take men abroad at theire pleasure yt would brede a great disorder; he sayd yt should be punnished wheare y' faulte was founde; the horseman w'h I sent overtaking y' ensigne, they began to retorne, but theire Leivtūnt comyng to them, toke some 6 or theare abouts of them, and sent them over the bogge, steying himself at the boggs syde; the rest came towards us; some of the Captins pceyving y' goinge of y' men over y' bogge demanded of me what it might meane; considering I was sent to cale them back; I shewed S' Henrye of yt, whoe was verie angrie w'h y' Leivteñnt, and ptested he would laye him by y' heeles, but his Captin went downe to him himself, and y' men having bin over y' bogge came to theire Leivteñnt againe, and soe they came awaye; the souldgers being comyng towards us, the rebells shewed themselves one the hill over against them, where uppon ye Leivteñnt alighted and went to y' myddest of the bogge, and the Captin he steyed at y' bogge syde, the Leivteñnt caled to the rebells, and they to him, but yt was soe farre frō us as we could not here what was sayd; he stayed not longe, but ranne awaye; I asked Capt. Loftis the cawse of theire staye, and he toulde me that it was to have spoken w' one Owyn Grane; this Owyn hadd bin his souldgere, and ran awaie w'h som of his companie; and I must neds confess that Capt. Loftis had towld me a daye before that he herde that Owyn Groane was willing to com in himself, and all his fellows, and y' yf we dyd goe abroad, he would gett leave of S' Henrye to p'lye w'h him, and soe yf he could bring him in.

"The 29th of Maye, S' Henrye Harrington, w'h all y' horsse & some foote, w'h all y' captins attending him, went to the topp of the hill w'h intent to vew the rebells strength, as I thought; but being not half an hower forthe we were beaton back w'h y' bitternes of the weath'. In our reto'ne we discried marching forth of our campe, a myle frō us, to y' nomb' of a c. men, as we could judge, being so fare of, marching alonge a bogge syde towards y' rebells, w'h was Captain Loftus his men, under y' leadinge of his ensigne. At y' sight whereof S'. Henrye Harrington being greeved,

sent Leyvtēnt Welche to fetch them of, whose psentlie to doe soe, but when he came theare he made a stand of his horse, and in the sight of the wole armye sent a companie over y^e bogge to p'ley w'h y^e rebells; beir armye; at theire retorne, comyng to there Leyveteint, himselfe one y^e bogg, they p'sentlie dep'ted frō him fellows, w'h stayed all this whyle contrarie directon. teints dep'ture of the bogge, he shaking his hat to rebells encowntred hit w'h a shott of a peece, and soe staying was soe longe that S^r Henrye Harrington sent him of. Immediatlie after S^r Henrye Harrington marche towards our garryzon, w'h we all dyd; and Maygor putt in battle, aboute a myle of us we sawe towards us verie fast, as also a messenger came runnin we stayed his comyng; the p'lye being some quarter betwixte S^r Henrye Harrington and the messenger. T awaye, garded w'h y^e forlorne hope: I came to y^e S^r tould him I dislyked this longe stey, praying him to g rington awaye, for y^e was but a pollecie of the rebells t nere us, for I saw them come fast towards us; w'h be Mayo^r made knowen to Sir Henrye, we p'sentlie mart manner, fowr in a ranke, my sylf comanded to y^e vaur but wee hadd not marched a myle, but y^e rebells came and fell in skirmishe w'h us, w'h was verie well answer owne p'te I ferrer to S^r Henrye Harrington and the S y^e S^rgeant Mayo^r willed me to putt all o^r men viij in one half myle further the rebells came so nere us that charged them and drove them backe to a wood; but, charged faster & faster, my sylf being in my place ap y^e rebells battle w'h manye shott uppon o^r left hand co us; I caling uppon S^r Henrye Harrington to lett him him to sende for y^e forlorne hope to meete them, and saying to S^r Henrye y^e we would make the wood go where uppon I sent there seu'all fyles of shott into y^e rebells frō hyt, for they would hast unto yt, and at the and offering to enter y^e wood, the three fyles beate the yf they hadd gott it, yt would have bin y^e losse of y^e place, and psentlie wee entred y^e ford, the enemyes pl uppon us w'h shott of the bogge, as also theire battle bogge unto a fayre grene close, making hast towards Henrye Harrington comanded me to marche awaye to go but psently there was a word Turn, Turn for y^e honne about me sawe Leyvteint Welshe one horsbacke, and hand, and one behynde him, when y^e rebells battle of us, at w'h sight y^e rebells battle came verie fast in y^e reare w'h pushe of pyke, our men comyng all on dyvers of Captin Loftus his men quit there places in their cullors gone. Captin Ratlyff & my sylf doing c stande, but all in vayne, though I hurte some of o^r they fledd soe fast y^e they threw me under their feet

gynning in y^e reare; at my getting upp I sawe all in great daunger to be lost, I made to my cullors to saue them, but could not gett to them by any meanes; then seeing a gentelman, one M^r Bartonn, farr ingaged, myself w^h three pyks charged y^e rebells & brought him of, but when I looked for a seconde they were all gone, soe that I was inforced to flye, the rebells having me in chase, & I being in great danger by them, Captin Mountague chardged y^e rebells and rescued me, and comanded his Trumpeter to take me upp behynde him, and himselfe recovered my cullers: the number of myne lost is xliiij. Captin Loftus all y^e daye never lighted of his horsses, nor never drew sword, but his poynarde; his Leyvteñnt I never sawe untill I sawe him one his horseback w^h his cullers in his hand. Captaine Mowntague tould me that he towld Captin Loftus he was ashamed to see him kepe his horsses, & willed him to goe to his place appointed him. Leyvteñnt Manneringe towld me that some xx or xxiiij S^tgeant being appointed for loose shott tooke awaye uppon y^e right hand or thereabouts of Captin Loftus his companie under y^e leading of his (.....) hasted all as fast as they could to Wyckloe, o^r place of Garrizon, when they might done good service in y^e reare of the enemyes battayle. Sir Henrye Harrington tould me y^e Captin Loftus hadd p^ley w^h y^e rebells.

"As for all y^e Irishe men y^e came eyth^r in companie or under pteccoon of Sir Henry Harrington, never toke there horsses, nor made any service y^e daye. In o^r Garrizon, ever when anye watch night came w^h Capt Loftus his men, I fownd them soe disorderlie and careless of theire duetie that I made y^e knowen to there Captin at the leaste three seu^rall tymes, for soe ofte I watched w^h them my self, and Captⁿ Loftis his answer was, that he could not mend y^e, for yf he should fynde faulte they would run all to the rebells w^h his armes, and therefore prayed me to rest contented.

"The Declaracō of PIERS WALSH, Liveteñnt to Cap^m Adam Loftus touching S^r HENRY HARRINGTON's goinge towards the greate water, w^h the forces, and of the successe thereof.

"Upon Monday, the 28 of May, S^r Henry Harrington w^h the forces of horse and foote under his comaunde, beinge 500 foote and 50 horse, did sett forward towards the greate water¹ nere Rathdrom to viewe the scones made by the rebells to stope the passage of that Ryver, and drawinge nere the Ryver he encamped w^h the forces at a wast villadge, called Ballysha,² w^hin a myle to the Ryver. And after the wache was sett the rebells shott played upon the campe, at what tyme S^r Henry caused some of the forces to put the rebells shott from their standing; that night the rebell Phelym M^r Feaghe sent a messenger of his owne, beinge a Rymer, to pray S^r Henry to forebeare doinge of any hurte to him, and that he wold submit him self to the L. Liveteñnt. And the next morninge, S^r Henry, upon intelligence receaved that the rebells were gatheringe into a heade too stronge for him, he dislodged and caused his carriadgs to marche backe towards Wickloe, and himself w^h the forces followed, and ymedietely

*in aqua magna of the "Wicklow In-"
Now the Owenmore, which,*

*with the Owenbeg, unites in the Ovoca.
1 Now Ballyshane.*

upon his remouu an other messenger came to him from the said traytor w'h some message, w'h the said Walshe knoweth not, but as he verylie thinketh yt was to feede S' Henry w'h faire words untill their forces weare readie to sett upon him, as might be well gathered by the sequell, for, w'hin a small tyme after the rebells w'h their battayle and loose wings came in and beganne to skirmishe w'h the forces, whereupon Cap^m Adam Loftus, w'h his foote companie answered the skirmishe in the reare of the battayle, and fought very valyantly for the space of three myles, the rest of the companies of foote yeldinge smale help, but onely m'ching forward; the rebells pceaving that, did drawe nere w'h their maine battayle, at what tyme Cap^m Adam Loftus, havinge then taken a horse w'h Cap^m Mountague, and the horse troupe charged the head of the battayl and did passe throwe the same. In w'h chardge Cap^m Adam Loftus was trust into the legg w'h a pyke, whereof and of some other hurte afterwards receaved he died; ymediatly whereupon the rebells battayle joyned w'h o^r, and by reason o^r armed men cold not be drawn to tourne backe, or to make a stand, and to feight, a greate p'te of the forces weare slaine; and as the said Liveteñnt doth gather at the least thone half did miscarry, amonge w'h companie Capten Wardman is lost, and many officers. The rebells contynued this killinge till they came w'hin half a myle to Wickloe, and suche of the forces as escaped gott away disordered by footemanship, leavinge their armes behinde them. All the Cap^m cullo^m weare brought away by the horsemen, and Cap^m Loftus his cullo^m and drom weare brought away by the said Leveteñnt Walshe. What nomber of the Soldeo^m that came of, and weare not slaine, he knoweth not certaine, for that they tooke div^m wayes for their safety.

"PIERS WALSH."

"1599. *July 20th. Privy Council to ESSEX.*

"Her Ma'ty highlie affecteth somewhat should be don [in the north], to pull downe the Trayto^m pryde, that feedeth the rebellion in other parts, and gloryeth in his owne security, when those that are but dependers upon him have had so good successe, where yo^r Lo. hath not been present. Of all w'h he bragges in no small pryde in forraynne p'tes, w'h doth not a lytle dysquiet her Mat's mynde; and from w'h he will never desyst untill yo^r Lo. have undertaken hym: wherein wee must confesse wee wishe all expedycon, as that whereon the good of her Mats servyce specially dependeth. The unhappy chances befallen to Sir H. Harrington to S' John Shelton, to S' Thomas Edgerton's regiment, and some other losses beinge dayly multiplyed in other Prynces corts, whence they fly hether, beinge added to that poynt, wch her Ma'ty styll remembreth, &c."

"1599. *July 25. Essex to the Privy Council. From Waterford.*

"I am nowe hasteninge backe to Dublyn, but will passe throughe the countie of Wexforde, and the Ranelagh, both to give ordre for those partes, and to seeke some revenge on those rogues who, in my absence, had the killinge of o^r base, cowardly, and ill guyded clownes. Of w'h defeate because I knowe yo^r Lls. are already particularly enformed from the councill at Dublyn, I doe spare to write, but at my retourne I purpose, by God's grace, to doe suche iustice as shalbe for her Ma'ties hono^r, and

make othier men hereafter knowe that the iustice of a marshall courte is no lesse terrible then the furey of all the rebells in this kingdome. And in my passage, if the rebells by this o' disaster be so muche puffed up as I heare they are, I hope, by God's fau' yo' Lls shall soone heare that theyre pride is but a prepatiuie to theyre greater ruine. I am advertised that they have drawn to them, besydes the forces of Donnell Spaniahe and the Cavanaghes, and Feagh M'Hughe's sonnes, and the Mountayne galliglasse, all the force of the Moores and Conners, & of Tyrrell w'h his bonaghtes.

"Surely this blowe cannot so muche appall o' base new men, as it dothe inflame the harts of o' comaunders and gentlemen of qualitie, whose forwardnes I shall haue no lesse labo' to restrayne, then to encourage and bring on the meaner sorte."

"1599. *June 30. JOHN CLIFFORD to CECYL.*

"It is thought his L. (Essex) will come homewardes throwe the Glynnnes in Feaughe M'Hughes Countrye, wher the Traytor^r have prepared for hym, and doe geve it out that they will fight w'h hym, if his L. come that waye. But I cane assure yo' Hono^r if his L. goe to Dungannon as is expected, he wilbe as well fought w'hall as euer he was in his lyfe, for ther is neither wante of men, munition, nor willinge mynds to fyght, yett I doe assure myselfe that they will neuer mette his Lo in the playnes. Tyron is now in campe harde by the Newrye att his old campinge place, and hath brought all his creatts w'h him, and is determyned to come neare to Dundalke, wher he meaneth to campe till the L. Leifteints cominge into those p'tes, he is both proude and stronge, yett I doubte not if it please her Ma'tie to loke to it in tyme, but she may easely plucke downe his pryde, otherwise it wilbe to latte, for the kingdome is almost all ou'rupe alredeye, wherof as yett I see noe hope of recou'ye, we loose by them eu'ry daye both men, goods, and lands, and we neu' gett any thinge from blowes; and ther number encreaseth daylye. Sir John Shelton lyeinge in Garryson att a place called Ardey, w'hin tenne myles of Tredathe and understandinge of the enemies comyngs into the countrye did drawe out certayne of Cap^m Warrens and Cap^m Moore's horsemen; and as soone as eu' he did discouer the enemies horse, he chardged them verye unadvisedlye, and they gave waye p'sentlye, and drewe hym into ther Ambushe, wher he hymselfe was slayne, and seven or eight of the horsemen hurte and killed. To wryte of anye killinge done uppon the enemye I cannot, for w'h I am verye sorye."¹

¹ A curious pen-and-ink picture map of Harrington's defect is preserved in the MS. Library of Trinity College, Dublin. It is apparently the work of Captain Montague, the commander of the "Horse troupe;" and measures 1 foot 8 inches by 1 foot. On the reduced fac-simile, which we append to Mr. MacCarthy's paper, the positions of the various explanatory inscriptions are referred to by letters. The map represents, at one view, several phases of the affair. The head of Harrington's "Battaile," with "loose shott"

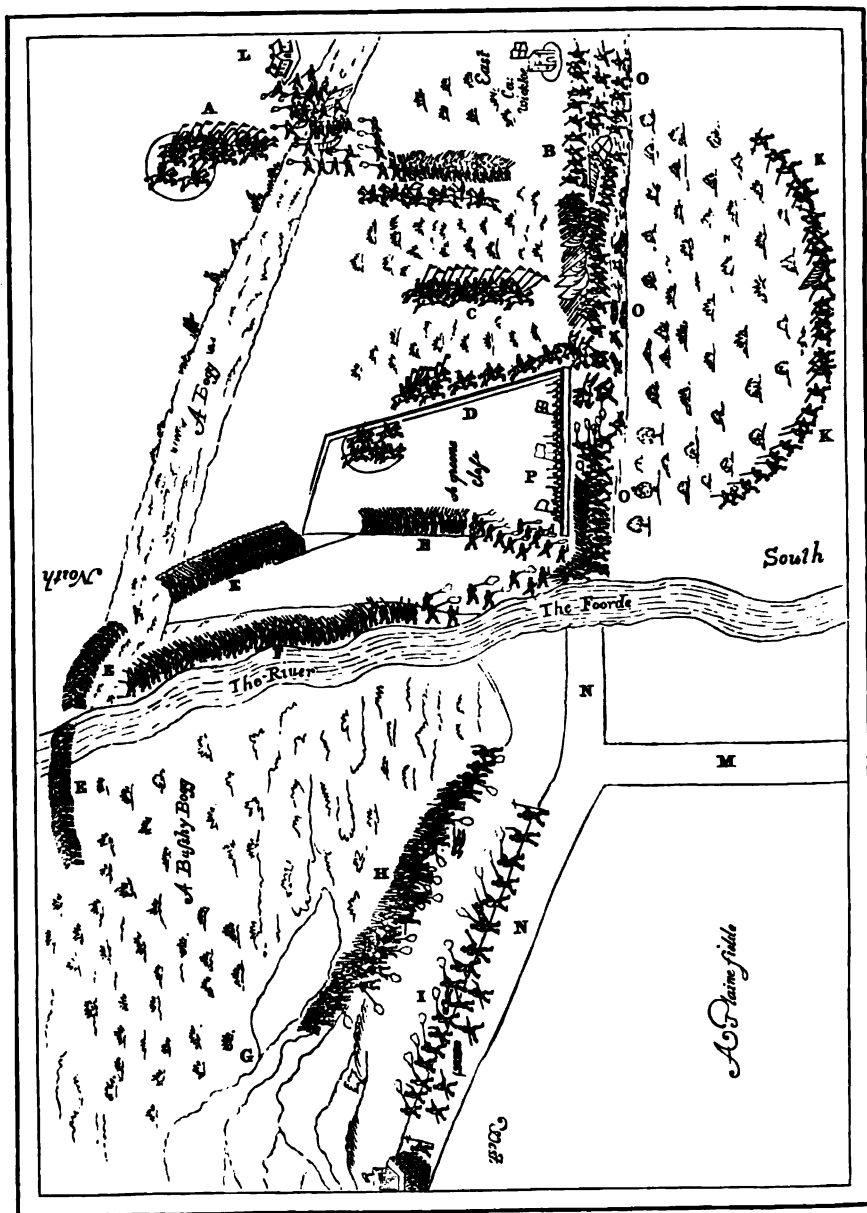
in advance, is seen debouching on the high road (N. N.), and engaged with the "loose shott" of the Irish. The English skirmishers subsequently lodged to secure the passage of the river, but without avail, are indicated at P; and the flank attack of the Irish "Battaile," whereby the English column was broken and pursued along the high road to Wicklow, with the ineffectual charges of the English horse, the flight of Loftus's company, and other incidents of the fight, are also shown.—Ed.

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From: Carringtons Defeate neere unto Wickloe: anno: 1599. .

REFERENCES TO THE INSCRIPTIONS ON ORIGINAL MAP.

S^r HEN: HARRINGTONS DEFEATE NEERE VNTO WICKLOE: ANNO: 1599.

- G. From this Mountaine came the Rebbels shott downe all amongst this bogg side.
- H. Along this waie the Rebells loose shott plaied vpon ours.
- I. Heer plaied our loose shott to aunswere theirs.
- EEEE. This waie came the Rebells Battaile to the greene close and so turned downe to the highe waie.
- F. On this side the Riuer came their loose shott to the foorde likewise.
- P. Heer laye our shott at rest.
- OOO. The execution was don vpon our men amongst this highe waie by the Rebells Battaile in grosse w^{ch} by strenghe thei putt me from.
- KK. This waye went Capⁿ Loftus his men to Wickloe whoe neuer weere followed.
- D. Heer I charged wth the horse into the high waie.
- C. Heer our horse charged betweene the Battells againe and I fetched of Capⁿ Atherton with some 22 Horse.
- B. Heer brake our Battaile and heere fell downe all our collors and Cap: Lynley to this Bogg, w^{ch} I brought of with 12 horse being prosecuted by 100 foote and 7 horse and putt them to Monishorle.
- A. At this round feild the horse charged the Rebels all the foote hauinge reconerued into Monishorlee, and gott a horse from them.
- L. Monishorlee.
- M. A highe waie towardses the Sea.
- NN. The highe waie from Ranelagh to the Foorde.
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PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS

GENERAL MEETING, held at the Society's Apartment, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, November 11th (commenced from the 2nd), 1859,

BARRY DELANY, Esq., M. D., in the Chair.

The following new Members were elected :—

The Right Hon. Lord Viscount Clifden ; the Rev. Agar Ellis, M. P. ; the Rev. W. Norton, M. A. ; Baltinglass ; Percy Swan Waddy, Esq., M. D., Wexford ; and The Public Library, Melbourne, Australia, proposed by the Rev. James Graves.

Edward Abbot Nobblett, Esq., 18th Royal Fusiliers, proposed by the Rev. Charles Cuyler Anderson.

The Rev. James Howe, Chaplain H. M. S. "Hibernia," A. Hudleston, Esq., Merton Lodge, Killiney, Co. Dublin, proposed by the Rev. G. H. Reade.

Frederick Lloyd-Philipps, Hafodnaddyn, Co. Carmarthen, proposed by C. C. Babington, Esq.

Francis J. Power, Esq., Manager, National Bazaar, proposed by H. Barry Hyde, Esq.

The following presentations were received, and the donors :—

By the Publisher : "The Builder," Nos. 861 and 862.

By the Publisher : "The Gentleman's Magazine," October, and November.

By the Archæological Institute of Great Britain : its "Journal," No. 62.

By Robert Mac Adam, Esq. : "The Ulster Archaeologist," No. 27.

- By the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne :
 "Archæologia Æliana," new series, part 14.
 By the Cambridge Antiquarian Society: its "Report and Communications," No. 9, concluding Vol. I.
 By the Surrey Archæological Society: its "Collections," Vol. I., part 1.
 By the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society: "The East Anglian," No. 4.
 By the Glasgow Archæological Society: its "Annual Report" for 1857-58.

By the Rev. James Graves: sixty-three copper coins, chiefly Irish penny and halfpenny tokens of the eighteenth century, with a few medals.

By Constable Ebbs, Arthurstown, county of Wexford: three coins; one, a half-crown of the seventeenth century, found on the fair-green at Ballyhack; the third, a penny token of Wilson, Dublin.

By the Rev. W. Norton, Rector of Baltinglass: a stereoscopic view of the ancient Abbey of that place, to which Jerpoint Abbey in this county was a daughter. The view represented the only remaining row of nave arches; the architecture was identical with that used in the nave of Jerpoint, and probably the work of the same architect.

Mr. Graves said, that the presentation of such facsimiles as the stereoscope afforded was particularly valuable, as thereby the characteristics of the building were preserved, even should the original be destroyed. As there were some thoughts of converting to use the remains of Baltinglass Abbey for the purpose of a place of worship, the Rev. Mr. Norton would give his voice for a well-designed modern structure, and allow the old ruins to remain, as they are—a landmark in the the history of the past in Ireland.

By Mr. John O'Daly, 9, Anglesea-street, Dublin: ten vellum documents, connected with Kilkenny and the Queen's County, which he had discovered amongst a quantity of these were three recently purchased by him. The most important of these were three Inquisitions of the latter end of the seventeenth century. The first, dated 1692, was held at the Black Abbey, before George Reade, sheriff, and a jury of the county of Kilkenny, who found that Richard Reddy was seized, as of fee, of the lands of Kilmurry in the barony of Gowran, then in the hands of the King and Queen (William and Mary), value £20 sterling, and that the said Richard Reddy had no goods or chattels. The second inquisition was held before John Young and John Davis, sheriffs of the city, and a jury, at Tholsel, in 1692-3, finding that Robert Garrett was seized in and lands of Boolyshee, in the parish of St. Canice,

which were valued at £12, and that he had no goods or chattels. The third inquisition was held in 1693, before George Reade, sheriff,¹ and a jury of the county of Kilkenny, finding that Henry Meagh was seised of the town and lands of Rosscon, in the barony of Kells, value £5 sterling, and that he had no goods or chattels. These were probably inquisitions to lay the foundation of a forfeiture of property of persons who supported King James II. Of the other documents, six related to the Manor Court of Knocktopher in the commencement of the last century, and one to the Manor Court of Rathdowney, at the same period.

The Chairman remarked that much credit was due to Mr. O'Daly for restoring these documents to the locality to which they belonged originally, and expressed a hope that this example would be imitated by others.

On the motion of Captain Humfrey, seconded by Mr. W. J. Douglas, an interchange of publications between this Association and the Archæological Society of Glasgow was sanctioned.

Mr. James Carruthers, Belfast, sent a coloured drawing of a small Russo-Greek enamel of St. Nicholas, the legend being partly in ancient Slavonic. It was said to have been found near the Seven Churches, county of Wicklow.

The Rev. James Graves read a communication from Captain A. Montgomery Moore, A.D.C. to Lord Seaton, commanding the troops in Ireland, giving an account of some explorations conducted by Lieut.-Colonel Sir T. Alexander, K.C.B., and himself, at the Curragh of Kildare. The letter was accompanied by the objects of antiquity discovered, which were kindly lent for exhibition to the Society. These consisted of,—first, a quadrangular iron spear, with square socket, found in the centre of the Gibbet Rath; secondly, a large horse's tooth, found at a depth of six feet in the same locality, together with a number of pieces of iron; thirdly, a silver coin of Edgar, found about one foot beneath the soil in the centre of the rath, in what seemed to be the foundation of the Chief's house; fourth, a piece of a cinerary urn, of black, half-burned pottery, which, when entire, had measured about two feet in diameter, found in a tumulus near the rath; fifth, a bone gouge, found close to the urn just mentioned; sixth, a large portion of an iron spear-head, found a little beneath the soil, in the fosse of the tumulus. These antiques had been discovered early in the summer, when several shafts were sunk in the rath. The antlers of deer, horses' teeth, quantities of bones, and fragments of swords and arrows, were found in abundance. In exploring the tumulus already mentioned, which was close to the

¹ This was George Reade, of Rossenarra, in the county of Kilkenny, Esquire. He entertained William III. on his march to Limerick, after the battle of the Boyne, and built a

"Memory House" thereof, the ruins of which still remain. He was ancestor of F. R. Morris Reade, Esq., J.P., Rossenarra, and the Rev. G. H. Reade, Rector of Inniskeen.—En.

Gibbet Rath, the digging party, at about eight feet from the surface, came upon a cist of large stones which contained the vessel of pottery (of which fragments were sent), within which were deposited portions of a human skeleton, comprising fragments of the skull and some of the teeth of a man. The urn was unhappily broken by the blow of a pickaxe. Captain Moore further stated, that in the course of subsequent explorations, another cinerary urn was discovered, but in a fractured state; also, about three feet beneath the surface of one of the tumuli with which the Curragh is studded, a cist composed of five or six long, flat slabs, forming an oblong coffin, about 7 feet 7 inches in length, in which lay four or five skeletons, unaccompanied by any relics of ornaments or arms. The stones which formed this cist are still preserved at the Head Quarters' garden at the Curragh. Captain Moore opened about a dozen of the Curragh tumuli, and found in every instance large quantities of bones, in most cases giving one the idea of legs, arms, and skulls having been thrown in promiscuously, either after a battle or a wholesale massacre. The group of tumuli lay in a small compass.

Mr. Graves remarked that, in consequence of the slaughter of the insurgents in 1798 on and about the great rath on the Curragh, great caution should be used to distinguish the pikes used by them from ancient remains. He thought the square socketed spear-head found in the Gibbet Rath might possibly have been an insurgent's pike—it seemed in too good preservation to have belonged to a remote period; the portion of a spear-head, found in the tumulus, was, however, undoubtedly ancient, though not belonging to so remote a period as the urn found in the same spot. He hoped Captain Moore had preserved some of the skulls found in the tumuli which he had opened, as their value would be considerable for ethnological purposes.

Captain Moore also sent for exhibition some fragments of flooring tiles dug up from under the portion of an ancient cross at the cemetery known as "Bully's Acre," near the Royal Hospital, Dublin. The types of the ornamentation of these tiles, originally, no doubt, forming a portion of the flooring of the Church of the Knights of St. John, were identical with those of similar remains found in connexion with the ancient ecclesiastical buildings of the county and city of Kilkenny.

On the motion of the Rev. J. Graves, seconded by Mr. Duffy, a special vote of thanks was passed to Captain Moore for kindly forwarding those objects for exhibition.

The Secretary reminded the Meeting of the fragments of splendid gold fibula which he had exhibited by the permission of their owner, Mr. Jones of Clonmel, at the July meeting of the Society, and remarked that the members would, no doubt, be interested in its ultimate fate, which, he was sorry to say, had been traced to the melting

pot, as would appear by the following extract from a very interesting letter addressed by Surgeon Wilde to the "Freeman's Journal" of Wednesday, the 2nd of November, inst. :—

"About three or four months ago, a magnificent gold fibula, originally weighing perhaps 10 ounces, was found in the county of Tipperary. As two persons, neither of whom knew its value, were unhappily concerned in the discovery, an attempt was made to divide the spoil by cutting the article across with a handsaw, by which means nearly a pound's worth of gold must have been lost. The ends were then battered off, and one of them made into a ferule for a 'blackthorn.' Subsequently the body of the article was sold to one goldsmith in Clonmel, and the ends to another. These persons, it seems, could not come to any arrangement as to the possession of the whole, but the major portion was lent for exhibition to the Kilkenny Archæological Society on the 6th of July last, where it was described by the Rev. J. Graves, in the Proceedings of that most industrious body; but, unfortunately, no model was made of it, or any accurate drawing taken of the ornamentation. In the beginning of August, a gentleman interested in archæology brought the article to Dublin, and left it at Mr. West's, where I had an opportunity of examining it. In shape it resembled those magnificent antique gold ornaments so frequently found in Ireland, each consisting of a pair of disks, united upon their convex sides by a massive curved portion, not unlike the handle of a chest of drawers. The largest of these yet found in Ireland is in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy; the second largest is in Trinity College; and, so far as I know, this specimen from Clonmel must have been the third in size. What rendered it particularly interesting to any person conversant with the forms of early Irish art was the amount and character of engraved ornamentation round the edges of the disks, and also where the handle-shaped bar sprung from their convexities. Mr. West and I both agreed as to the propriety of having this portion at least of the article preserved, although we greatly regretted the saw-cut, and the rude battering which the end had received. Having occasion to start for Scandinavia a few days afterwards, I heard nothing more of it until I lately made inquiry at Mr. West's, where I learned that it had been returned to the owner, who had refused £3 10s. an ounce for it. I then wrote to a friend in Clonmel about it, when, to my chagrin, I was informed that it had been recently sold to a Dublin trader for £3 8s. an ounce, and goods taken in exchange. Upon inquiry, my disappointment was rendered still greater on learning that it had been melted down just three weeks ago in William-street, in this city; and so the shape and ornamentation of this beautiful article, of perhaps two thousand years old, have been lost for ever. Still, I hoped that I might have learned something of the ornamentation from the fragment remaining in the hands of the Clonmel trader, and so, through my friends there, I requested the loan of it to exhibit at the Royal Irish Academy, and in order to have a drawing made of it. What was the patriotic answer of a Tipperary man? That I could only have it by paying for it at the rate of £5 an ounce! Comment upon the foregoing circumstances is quite unnecessary."

The Chairman remarked that it was much to be regretted that

the law of Treasure Trove in this country, which evidently led to the destruction of this and other objects, was not altered.

The Rev. Mr. Graves quite agreed with the Chairman; but until some provision was made by the State for the purchase of much valuable objects, the melting-pot would assuredly be their fate. With regard to the antique in question, much as he regretted its loss, it was hard to expect that a country jeweller could hold it over for an indefinite time, and be out of the considerable sum which he had paid for it as gold. He thought much credit was due to Mr. Jones for the opportunities afforded by him to the Royal Irish Academy to secure it for their Museum, and he could not but feel that it was lost through the apathy of that body. However, the Meeting would be glad to hear that the subject of Treasure Trove was again about to be brought under the notice of the Legislature, as would appear by the following extract from the letter of Surgeon Wilde already referred to:—

“Some short time ago Lord Talbot de Malahide, to whom archæology is so much indebted, both in this country and in England, introduced a bill of ‘Treasure Trove’ into the ‘Lords,’ and was good enough to intrust the clause relating to Ireland to my care. As that Bill was not pressed, it is unnecessary to make further allusion to it, or the machinery proposed for carrying out its provisions; but I have his Lordship’s permission to state that it is now before the Treasury. In any such law the difficulty will be to decide between the absolute finders, and the person on whose property the discovery is made. For the sake of archæology I am in favour of the finder; but I dare say the lawyers would make a different distribution. Suppose, for a moment, that all antique manufactured gold found in Ireland was obliged to be brought to a certain place, say the Royal Irish Academy, where the finder would be entitled to the standard price of it, with something more (as in Scandinavia) for the antiquarian value of the article. By this means, when articles were presented, if such there ever are, which might be considered duplicates of those we already possess, they could be sent to the British Museum, or, even if melted, the only loss which the country would sustain would be two or three shillings per ounce, the difference between the standard value and that given for the article, and this varying according to the purity or amount of alloy in the gold, which in most of our Irish specimens runs from 19 to 21 carats fine, and some have been assayed that rose to 23 carats.”

Mr. Thomas J. Tenison sent the following observations on “Stone Celts:”—

“The ancient stone celts, so many of which have from time to time been dug up in Ireland and Scotland, are, without doubt, the heads of war hatchets. Like many other relics with which our turf districts are enriched, they have been the weapons of all the northern and western nations of Europe; and as ‘in piping times of peace,’ when swords were fashioned into pruning-hooks, so, while the linen trade flourished in Ulster,

great numbers of stone axes (or *keltis*, as they have been recently termed), were employed by weavers as rubbing-stones, a process used in the smoothing of green webs. Such weapons are at present common in the South Sea islands. Mr. Bullock states that these hatchets are wrought in a regular form, with much labour, by rubbing one stone against another; with these the natives cut the wood for their canoes, war-clubs, and household utensils; the heads of these axes are firmly fastened on the handles with strong cords, made of the fibres of the cocoa-nut twisted. In a select cabinet preserved at Townview, Monaghan, I have seen an implement of this species from Otaheite, which seemed to have been held with a *withe*, such as blacksmiths use for holding their wedges. In Scotland, Ireland, and the Shetland Islands, such hatchet-heads are composed of close grit or granite, or porphyry, frequently of greenstone, and, in one instance that I have heard of, gneiss.

"In the possession of a Roman Catholic clergyman at Portglenone are three such clubs or war-hatchets, found in the River Bann; they are 15 inches long by 6 wide, and weigh nearly four pounds each. Stones strikingly similar to these aboriginal axes have been discovered with human bones on the banks of the Ohio, and are to be seen, with other memorials of ancient and modern art, in the Museums of Baltimore and Philadelphia; they have been commonly called thunderbolts; one in my possession at Port Nelligan weighs $6\frac{1}{4}$ lbs., is nearly 13 inches long, $4\frac{1}{2}$ broad, and $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches thick; it was found upwards of fifty years ago, on Sliabh Grian, or Tory Hill, county of Kilkenny, and was presented by Arthur Dillon, Esq., of Ballyquin House and Wellington-road, Dublin. Amongst the curious collection at Anketel's Grove is a stone axe, on which is incised an Ogham inscription. There are upwards of five hundred examples of these cuneiform implements in the Royal Irish Academy, half of which number were presented by the Shannon Commissioners. Copious descriptions are contained in Mr. Wilde's excellent and instructive Catalogue of the Stone, Earthen, and Vegetable Materials in the Museum of the Academy. This Catalogue contains more complete and reliable information than can be obtained from any similar publication that I know of.

"In the remarkable archæological collection of Dr. Petrie, a name imperishably associated with the history and antiquities of Ireland, are several very fine specimens indeed. I have also seen a few choice samples in Belfast, in Kilkenny, and in the Museum of the Scottish Antiquarian Society, Edinburgh, a repertory well worthy the attention of those curious in such matters, and containing a collection of national relics, augmented by many valuable Anglo-Saxon, Irish, and Scandinavian weapons in bronze and stone. Amongst the numerous and perfect specimens in Mr. Bell's Museum at Dungannon were two celts, one of granite, and the other basalt; the former measured 15 inches in length; the latter, 14 inches. If these were weapons used in warfare, as many persons who are fruitful in antiquarian revelations think, they must have been wielded by athletes of herculean strength. Some others in the collection of Mr. Bell, whose name is also intimately connected with the preservation of national relics, on the contrary, measured not more than 2 inches in length, were beautifully formed, and bevelled or polished off to a keen edge."

Mr. T. L. Cooke sent for exhibition the very curious seal of O'Kelly, King of Hy-Many, described in the following communication :—

"The relic which accompanies this paper was found in May, 1858, by a person named Michael Barrett, at a depth of about 12 feet beneath the surface, in a bog more than a mile from Ballinasloe, in the direction of the ruins of Kilconnell Monastery. Kilconnell is about six statute miles due west of Ballinasloe, and both these places are situate in that part of the county of Galway which was included in the ancient territory of Hy-Many, to which the O'Kelly family furnished a sovereign. A considerable quantity of charcoal and cinders, such as produced by burning timber, was, I am told, found on the same spot. When this seal was first shown to me, it was covered with that peculiar patina which time alone produces, and which, to a practised eye, defies imitation; but the party who possessed it, afterwards, before I became the owner of the antique, had the false taste to brighten it. The incised portions of the matrix, however, were not easily subjected to the polishing process; they, consequently, partially escaped it, and still retain some traces of the varnish given by age.

"The seal and its handle are made of one piece of a yellowish bronze, and seem to have been produced by a single operation in the foundry. The handle, which is 2 inches in length, represents a friar of the Order of St. Francis of the Strict Observance, with cowl upon his head, and his hands clasped upon his breast; the ends of the knotted cord, which encircles his waist, hang down in front, and a rosary, composed of large beads, with pendant cross, is suspended at his right side.

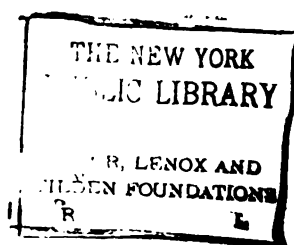
"The matrix of the seal is in form an oval, whose diameters measure respectively eight-tenths and seven-tenths of an inch; its face presents (surrounded by some antique scroll-work) the armorial ensigns of O'Kelly, prince of the country of Hy-Many, or Hy-Maine. This territory extended over a great portion of the modern counties of Galway and Roscommon; its boundaries may be readily traced by referring to the 'Tribes and Customs of Hy-Many,' as edited by the learned and indefatigable scholar, John O'Donovan, LL.D. The arms borne by O'Kelly, king of his country, Hy-Many, are those engraven on this seal; they are Mars, a castle between lions, combatant rampant, Luna. Over the shield is the grated, front-faced helmet, used to distinguish sovereign princes; above this is the crest of O'Kelly, namely, an enfield,¹ statant, Venus, with a bushy tail turned over its back. It is proper to remark here, that the heraldic emblems just

¹ I have searched in several works on heraldry for a description of the enfield, but without success. It does not appear to be a cognizance much in use, and it is not to be found in Gwillam's "Display of Heraldry," folio: not even in cap. 26 of that book, which chapter treats solely of fictitious creatures, supposed to be compounded of different kinds and natures, such as griffons, wiverns, dragons, cockatrices, harpies, mermaids, &c. Neither is the term *enfield* given or explained in Crossley's "Signification of Things borne

in Heraldry." To my gifted friend, Sir Bernard Burke, Ulster King of Arms, I, however, am indebted for the following definition of this composite fabulous creature, viz.:—"The enfield is an heraldic animal, having the head of a fox, the breast feathered as an eagle's, the foreclaws also of an eagle; the remainder of the body that of a wolf." It follows from such description that the enfield, being compounded of the fox, eagle, and wolf, indicated that he, by whom it was borne, was reputed to possess the subtlety and cunning



ANCIENT BRONZE SEAL OF O'KELLY, KING OF HY-MANY.



described as appearing on the seal differ, in some respects, from what they properly should be, owing most probably to want of ability in the artist who engraved them. Thus, the castle on the arms of O'Kelly is always blazoned as triple-towered, while that on this seal seems to be merely an embattled one. The crest, too, is more like a mastiff dog than an enfield, and the helmet shows only five bars, instead of the royal number six. These discrepancies might formerly have passed unheeded, in consequence of want of heraldic lore, or of the smallness of the matrix. A field, *gules*, with lions unchained, has in late days been used by the O'Kellys of Ticooly, who are descended from O'Kelly of Gallagher, and possibly represent the leading branch of the name. The arms, as generally borne by the name of O'Kelly, are *azure*, a castle *with three towers*, between two lions, encountering rampant, argent; the lions chained and collared, or. Crest, on a wreath, an enfield, statant, vert, with a bushy tail turned over the back. Dr. O'Donovan ('Tribes and Customs,' &c., p. 129) informs us, that this animal is sculptured on many old tombstones of the O'Kelly family in the Abbey of Kilconnell, and the old church of Clonkeen. The field is *sable* on the arms of Mr. John Kelly, engraved for O'Connor's translation of Keating's 'History of Ireland.'

"It may reasonably be assumed that the seal, the subject of this paper, once belonged to a personage of the O'Kelly family, who, being chief of his country, entered into religion, and embraced the Order of St. Francis.¹ The royal helmet shown upon the relic establishes the first part of this proposition; and the monk-like figure of the handle maintains the latter portion of it; but who this king-monk was, remains in some measure open as a matter of speculation and conjecture.

"It has been stated in the early part of this paper, that the seal was found between Ballinasloe and the ruins of the monastery of Kilconnell; the site of 'The Find' was somewhat about three or four statute miles from Kilconnell. This circumstance leads us to look into the history of that monastery, in search of an ecclesiastical prince of the family of O'Kelly, to whom the proprietorship of the seal may reasonably be attributed.

"In prosecution of this inquiry, we learn from the Four Masters, under the year 1353, that the monastery of Kilconnell, in the diocese of Clonfert, was that year founded, for Franciscan friars, by William O'Kelly, Lord of Hy-Many. O'Donovan, in a note to this passage of the Four Masters, states a remark of O'Flaherty; expressing some doubt relative to the date

ning of the first-named beast; the magnanimity and fortitude, with the honour, labour, industry, and diligence in great matters, of the eagle; and the fierceness of the wolf. The motto of O'Kelly is, "Turris fortis mihi Deus." It was Tadgh Caoch O'Kelly, above-named as having died in 1486, who built the Castle of Clonbrock. His son, Conor O'Kelly, enlarged the Castle of Clogher. A Thady O'Kelly, of Hy-Maine, and his troops fought at Clontarf, on Good Friday, in the year 1014, against the Danes, in the third division of the army of Brian, when the "green foreigners" were defeated by the combined Irish forces. Thady O'Kelly was

one of the slain in that memorable conflict.

¹There is now in the possession of the writer of this paper a Franciscan Missal, in rubric, printed at Paris in 1625. The title-page is embellished with a well-executed vignette, representing the vision of St. Francis. A monk of the order, in proper costume, and wearing a cowl, *such as that represented on the seal-handle*, appears issuing from a cell in a rock in the back-ground. This curious Missal once belonged to a friar of the order of St. Francis, the Rev. Fr. De La Croix, who was a native of France, and grand-uncle to the mother of the writer of the present communication.

of foundation, wherein he (O'Flaherty) quotes Ware's 'Antiquities,' (Kilconnell, A.D. 1414), where it is said that William O'Kelly founded a house there for Minorites, in the year last mentioned. The learned author of the translation of the Four Masters there suggests the probability, that Ware intended William O'Kelly, who died in 1420.

"Archdall ('Monast. Hib.,' title, Kilconnell) gives, from the 'Obituary of Kilconnell,' an abstract to the effect that William O'Kelly, who died in 1420, was the founder of that establishment, and that it was reformed, in the year 1460, by his son Malachy, who died in 1464. The extract runs:—'1420. 3. cal. Nov. obitus Will. magni O'Kelly omnium Hibern. suo tempore nominatissimi ac principalis istius conventus fundatoris; reformatum, anno 1460, per Malachiam filium Will. O'Kelly, qui obiit 13. cal. Ma. 1464.' It does not appear whether Kilconnell acquired its name from a religious foundation having been originally laid there by St. Conal, who lived at an early period, or from its having been dedicated to him in later times. See Lanigan's 'Eccl. Hist.,' vol. i. p. 429.

"It is exceedingly probable that Teige Caech (blind) O'Kelly, the son of William, was the personage for whom the seal now described was made. He was king or chief of his country, and he was also a monk of St. Francis. The Four Masters, at the year 1469, tell us that he was nominated in that year to succeed William O'Kelly, Lord of Hy-Many, a most hospitable man, who had been slain by some of his own name. The same annalists, at the year 1486, write:—'Caoz caoó mac Uilliam uí Ceallaig an bapa tigeapna baof pop uib maine décc i naibfo an tneap uib,' which the learned translator before named renders:—'Teige Caech, the son of William O'Kelly, the second lord' who was over Hy-Many, died in the habit of the third order' (i.e., of St. Francis). We may, therefore, without much chance of error, until some better claimant appears, take this Thady Caech, son of William O'Kelly, who was both king and Franciscan monk, and whose family had founded the monastery of Kilconnell, not far from which the seal was found, as having been the person for whom this curious little bronze remain was made."

The Rev. James Graves gave their full force to the cogency of the reasons put forward by his friend Mr. Cooke,—the only objection which could be urged, arising, as he thought, from a consideration of the fashion of the shield and scroll work of the signet, which was plainly of the Renaissance period, and, if executed in this country, should be assigned to the commencement of the seventeenth century. The seal might, however, have been wrought in Italy, where the style alluded to arose, and prevailed much earlier than in these islands. This supposition would also easily account for the inaccuracies of blazon alluded to by Mr. Cooke.

The following Papers were submitted to the Meeting.

¹ In order to understand the expression, "the second lord," we must remember that, in accordance with Irish usage, two successors were nominated to succeed William O'Kelly,

who was slain in 1469, as above mentioned. These were William, son of Hugh, son of Brian, and Teige Caech above-named, the son of William O'Kelly.

**A CHOROGRAPHIC ACCOUNT OF THE SOUTHERN PART OF
THE COUNTY OF WEXFORD, WRITTEN ANNO 1684: BY
ROBERT LEIGH, ESQ., OF ROSEGARLAND, IN THAT
COUNTY.**

EDITED BY HERBERT F. HORR, ESQ.

(Concluded from p. 21.)

**AN ACCOUNT OF YE TOWNE OF NEW ROSSE, IN YE COUNTY OF WEX-
FORD, AND SOME OF THE BARONIES THERE, THIS 29TH MARCH,
1684.**

NEW ROSSE.—The town of New Rosse, in the county of Wexford, is reported to have beene built by a lady called Ross,¹ who was daughter to Crune, King of Denmarke, and to whom that place, and a large territory thereunto adjoined, did then belong. It is called in Irish Rosse-Macrune from the foundress, and is surrounded with a strong wall, built of lime and stone, seated upon a rock, which is cut on the outside of the wall, in the nature of a ditch, and adds much to the strength of it. It is in circumference above a mile, and is fortified by ye waterside by a citadel and forte, and has twelve strong towers or castles, and foure gates to the land side, besides some slipes to the waterside. The towne, soe much as now remains thereof built, being about 150 stone houses, slated, and about as many thatched ones, lyes on the syde of a steepe hill or rock, selving downe to the river, which river lyes on the west syde of it, and is navigable for shippes of grate burden; 100 shippes may anchor with safety before the towne, and be alwise afloat; and 300 may lye safe by the walls and keays thereof. There are two keays now in good repair, where a shipp of 500 tunns may (at ye grand one of them) ride afloat at low water and discharge her loading securely. Rosse has pretty good trading for wine and fruits out of Spaine and France, and also for transporting of beefe, hydes, and tallow; but not above the one-halfe of the ground within the

¹ This legend affords a curious instance of the unreliable nature of local tradition. In the first volume of our "Annuary," at page 28, we have tolerably satisfactorily proved that the Lady Rose of Stanyhurst's legend about the walling of this town was a certain Rose Meyler, who flourished in the middle of the fourteenth century. Yet we see by the text that after two centuries had elapsed, the identity

of this munificent lady was so lost that she was thought to have been daughter of a mythic King of Denmark! The Gaelic name of this town is Ross-Mac-Truim, i. e. the wood of the son of Truim. The history of this ancient seaport town is sufficiently interesting to merit other notice than a mere annotation. At some future time we hope to return to the subject.

walls is built upon, and many even of those buildings ruined. There is a faire parish church¹ (one of the largest parish churches of Ireland) upon the very toppe of the said hill, or rock, within the walls of the towne. It is called Our Lady's Church, and joynes to a large high steeple crowned with lead, as the body of the church was, untill that, in the yeare 1636, the said leads were consumed by accidentall fyre, and about 300 slated houses, besydes some thatched ones, burnt downe. There was also in the saide church a fayre payre of organs, and a ring of five good bells, untill that, in the late times of usurpation, in the yeare 1652, they were taken down and imbeasled by one Lieu^t Coll. Bechell. In this church stands an ancient monument of the aforesaid Lady Rose, who alsoe is saide to have been the founder of ye church; but ye inscription of ye tomb is so defaced that it cannot be read. There is at Rosse another church called S^t Michael's Church, which is now quite ruined. It was formerly made use of by the Jesuits. There were also in Rosse two monasteries or abyces, the one belonging to the Order of S^t Francis, called S^t Francis, the other that of S^t Augustine, called S^t Augustine; but both have rann the same fate ye other ye like did upon ye dissolution of abyces, and are now turned to dwelling houses. There was also neere Our Lady's Church afforesaid a house for nunna, and good gardings to it.

Rosse is a Corporacon, consisting of sufferaigne, capitall Burgess, Recorder, and Burgesses, a Bayliffe, a Reciever for the Corporacion renews, a Bayliffe attendant, a Sergeant and Constables. The present charter of Rosse was obtained in Queen Elizabeth's time, by virtue whereof a courte is to be helde for trial of actions by way of arrest or otherwise, which are without limitacion; there is another courte held by the Bailiffs once a fortnight for triall of smaller actions of debt, and the freemen, by virtue of beeing free of Ross, are (as to payment of duties, &c.) free of the Chinque Ports in England, and also of Waterford and Kilkenny in Ireland. The inhabitants are, for the most parte, ancient natives of the towne and country about it, and so are the chife merchants there that trade beyond seas, but those that have the government of the corpora-

¹ The present church occupies the site of the nave of the ancient one, which was a very large and handsome edifice, with lancet windows, in the Early English style, considerably ornamented. Formerly there were numerous rich monuments, and some interesting relics remain, such as the fine tomb of the Hon. Piers Butler, son of the first Viscount Mountgarret, and titular Baron of Kayer (now Wilton Castle), erected in 1601 by his wife, Margaret Devereux. The supposed tomb of "Rose MacCrane" is unusually beau-

tiful. It is to be regretted that the inscription was illegible when Leigh wrote, since it would, doubtless, have thrown light on the history of this curious monument, which, so far from being that of the Lady Rose of Ross, represents a man in the civil costume of the thirteenth century. Beside this effigy there is a headless one, apparently of a chieftain, in the ancient Irish shirt, and not improbably sacred to the celebrated hero, Art Kavanagh, the Mac Murrough, who died of poison in this town.

has belonging to it about 1200 acres of land. This place did formerly belong to the family of the Colcloughs, of Tinterne, in that countye, enjoyed now by Alderman Abel Ram, of Dublin. Ould Rosse is supposed to have beene built by the afforementioned Lady Rosse, before she laide the foundation of New Rosse. The Country about New Rose is good for hunting and hawking,¹ there being good riding and plenty of game, especially hare, Phaisante, Grouse, and Partridge, and too many Foxes. The aire is excellent, good, clear, and sharpe, and begetts a good stomach.

BARRONY OF SHILBURNE.²—The Barrony of Shilburne lyes towards the south sea along upon ye affore^d River of Rosse and Waterford, and is devided into quarters or peeces (as they are termed in that countrye), and is the same thing with hundreds in England, viz., the Peece of Dunbrody, and the Peece of the Hooke, the Peece of Sleuculter, and the peece of Tinterne.

SLEU CULTER PEECE.—The Peece of Sleu Culter lies southward of ye afforesaid Barrony of Bantry, joyning thereunto, and is indiferent good land for the Countye of Wexforde, yealdes Wheate, Barley, Pease, and Oates, and is a deep soyle, but very could. It belongs to severall proprietors of a new acquisition, except the Lordship of Terraregh, which belongs to Mathew Forde of [. . .] in the same County, Esq. There is a parish church now in repayre called White Church, and there is another alsoe in this Peece called Carnagh, that is ruinated. Sleu Colter, from whence ye peece takes its name, is a large hill very good for grasing, and lying not far from the River of Rosse afforesaide.

TINTERNE PEECE.—The Peece of Tinterne lyes Southward of Sleu Culter, and Eastward of the Peece of Dunbrody; its indiferent good land, and a large scope, and yealds Wheate, Barley, Pease, and Oates, but is a shallow ground; it has 8 or 9 Castles, and severall farm Houses. It belonged (except some few small parcells) before the dissolucōn of Monastries, to the Abbey of Tintern³,

¹ Hawking was anciently a favourite recreation in Ireland, especially at the period when the penal laws forbade the use of firearms to the Roman Catholics.

² The barony of Shelburne derives its name from having belonged, in pre-historic times, to the *Siof-Brannach*, i. e. Seed, or Race of Britons, a colony, apparently, from the adjacent coast of Wales. Of all the baronies in the shire, it is the richest in the ruins of abbeyes, castles, towns, and historical reminiscences; comprising the monasteries of Dunbrody and Tintern, two preceptories of religious Knights, the ancient town of New Ross, the extinct boroughs of Clonmines, Bannow, and Fethard, and the important fort of Duncannon. The historic interest of

this district begins from the dark and uncertain age when some Scandinavian sea-reaver erected a rude tower on the furthest point of Hook promontory, and grows fuller and warmer from the day when Fitz-Stephen planted his mailed foot on the sward of Bannow to the period of the contest for the kingdom between William of Orange and James Stuart.

³ Tintern Abbey, otherwise called De Voto, i. e. of the Vow, was founded in consequence of a vow made by the Earl of Pembroke to found an abbey wherever his bark, endangered by a storm, on the passage from England to his Irish possessions, should find shelter, and this foundation was named from the parent house in South Wales.

which was enjoyed by Munks of ye order of St. Bernard, and is now the inheritance of Sir Cæsar Colclough, of Tinterne, Barronett.

N.B. Clonmines Town, in ye peece of ye Hooka, to bee placed there, vide this marke *.

Clonmines¹ is a very ancient Corporacōn, but now quite ruined, there remaining onely 4 or 5 ruined Castles, and an old ruined Church called St. Nicholas, and a Monastery, alsoe ruined, which did formerly belong to the order of Augustine, and is called St. Augustins. Yet it sends two Burgesses to Parliament still, and was governed by a Portriffe and Burgesses; but the Charter and Contents thereof is worn out of memory long since. Clonmines lyes upon a River composed of the Rivers of Rosse-Garland and the Blackwater (called in Irish, Ownduff), which meete together at a place called Balli-lannan, about a quarter of a mile to the north-east of Clonmines, and soe goe together into the maine Sea, by the name of the River of Banno, within a league or less of Clonmines afforesaid, at a narrow passage between the Banno Island in the Barrony of Bargye, and the lands of Fetherd, in the Baronye of Shilburne. It is confidently reported that this Clonmines was a place of great Trade in times passed, and a harbour for shipping of indifereñt bulck untill that the sand filled up the ancient passage neare the towne of Banno, (another ancient Corporacōn lying in the affores^d Barrony of Bargye, on the other side of the affores^d island of Banno), which was the destruction of both those townes, so that now there is onely a narrow passage as afore^d for Boates on the Weast side of the Island, between it and the lands of Fetherd; for on the East side towards the Towne of Banno, where ye ancient passage was, and ships used to come in, it is now a perfect dry strand, and may be walked over from the Island to the Towne. Its believed that Clonmines (called in Irish Clonemeene), took its name from the silver or royall mines² formerly dug there; and on the other side the River, over against it in the Barony of Bargye, there are still to be seen 5 or 6 deepe pitts or mines, and some of the oare that was cast up, which seemes to contain more lead than silver. There lived in those partes within a few yeares, a very old man, that said he remembered to have seen miners at worke there, but that the River water (neere the banks of which those mines are) came in upon the workmen so fast, when they were deepe in ground, as that they were forced to quitt the undertaking for good and all. The towne land of Clonmines is now for the most parte the inheritance of the Earle of Anglesey. The River there aboutes yeilds good fish, as Base, Mullet, and

¹ This mention of five ruined towers, and two ecclesiastic buildings, accounts for the popular name of the "Seven Castles of Clonmines," which are not now all to be seen.

² The "mines" did not give the name to

Clonmines (or Cluainmain, i. e., "Ecclesiastic Retreat on the Plain") being situated at Barrystown. The State Papers of the middle of the sixteenth century contain some curious particulars as to the working of these mines.

abundance of Flukes, and (from Michaelmas tide till after Christmas¹), Salmon in very good season, and so doth the River of Ross Garland, and the Black water that falls into it as aforesaid, whereas few other Rivers in Ireland affords any Salmon at that time of the yeare.

TINTERNE HOUSE.—Tintern Castle, being the aforesaid Sir Cæsar Colclough's dwelling-house, lyes south-west of Clonmines, at two miles distance, and is seated upon a rising ground or rock, but sheltered on all sides, at some small distance, by higher grounds, and several groves of Oake and Ash Trees. Under the house, at a pistoll's shot distance, in a vally running through a small grove of ash trees, and pleasant cleere River, or streame, whereon stands a Corne Mill, and runs along the vally to a place called the Salt Mills, where it falls into the River of Banno af^{sd}. On the West Bancke of the w^{ch} River of Banno (on Tintern side), there is an oyster bedd, belonging to the s^d Sir Cæsar Colclough, w^{ch} is extraordinary large, and accounted the best oister in that County (if not in all Ireland). They were brought thither about 70 years ago,² in a bark from Milford-Haven, by order of Sir Thomas Colclough, of Tintern, and sunk there, where the soyle proved soe naturall to them, that they grewe much bigger and better tasted than those now had at Milford-Haven. Tintern³ was a large Abbye of St. Bernard's order, which had about 1200£ a yeare in lands and Tyths belonging to it. It is saide to have beene founded soone after the English were masters of those parts, under Strongbow Earl of Chepstowe, and that it took its name from an Abby in Wales, called also Tintern, which abbey I have seen described in some mapps of England, and soe the rather believe this may be true. There is at Tintern a large Church, that belonged to the Abby, called St. Bernard, and another which is nowe the parish Church,⁴ wherein stands a large marble monument, or tombe, of Sir Anthony Colclough, Knight, the first of that family that settled in Ireland in the reigne of King Henry 8th, whose guards (called the gentlemen pensioners) he commanded, and who gave him for his greate services the aforesaid Abby of Tintern, with its possessions. As to his Parentage and esteem at that time, as well as his Issue, I refer you to the Inscription on ye aforesaid toombe, which is hereunto annexed :—

On a loose paper
and lost.

¹ It would be interesting to ascertain if these streams still bear the same character. Perhaps some Wexford member of the Society may be able to help us as to this point. The close season varies so much in different rivers that the present law, which enforces a common close season for all, is defective.

² Nothing is more interesting than such notes as the above. We are unaware whe-

ther or not this oyster-bed still affords such excellent "natives" as it produced in Leigh's time.

³ Tintern Abbey is worthy of a separate notice in our pages, since its history can be developed by many original documents.

⁴ This building is now unroofed, but the walls are perfect. The modern parish church has been built at Salt Mills.

[The inscription is here supplied from the monument which still exists in the ruined parish church of Tintern :—

IN . OBITVM . EGREGII . VIRI . ANTHONII . COLCLOUGH . MILITIS
 PRISTINA . SVBLIMI . PROAVORVM . STEMA TE . DVCTA
 ET . SEREES . MAGNIS . ORTA . AB . IMAGINIBVS
 ATQVE . SVPERBA . MANVS . VARIIS . ORNATA . TROPHEIS
 HÆC . SORTIS . FRAGILI . SOLA . PARANTVR . OPE
 AST . SINCERVS . AMOR . PATRIÆ . VOX . CONSONA . VVLGI
 ET . VERVS . VERO . CANDOR . HONORE . NITENS
 NESCIA . VEL . DVVIS . FLECTI . CONSTANTIA . REBVS
 NON . ALIENA . SED . HÆC . NOSTRA . VOCARE . LICET
 VTRVM . PLVRA . DARET . SORS . ET . NATVRA . VICISSIM
 CERTAVNT . VNO . HÆC . CVNCTA . VIATOR . HABES

HEER . LIETH . THE . BODY . OF . SYR . ANTHONY . COLCLOVGH . KNIGHT .
 ELDEST . SYNE . OF | RICHARD . COLCLOVGH . OF . WOLSTANTON . IN . STAFORD .
 SHIRE . ESQUIER . WHO . CAME | FIRST . INTO . THIS . LAND . THE . 24 . YEER .
 OF . HENRY . THE . 8 . AND . THEN . WAS . CAPTAYN | OF . THE . PENSIONERS .
 IN . WHICH . PLACE . AND . OTHERS . OF . GREATER . CHARG . HE . CONTINVED |
 A . MOST . FAYTHFUL . SERVITER . DVURING . THE . LIFE . OF . EDWARD . THE . VI .
 AND . QVEEN . MARY | AND . VNTIL . THE . XXVI . YEER . OF . OVR . MOST . NOBLE .
 QVEN . ELIZABETH . AND . THEN . DIED . THE . IX . OF . DECEMBER | 1584 . HE .
 LEFT . BY . HIS . WIFE . CLARE . AGARE . DOWGHTER . OF . THOMAS . AGARE .
 ESQUIER . 7 . SONNS | FRAVNCS . RATLIFE . ANTHONY . SYR . THOMAS . COL-
 CLOUGH . KNIGHT . IHON . MATHEW . LENARD . AND . 5 | DOGHTERS . IAQNET .
 WAS . MARIED . TO . NICHLAS . WALSH . ESQUIER . OF . THE . PRIVIE . COVN-
 SAYLE . AND | ON . OF . THE . IVSTICE . OF . THE . KINGS . BENCH . IN . IRLAND .
 FRAVNC . MARIED . TO . WILLIAM . SMETHIWIKE | OF . SMETHWICK . IN .
 CHESHIRE . MARI . MARIED . TO . IHON . COTS . OF . WODCOTE . IN . SHROPSHIRE |
 ESQUIER . CLARE . MARIED . TO . WILLIAM . SNEAD . OF . BRODWAL . IN . STAFERD .
 SHIRE | ESQUIER . ELINOR . DIED . IVNGE .

The inscription is given verbatim et literatim, except that "Shrorshier"—an evident mistake of the sculptor—is corrected to "Shropshier." It will be remarked, that Sir Anthony Colclough's son is termed "fravnccs," and his daughter "fravnc," the reverse of the present usage. The lines of the original inscription are indicated in the letter-press by a vertical stroke.—Ed.]

Sir Cæsar Colclough, Bart., who is the present possessor of Tinterne, is great grandson to the aforesaid Sir Anthony Colclough.

DUNBRODY PEECE.—The Peece of Dunbrody lyes westward of Tinterne, along the River of Waterford and Rosse, and is counted ye best land both for grazing and plowing in that side of ye county of Wexford. It yealdes wheate, Barly, Pease, Beanes, and Oates, and is a deepe, myrre, darke soyle.

ABBY.—There is at the place called Dunbrody,¹ on the aforesaid River, a large Abby, or ruinnated Monastery, that belongs to

¹ Dunbrody Abbey also demands fuller notice than could be given in a note.

the order of St. Bernard; ye walls whereof are still standing. It is a pleasant seate, and has on the east side a shrubby kind of wood, which formerly was good timber, and is now an ornament only. This place has greate convieniancy of fishing and fowling, and has severall weares for taking of Sammon. Belonging to it, a little distance from these old ruins, stands a good large house of lime and stone, built before the Rebellion of Ireland by John Ichingham,¹ Esq., but was not finished, and stands ever since waste in a manner. Over against the Abby, to the westward, lyes, in the River of Rosse, the Island belonging to my Lord Duke of Ormond, called the Greate Island², containing about 700 ac. of land, and a little below it ye Rivers of Rosse and Waterforde joyne, and beare ye name of that of Waterforde, till it looses itself in the sea neare the Tower of Hooke.

BALLIHACK.—About 2 miles from Dunbrody, to the seaward, upon the River of Waterforde, there is a creeke and an old key at the bottom of a steepe Rocke, called Ballihak³; it is a sad place to looke upon, and has not about halfe a dozen Houses, and an old pile of a castle, besides a fue Cabbins; but it is a place much frequented by passengers that ferry over there into Munster, to a place on that side called Passage, as alsoe by seamen and the like, for ships often lye thereabouts in the River. There are two considerable fairs kept at Ballihak (for black cattle and hoggs), in the yeare, the one at Michaelmas, ye other upon St. James' day in summer; and out of the Rock that hangs above the village and key, is wrought a number of very good millstones, which with noe small skill or less danger are rowled downe a very high precipice to the aforesaid key, and soe carried by water as occasion requires.

DUNCANNON FORT.—About a mile from Ballihack to ye south-east, neerer the mouth of the aforesaid River of Waterford, lyes the forte of Duncannon⁴, accounted of considerable strength, and well mann'd and furnished with a sufficient number of greate gunns and other Armour, and commands ye mouth of the River of Waterford, soe that noe shipp can goe in or out, but shall be called to account

¹ Sir Osborne Ichingham, a Norfolk knight, Marshal of the Army in Ireland, received a grant of Dunbrody Abbey, and its extensive lands, from Henry VIII. His descendant and heiress was married in 1660, at the age of thirteen, to Arthur Chichester, Earl of Donegal.

² Great Island contains a large rath, and the remains of two castles. One of its early names was Herny's Island, from Herny, the Briton, a merchant, who owned it in the thirteenth century. As an insulated position, it was selected for the site of a lazar-house, or leper's hospital, in an age when leprosy was frequent.

³ Ballyhack Castle was a Preceptory of Knights of St. John, of which there are particulars in Archdall's "Monasticon."

⁴ Duncannon Fort was commenced about the year 1588, to guard Waterford Harbour against attempts from the Spaniards. Having been constructed under the superintendence of Sir Edward York, it was at first called "York's Bulwark." Sir John Ivory was, seemingly, son of Captain William Ivory, who obtained, under the Act of Settlement, a patent for several thousand acres of land in the county of Wexford. There is a monument to a member of the family in St. Mary's

by those in the forte. The forte itself belongs to ye King, who has settled about 300£ p. ann. land of Inheritance, for maintaining ye same in repaire, and deffraying other charges there; but none of those lands lye neere ye Forte; all the land thereabouts to the very wall, belonging to the Earle of Dunnegall. The aforesaid peece of Dunbrody did formerly belong to the aforesaid Abby of Dunbrody till it was dissolved, as ye rest were; it belongs now to the said present Earle of Dunnegall, in right of the Countess, his mother, who was daughter and heire to Ichingham of Dunbrody afs¹.

The present Governour of the Forte of Duncannon is his Grace ye Lord Duke of Ormonde; his deputy is Sir John Ivory, knight, who commandes a company of Foote lying there; alsoe Sir John bought both commands from Col^l. Edward Rosscarrock, a loyall ancient seuervitour to the Crowne.

HOOK PEECE.—The Peece of the Hooke lyes nexte the sea. The Parish of Hooke is a narrow tract of land, jetting southward into ye sea, surrounded with greate shelves and Rocks; upon the uttermost point whereof stands a high tower, called the tower of Hooke, which is made use of now as a light-house to direct shippes into ye River of Waterford and Rosse afs¹. The soyle within this parish of Hooke is good lime and stone ground, tho' out of it no limestone is to be found in 8 or 10 miles going; it yeilds good wheate and excelent white pease and good pasture, and is naturally inclined to yield furs, but noe trees of any kind will grow there, except preserved with greate cost and art, by reason of ye sea winds and bleake situation. The Parish belongs at present to Henry Loftus, Esq^r., who has repaired ye old Mancōn House there, lying on the east shore of ye River of Waterford aforesaid, and added other considerable buildings of lime and stone thereunto, and inclosed his gardens with high stone walls, to preserve some fruit trees newly planted there, and dwells in that house now. It was formerly called Redmond's Hall¹, from ye old proprietor; it is now called Loftus Hall. Mr. Loftus is now building a key for fishing boats,

Abbey, Ross. Lord Lieutenant Clarendon mentions, in a letter dated 12th Sept. 1686, that, on the day previous, he "went down the river, a very noble one, not inferior to the Thames, to Duncannon Fort, and, having taken a view of it, and looked upon the Blockhouse at Passage, dined with Sir John Ivory." This fort is famous in our warlike annals, not only for having been constructed about the time when the Armada was expected to invade our shores, for the purpose of guarding the ports of Ross and Waterford, of which it is the key; and its having been defended by Lord Esmonde, on the part of the Parliament, against the Confederate Catholics of the

county; and against General Ireton, by the gallant Colonel Wogan, who had saved the life of King Charles at the battle of Worcester. The place is also memorable as the point of departure of James II. from a realm he was unable to defend; as also of his son-in-law, William III., for England, in September, 1690, after an adverse wind had for some days compelled him to keep his Court here.

¹ Redmond is the Irish form of the Scandinavian name Reymond. This family is called Fitz-Remound in early records, and may have descended from a Scandinavian, or Ostman, by whom, anterior to the English

and on the east side of ye saide tract of land or pen-insula, neere a place called ye Slade.

THE LOFTUS'S.—Mr. Henry Loftus is second sonn to Mr. Nicholas Loftus, of Fetherd, in ye Countye of Wexford, which Nicholas was brother to Sir Arthur, or Sir Adam Loftus, of Rarfarnam, in ye county of Dublin. He married the eldest daughter of Coll. — Gorge, of — in the North of Ireland, Brother to Dr. Gorge,¹ of Dublin. The rest of ye peece of ye Hooke, belonging (for the most parte) to Sir Nicholas Loftus, of Fetherd, knight, eldest sonn to ye aforesaid Nicholas Loftus, lyes joining to the Parrish of Hooke, and northward of it, and is good land for the plow, black cattle, and sheepe: the soyle is deepe, and there is good pastorage for ye aforesaid kind (some in one place and some in another), and affords meddow land in some places also; but it is generally very free to produce furrs if seven yeares untilled, and yeilds no trees but with difficultie, by reason of the sea winds, and is very bad ryding in winter. It yealdes wheate, barlye, pease, oates, and beanes.

FETHERD PEECE.—Fetherd Towne, in the said peece of Hooke, is a small stragling towne, containing two or three small castles, and alsoe a stone House, and a brick House, built by Mr. Nicholas Loftus aforesaid, father to Sir Nicholas Loftus, alsoe a large Parish Church called St. Idanus, which is now unroofed, and about 30 or 40 cabbins or tatched houses. It has beene an ancient Corporacōn, and one of the seates of the Bishop of Fearnese. The Corporacōn consists of Portriffe and Burgesses, and is now the inheritance of Sir Nicholas Loftus aforesaid, who dwells in ye aforesaid stone house or castle,² that was the Bishopp's seate formerly. It sends two Burgesses to Parliament. As for theire Charter, I suppose it is lost, or consumed with age long since, and a new one is not requisitt. This Corporacon had antiently severall petty freeholders,

invasion, the tower of Hook was probably built. Among the depositions concerning the rebellion of 1641–2, preserved in Trinity College Library, there are curious papers respecting the assault and defence of Redmond's Hall.

¹ A son of this Dr. Gorges was, it would seem, the second husband of Lady Beresford, widow of Sir Marcus Beresford, the heroine of the well-known traditional story of "Lord Tyrone's Ghost," a version of which has recently been published in the "Ulster Journal of Archaeology." The Loftus family having acquired large property in Shelburne, the government created the three boroughs of Bannow, Clonmines, and Fethard, to enable this family to return six members to Parliament.

² The circular portion of Fethard Castle is curious and ancient, and the hall attached to it is no less so. Fethard House was the episcopal seat, until Bishop Ram exchanged the manor here for lands in the north of the shire. Sutton, of Clonard, ancestor of les *Comtes de Clonard*, in France, had a property and large house in Fethard town. This name derives from Fiodh-ard, the wooded height. The notion is plausible, that Battletown obtained its name from a battle having been fought there by the invaders, just as Battle Abbey is named from the action near Hastings, in which England was lost and won. But it is more likely that the place was named from a family called *De la Battaille*, whose name occurs in mediæval Wexford records.

whereof there is not at present above one or two that enjoy their freeholds. There is a convenient creek for fishermen at Fetherd, but no key; yet they make good use of it, and take good sea-fish thereabouts.

BAGG AND BUNN.—Within 2 miles of Fetherd, or less, is the place called Bagg and Bunn,¹ where (as ye common saying in that county is) "Ireland was jee lost, and Ireland was jee won;" that is to say, where the Irish, under their Monarch O'Conor lost it, and where Strongbow, Earl of Shepstown, won it for the English, assisted by M^cMoragh, King of Leinster. Ye place where he landed is a very small Creek, between two cliffs, lying open to the sea on ye east, and was called Bagg and Bunn (as the story there goes) by reason the two ships in which the English landed were called, the one, *Bagg*, and the other, *Bunn*, and which they presently after sett on fire; soone after landing (within a musket shot of the place) they cast up a strong scone or ditch across that next [*sic*] of land where they came ashore, which ditch is still to be seene there.² When they came as farr as Fetherd, into ye land, they mett a partye of the natives, that were in the nature of a fore-lorne hope (or the like) to ye Army that came to resist the Invacon, and there skirmishing with the Irish, were put to greate stress, but fought it out with greate courage, and made their way thro', for which reason (it is said) that place was called Fighthard, now corruptly called Fetherd.

BATTLESTOWN.—There is another place about a mile and a halfe from Fetherd, called Battletowne, where it is³ ye English fought ye first Battle, after their landing. There is now standing there an old tower and some cabbins onely.

Sir Nich. Loftus married first, one Mrs. Adderly, of — in Munster, by whom he has one sonne and one daughter alive. His present wife is sister to Sir Thomas Buttler, off Garryhunden, in the County of Catorlogh, Baronnet.

If you will know ye Pedigree of the Loftuses, inquire of Mr. Saml. Mulleneux.³

¹ "Bagg and Bunn" is probably a corruption of *Bec-na-abhan*, from *bec*, a common Scandinavian termination in local nomenclature, signifying a promontory, and *abhan*, a river, *à quo* the Bann, Banna, Bannow, &c. The erudite topographer by whom the "Annals of the Four Masters" have been admirably annotated, names this creek "*Cuan-an-bhainbh*, now Bannow." A copy of the Book of Survey and Distribution, made in 1654 (preserved in the British Museum), of the baronies of Shelburne, Bantry, and Scarawalsh, mentions, in describing the boundaries of Fethard parish, a piece of high ground, commonly called Bagg and Bun,

remarkable for the ruins of the fortifications of the first English conquerors of this nation. The tradition that Roderic O'Conor fought here is unwarranted by history.

² These earth-works are far older than Strongbow's time, and must be assigned to earlier inhabitants.

³ Mr. Samuel Molyneux was son of Sir Daniel Molyneux, Ulster King of Arms, who, in 1618, made an heraldic visitation of Wexford, the only one extant of any Irish county. Mr. Molyneux possessed several MSS., elucidatory of genealogy and topography, some of which are preserved in the Library of Trinity College.

BARONY OF SHILMALEER.—The Barrony of Shilmaleer¹ lyes to the northeast of Shelburne, and is devided from it by ye River called ye black water, and runs towards Wexford on ye south of ye River Slany; it is much ye same kind of soyle with that of Shelburne, and yeilds ye same graine, viz., wheate, barly, and oates, but little pease or beanes; in some places it affords rye. Ye soile is generally shallow and dry, but there is good pasturage in many parts thereof, espetially neere ye River Slany, but not much meddow ground. The aforesaid Barony also is devided into severall pieces, viz., ye Peece of Rose Garland, ye peece of Taghmun, ye peece of Coustuffe,² ye peece of Carrick;³ Sinnot's land, and Roche's land. Of ye foure last (whereof Sinot's land and Roche's land lye beyond the River Slany), I can say butt little.

ROSE GARLAND PEECE.—The Peece of Rose Garland lyes on ye south part, butting upon the River of Clonmines, and is surrounded almost with two Rivers, which fall into the River of Clonmines at ye place called Ballilannan before named; ye one is ye blacke water before mentioned, and ye other is ye River of Rose Garland, otherwise called ye Pill⁴ of Rose Garland, which devides (for two or tree miles length) ye Barrony of Shilmaleer from that of Bargy, and is a deepe water in most places, but a narrow river, and has slimy bancks; it affords in summer store of salmon-peale, large trouts, eles, and flukes, and towards ye mouth of it, very good base and mullett, and other kinds, and about Christmas, Samon in good season. The tyde comes up ye same about a mile beyond Rose Garland⁵ House, which is three miles from ye mayne sea, and lyes

¹ The barony of Shelmalier derives its name from *Siol-Malaor*, i. e., the Seed or Race of Malaor, which, being a Welsh name, aids the conjecture that the O'Byrnes of Glen-malaor were of British extraction. See our "Annuary," vol. i., as to the barony of Shelmalier, and the country of Farrangevale, having belonged to the Roche family.

² The parish of Coultuffe lies on the west side of the mountain of Forth. The principal townlands in this district belonged to Hore, of Pole Hore, and were held by junior branches [Printed Inquis.], of which, Philip Hore, Deputy Treasurer at War in the reign of Elizabeth, acquired the estate of Killaallaghan, county of Dublin, and a large property in the barony of Forth. His son, Philip, was President of the first Council of Confederate Catholics, held at Wexford in 1641.

³ I know not what district our author intended to comprehend as the "Peece of Carrick," but the name is suggestive of a remark that Carrick, or the rocky hill, on the south bank of the Slaney, overhanging the ferry, still bears a deep impress of the entrenchment

thrown up by the first Norman invader, Fitz-Stephen. Vulgarly, the little tower on the opposite side of the river is called "Fitz-Stephen's Castle." Yet it is obvious that this adventurous knight had no time to construct a lime and stone fortalice before his beleaguerment by the men of Wexford.

⁴ This was "the Pill," *par excellence*, noticed by Staniburst as the geographical division between the Strongbonians of "the English baronies" in the south east of this county, and the outer country, which had not been thoroughly colonized. See our "Annuary," vol. i. p. 26.

⁵ Rosscarlan, i. e., Carlan's Wood, appears to have been granted to Sir Maurice de Londres, son of one of the twelve Norman knights who subjugated South Wales, from whose family it passed, by an heiress, to De Lynnett, and by Ismay, heiress of Sir Thomas Lynnett, baron of Roscarlan, temp. Ric. II., to Simon, son of Sir Raymond Neville. The castle here was the *caput baronia* of an extensive feudal tract of land termed a barony, and, probably, Sir Maurice de Londres was one of

neare the banck of ye saide River upon ye side of a rising ground, where there is alsoe an antient Castle, and about 30 acres of wood, all oake, fitter for ornament than any benefit. Rose Garland, together with most parte of that peece, did antiently belong to David Nevill, commonly called Barron of Rose Garland, (for in those days, ye chief lord of this place, as well as others of the same kind in England and Ireland, were summoned to Parliament by the name of Barron). Ye said Nevill was executted in ye Reigne of Queen Elizabeth for treason, and those lauds are now greate parte the inheritance of Robert Leigh, of Rose Garland, 2nd son to John Leigh, of Rathbride, in ye Countye of Kildare, Esq^r., who, for his loyaltie to his soveraigne, King Charles the 2nd, was banished into forraign countries by the usurped powers, and there died, leaving the said Robert (being the only child he had abroad with him) very young, and a participant (as well as many more) of his Prince's calamities, till upon his Majestie's happy Restoracōn, he returned into England, and in some yeares after into this Kingdom again, with markes of his Majestie's favour and sence of his services. Rose Garland took its name from ye Lady Rose before mentioned.

TAGHMUNN PEECE.—The Peece of Taghmunn¹ lyes Estward of the Peece of Rose Garland, and is much ye same kind of soyle, and yeilds the like graine; but here is Limestone in some places, whereas in the former there is none. Taghmunn had its name (as it is saide) from two godlie men, called ye one, *Tagh*, and ye

Strongbow's "barons of Leinster." His name, and that of Sir William de London, occur as witnesses to the foundation charter of "Tintern Abbey." [Chartæ, p. 80.] In the twelfth year of Henry IV., John Neville answered to the Exchequer for the "royal service" due from his barony of Roskarlane, military service having been proclaimed at Kilkenny. [Exchequer Records.] He held this fief by the service of two knights. [Carew MSS., 611, p. 14.] The estate of David Neville, "late Baron of Roscarlan," forfeited because he had taken part in Silken Thomas's revolt, was granted, 35 Hen. VIII., to John Isham, Seneschal of the Liberty of Wexford. Participation in that rebellion seems the cause of confiscation, since a memorandum in the State Papers, dated May, 1562, says:—"If Bathe, of Dollardston, be restored from attainer, then Eustace's, Keating's, (worth £19 15s. yearly), and Neville's (£15 13s. 4d. yearly) will be lost." Keating, Baron of Kilcoan, in Bargy, was attainted at the same time as Neville. In 1567, Arthur Keating was recommended by the Lord Deputy and Council, in a special letter to the Queen, stating that his patrimony, Kilcoan, of which

his father, Nicholas, was only tenant in tail, had been seised by Henry VIII. "for treason supposed to be done, whereof no record appears." David, Baron Neville's estate was first granted, 30 Hen. VIII., to William St. Lo, Seneschal of the county. For the Leigh pedigree, see the Introduction to this chorographic paper, p. 17, *supra*.

¹ Taghmon means the house of St. Munn. The tower of the castle stands. The castle was granted in custody, by Edw. VI. to William Hore, of Harperstown, who was a Protestant, and became knight of the shire in the first Parliament of Elizabeth. The old Castle of Harperston forms part of the present house. The pedigree of this family, as entered in the heraldic visitation of the county, now in Ulster's office, made in 1618, traces it to Stephen Hore, who lived in the beginning of the fourteenth century, and down through eleven generations, to the then possessor. But the crescent in the coat of arms in that entry shows, that the herald considered the family a junior branch of the Pole Hore line. Owing to being of the dominant religion, and to the possession of the borough of Taghmon, this family held its ancient estate, and even enlarged it.

other, *Munn*, who lived and died there long since (I suppose as *Ermitta*), for there are still two small Chappells that beare those names, and are saide to be built by them, tho' the common voege is that the first was a Bishop, and the other his clerke. This Tagh-munn is an ancient Corporacōn, and was governed by a burgomaster and Burgesses; it is now quite waste in a manner, there being there but a ruinous old castle, a small parish Church in repaire, and about a dozen cabbins, and ye ruins of the af^d. Chappelles; yet still it sends two Burgesses to Parliament. The land about it is Limestone, and yeilds good corne and grasse. The said Corporacōn, and ye lands thereof for ye most parte, is ye inheritance of W^m. Hoare, of Harperstowne, Esq^r., of an ancient English family, whose chiefe seate is Harperstowne afores^d, which lyes within a mile of Taghmun, and is a handsome large Castle, where the s^d M^r Hoare now dwells.

INNISCORTHY PEECE.—Inischorthye, an ancient Corporacōn,¹ lying on the River of Slany, where a large stone bridge is lately built, is governed by a sufferaigne and burges, and sendes 2 Burgesses to Parliament. There are now two considerable Ironworks belonging to this towne, which is the reason it is well inhabited.

Inquire further about this place. It belonged unto ——— Wallopp, ye Regicide, and was granted by the King unto ye Earles of Southampton and Shaftesbury, but is now enjoyed by the said Wallop's sonn (under theire title, I suppose).

SCARAWALSH AND BALLAGHKEENE BARONYES.—The Baronyes of Scarawalsh and Ballaghkeene² lye northwards of ye aforesaid Barony of Shilmaleer, and are for ye most parte mountainous course land, except next the River Slany, and by ye sea side from Wexford to ye mears of the county of Wickloe, which is very good land, both for plowing, and espetially for good pasture and meddow. This parte of the County of Wexford was extremely covered heretofore with woods,³ and afforded abundance of good timber for shipping and buildings of all kind, but are now almost

¹ Enniscorthy was not an ancient Corporation, like Wexford, Ross, or Bannow, being mediævally little more than the situation of a great Franciscan Friary, and owing its rise to Sir Henry Wallop, Treasurer at War to Queen Elizabeth in Ireland. An interesting letter is preserved in Collins' Peerage-book, addressed by the principal Anglo-Irish gentry of the country to this distinguished official, to encourage him to make further purchases in the neighbourhood from the Clan Kavanagh. The castle now standing, a massive square keep with round towers at the angles, was remodelled by him. His descendant, Robert

Wallop, was one of those who signed the warrant for the execution of Charles the First.

² Scarawalsh, Ballaghkeen, and Gorey baronies, were constituted baronies by James I., having hitherto not been under English law, but remaining waste land, as it were, occupied by the Irish.

³ Killoaghram, or rather *Coillaughram*, Wood, is the present remains of this once extensive and valuable forest. £8000 was an immense sum in those days, representing, if multiplied by twelve, which may well be the multiple to show its equivalent in our day, no less than £96,000.

quite destroyed, towards which the afores¹ Ironworkes of Inischorthy have given noe small helpe, which now have almost consumed one wood onely (formerly belonging to Dudley Colclough, of Moy-nart, Esq^r) that, by Commiss^{rs} to that effect issued out, about ye yeare 1639, was valued at 8000£ sterling.

Inquire the further particulars. **BARGY AND FORTH BARONIES.**—

Partly south and partly east of the Barony of Shilmaleer af^{sd} lyes ye Barronys of Bargye and Forth, along upon ye maine sea, and is for ye most parte a deepe low soyle, very full of furs, as the rest of the County is.

Ye Banno took its name from Banour, being the first fortified place where the English erected their Banour after landing.

BANNO PEECE.—In the Barrony of Bargye, upon ye south west point or corner thereof, stands ye place called the towne of Banno,¹ being (as it is said) ye fierst Corporacon that was built by the English soon

after their landing at Bagg and Bunn, and was a considerable place of trade for many years, untill the sand filled up ye River mouth between ye towne and the Island of Banno before mentioned, and turned the current to the weast side of ye Island, where it discharges itselfe now into ye sea at a streight between the said Island and ye land of Fetherd formerly mentioned; alsoe, a dangerous place for any ship of burden to come in at. Ye towne of Banno is now quite ruined, there being nothing there but the ruins of an old Church and of severall stone Houses, and antient streets of some few Cabbins, yet it sends two Burges to serve in Parliament still; but ye Charter is long since worne out with time. It is said that the ancient Charter of Bristoll in England mencōns this off Banno, in reference to further priviledges as being thereby granted the like privileges as were enjoyed by the antient Corporacon of the Banno in Ireland. This towne is now of very little yearly value, and (being set out to soldiers pursuant to the Acts of Settlements) belongs for the most part to one Boyse, or his widdow.

BALLIMAGEER.—In this Barony lyes an antient House called Ballimageere,² the antient seate of the Devereuxs, descended of the

¹ Bannow.—The tradition quoted, that this town was the first corporation town that was built by the English in Ireland, is warranted by the fact that its charter is referred to in the first charter to New Ross. The brief history of this very ancient Anglo-Irish borough is of sufficient interest to merit more notice than a mere annotation here.

² Balmagir, or Ballymacmagir, the original seat of the Devereuxs, once the wealthiest, highest allied, and most leading family of the country. Their genealogy endeavours to prove a descent from Patrick, of Evereux, in Normandy, first Earl of Salisbury, who was slain in 1167. But it is more probable that

they derive from the barons of their name in Gloucestershire, of whom Stephen Devereux, anno 1223, being in the King's army against the Welsh, received scutage from his tenants in the counties of Gloucester and Hereford. Stephen Devereux, of Ballymacmagir, living 1214, had a descendant, Sir Stephen, who is often mentioned in contemporary records, and is notable for having been the chief of the Wexford feudatories, by whom, in 1317, a charter for their county town was obtained from its lord, Aymer de Valence. Supposing land to have increased twelve-fold in value, the Balmagir estate would now be worth £8400 a year.

house of Devereux, sometimes Earles of Essex in England. Mr. Devereux had an estate of about 700£ a yeare in ye county of Wexford, and another very good house at a place called Cullhoull, neere Ballimageere, but all being sett out pursuant to ye Acts of Settlement, belongs now to the Earl of Anglesey, and other persons. There is another antient house in the Barony of called Ballrangan, ye antient seat of the Browns¹, descended of ye Lord Montagu's family in Essex or Kent in England; he had an estate of 6 or 700£ a yeare in this county alsoe, but belongs now (for ye most part) to such as had it sett out to them pursuant to the Acts of Settlement.

BARONY OF FORTH.—The Barony of Forth afore^{ad} lies eastward of Bargy, and there it is that the antient towne of Wexforde, the Hill called Sleuforth, our Ladie's Island, and other places of note and antiquitie, worth ye taking notice of and inquiring after, lye.

WHAT MOST PROPER TO YE COUNTYE IN GENERALL, AND TO SOME OF YE BARRONIES IN PARTICULAR.—The Countye of Wexforde is generally baren course land, much over run with furrs, which stands the inhabitants in good steade for shelter and brousing for their cattle, and firing within doores (espetially for brueing and baking). There has beene a greate many woods alsoe and good timber, espetially on both sides of ye River Slanye, for severall miles distance; the graine this countye affords most plenty of is wheate, barley, and oates; yet it yeilds in many places beare, pease, and beanes alsoe, particularrly in the Barronies of Forth and Bargye; in some parts it yields rye; but ye great support of ye poore sortes of people is thire Potatos,² which are much used all over the County. They have one very destructive way of manuring thire lands over the whole county, called Beltinmore,³ which is done by burning ye sodd in heapes after the first plowing, and then spreading them over the land; it brings the tenant some small profit for two or three yeares after, but for 12 or 15 yeares again (unless very well manured with dung or sand) neither yeildes tollerable corne or grasse.

Manure used. In the Barronies of Shilburne, Shilmaleere, and Bargy, they use sea sand generally for thire manure, and it agrees well with a tough, hard soyle, as that is.

¹ The Brownes of Mullrangan are stated, in an old volume in Ulster's Office, to have descended from Sir William le Brun, who "landed in Ireland in the Earl Marshal's train," and, with his son, Sir Nicholas, witnessed the foundation charter of Dunbrody Abbey. Sir Nicholas Browne held this estate of the Earl Marshal of England in 1807. [Inquis. Tur. Lond.] Sir Walter B. of this place was Seneschal of the Palatinate Liberty of Wexford in 1521. ["Kilkenny Annuary," vol. i. p. 47.] Colonel William Browne was taken prisoner at

the battle of Dungan's Hill in 1647, when in command of a regiment of foot under the Confederate Catholics. He subsequently made his escape into France, and, "having served the crown of England faithfully under ensignes abroad, was ordered to be restored to his estate by the King's declaration," but was kept out of it by the policy of the possessors.

² *Potatoes.*—This is curious evidence of the general early use of this poverty-producing root.

³ *Beltinmore*, i. e., *Baal-tine-more*, or the Great Fire of Baal, or Bel.

Cattle. Thire Cattle is much the same as in other parts of Ireland, viz., Blacke Cattle, Sheep, and Hoggs, but in number of Goates they exceede most other Counties in Leinster, by reason of ye greate store of furs and other brousing they have for them.

The Dioses. This County (or most parte of it) lyes in ye Dioses of Fearnese, which is now united to that of Laghlin, or Laghlin to it (for they have but one Bishope), and is but thinnly inhabited.

How inhabited. The Barronyes of Forth, Bargy, Shilmaleere, and Shilburne, and by the sea side, about Arcklow and Gory, are the places best and thickest Inhabited.

The Barronyes of Shilmaleere, Shilburne, and Bantry are generally good, firme, plaine, high, and dry riding ground; an excelent houlsome air, and affords store of Partridges, Phay-sants,¹ Grouse, and Hare, and abundance of Cocks, in time of yeere, and many foxes at all times, of which sortes ye Barronies of Forth and Bargy affords a good many allsoe; and ye woodland parte of ye County had in it abundance of out laine Deare,² redd and fallow, but are now almost destroyed, as well as the woods.

The afores^d Barronies of Forth, Bargy, Shilmaleere, Shilburne, and Bantry, heretofore were distinguished from ye rest of ye Countye by the name of English Barronies, but now the 2 first only, viz., Forth and Bargy, retaine amongst ye common people ye old or Saxon language and Customs, for, they keep to thire old way of worship or Religion, marrye within themselves, bring home thire Cattle, and goe to sleepe all noone day, keepe thire land well fenced in small Inclosures, and stick to their old habitacōns or places of birth, tho' never so much imposed on by thire new landlords; but they could not in the Usurper's time keepe thire small freeholdes, for all thire strict observance of ye old English Customes, and soe are now become Tenants to those who had the land confirmed to them by the Acts of Settlement. About 8 yeares agoe there landed in those parts a new sort of planters, out of Wales, a parcell of Magpies³ (forced I suppose by stormey weather), which now breed in severall places in ye Barony of Forth, and at a place called Baldinstowne, in the Barony of Bargy, and in the wood off Rose Garland, before menconed, in ye Barony of Shilmaleere.

¹ Pheasants were plentiful in Ireland in former times. Giraldus Cambrensis mentions them. The arms of the O'Mores were three pheasants, which probably abounded in the woods of the King's County.

² *Outlying deer*, that is to say, deer not kept

in parks, only remain on the Killarney hills.

³ *Magpies*.—Colonel Solomon Richards gives, in his curious account of the barony of Forth, some amusing remarks as to this bird, which, as Dean Swift notices, was at first peculiar to the south of Wexford.

TOPOGRAPHICAL ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE SOUTHERN AND WESTERN SUBURBS OF KILKENNY.

BY MR. JOHN HOGAN.

THE western side of the city of Kilkenny is situated along the eastern slope of a ridge which projects from the south, and, as shown on the accompanying sketch of the district, is bounded on the west and north by the stream of the Bregach, and on the east by the River Nore.¹ This district, denuded of its thoroughfares and its domiciles, of its piles of masonry, its mansions and its court-yards, would present to an observer on the opposite bank of the river the aspect of an elevated promontory sloping towards the north, and from unequal altitudes, declining to the banks of the streams which wash the irregular curves of its base. At its western extremity, this ridge attains its greatest elevation, and, under the name of "Robert's Hill," abruptly descends to the bank of the Bregach. Following hence the course of the current, we enter the grounds of Kilcreen, where the northern slope of this suburban tract assumes a less precipitous appearance; and here, known as "Crocker's Hill," graduates to the margin of the stream. Curving towards the east with the sweep of the rivulet, we pass through the lower valley of the Bregach, and hence the natural peculiarities of this district are less apparent, in consequence of the streets and lanes which cover it. Here the Nore once swept majestically through scenes of sylvan shade and pastoral beauty, ere the stern arms of war were carried into the ancient "*preserves*" of nature. On the slope of this ridge, as it descends to the Nore, did the colonists construct one of their earliest settlements; and nearly parallel with the banks of the river they founded the "High-street," the nucleus of the future city; and higher up they subsequently erected the town wall, the district outside of which towards the west, and extending to the limits we are now about to traverse, constitutes the western suburbs of our modern city. The environs of the ancient parish church of St. Patrick (including the entire district outside the south wall of the town) and the locality known by the *soubriquet* of "Shradh na buddagh," form the southern suburbs of Kilkenny. These localities preserve to our own times many of their original peculiarities. Their traditionary lore and primitive observances shed around them a degree of romantic interest which the stern utilitarianism of modern times would despise or ignore. Social changes, resulting from various causes, have all but obliterated the primeval features worn

¹ The plan of the city intended to illustrate this and future papers on the same sub-

ject is unavoidably held over till the next section of these observations.

by those quaint neighbourhoods. Each locality its character; every year tends to efface some one tiges. To gather up a few of the time-honoured preserve from total oblivion the still recoverable topography of Kilkenny, are the end and aim of t

The town walls were erected by Robert T gentleman," about the year 1400,¹ portions of t ing, and the entire were nearly perfect a hundre period of Rocque's survey.² This fortification faces, which formed the northern, southern, an ries of the "Hightown," and, with the river enclosed an oblong area, about 2600 feet from by 1000 from east to west. The south wa near the south tower of the Castle to the to in the National Model School grounds.³ The nearly a right angle with the former, and ran from this tower to near the bank of the Breg it turned to the east, formed a re-entrant angle, at the Bregach, thence followed the course of the st nated in "Evans' Turret," at the junction of the Nore. The north wall was furnished with tw "Gray Frerren Gate,"⁴ and the "Hightown G wall had two gates, "Castle Gate," and "St. Pa the western wall was provided with three gates, n Gate," "St. James's Gate," and the "Black Fre will now ramble along the site of this old ramp at each of the principal parts, and inquire whence road which must have existed at the time of the ere and as one of the most interesting localities in the su Gate," is now being denuded of the last traces of plicity, so that probably in a very few years the locality will be erased from our suburban geogr sed by a more modern title, namely, "The I will, in consequence, commence our inquiry with-

¹ See Ledwich's "History and Antiquities of Irishtown and Kilkenny," p. 448; also an interesting paper on this subject by Mr. J. G. A. Prim. "Transactions," vol. i. p. 87.

² "Plan de la Ville de Kilkenny, par Jean Rocque, Chronographie du Roi." The copy of this Survey that I have seen, and which is in the possession of the proprietor of the "Kilkenny Journal," bears the date "1757." On closer examination, this part of the inscription appears like a manuscript production, though very skilfully performed. However, the actual era of the Survey cannot be much aside of the assigned date, as it was executed subsequent to the construction of the

new canal, which w (Tighe's "Survey," vious to the destruct which were carried a (Id., p. 131).

³ In Rocque's map the head of the "Par tower of the Castle, shall discuss lower de

⁴ "Gray Freren," orthography used in t one of the Laffan pap wich, entitled "The client Common Rever kenny, by the year 16

WALKIN'S GATE.—This gate stood over the street of the same name, about the site of the present Poor Relief Office. Part of the foundation may still be seen at the opposite side of the street, at the entrance to a starch-yard. In 1628, David Rothe occupied the rooms over this gate, for which he paid the Corporation the annual rent of 8*d.*¹ The gate was still standing in 1757,² and was probably taken down to afford a more commodious approach of the Cork road into the city, about the year 1788, as the lease of the houses built on its south side, and running thence into the Sconce,³ bears this date, and is signed "William Davis, of Kilkenny, Gentleman."

Sixty years ago, the site of the gate at the south side was occupied by a small cottage, in which John Ayres, one of the old Protestant *Freemen* of the town, resided. This house was subsequently taken down by the late Sir John Blunden, Bart., and the large dwelling erected now used as the Relief Office. Down to the year 1757 no house had been built on the north side of the street, from this gate to the corner of Flood-street.⁴ A dead wall separated the road or street from the Nursery Garden, the principal entrance into which was then close by Walkin's Gate opposite the Poor Relief Office. The open space further west, since known as "Walkin's Lough," was then called "Walkin's Green." The range of cabins now partially concealed behind the grave-yard was then recognised as the "Closh," and here terminated our western suburbs one hundred years ago.

Walkin's Green appears to have originally extended over the

¹ "The Rent-charge of the ancient Common Revenue of the City of Kilkenny, by the year 1628."

² Rocque's "Plan de la Ville."

³ At the period of the erection of the walls, the town does not appear to have extended up the side of the hill as far as the site of the rampart. The unoccupied open space between the "High-street" and the town wall was gradually enclosed, until a narrow passage only remained under the wall. This passage or lane was called the "Sconce," derived, no doubt, from its proximity to the bastions and outworks of the fortification; and thus we have "Walkin's Sconce," and "James's Sconce." These terms are now being gradually disused, as the walls have been removed and forgotten. The tower or bastion that stood at the head of Collier's-lane, and the wall connecting this tower with the Castle over Walkin's Gate, were taken down by the late Mr. John Robertson, about the year 1809, and the present range of houses built on its site, and since then, this part of the Sconce is known as "Garden-row."

⁴ Flood-street derives its name from the proprietor of the property through which it was opened, and in consequence it cannot be more than 150 years in existence. Before its construction the Nursery Gardens were united with the orchards west of the street, the entrance into which was through the small passage or lane still open opposite New-street. The house between this passage and the west corner of Flood-street is said by the old inhabitants of the neighbourhood to be the oldest house in Kilkenny; it is shown on Rocque's Map, and was certainly standing before Flood-street was opened. From the projection of the chimneys through the gable walls, as well as from the general style of the masonry, the house would appear older than those of the Elizabethan period; and from the depth of the floor under the present level of the street, it must have been built in part of the valley which formed the basin of the lough, and at a time when the bed of this basin was much lower than it was when the waters were carried off, by means of a sewer, to the river.

whole space included between the three old roads and the town wall. It must, however, have been early encroached on and reclaimed, as the suburbs were extended. The centre of the Green being lower than the surrounding grounds, and the outlet by which the water originally escaped being cut off by the buildings erected on the north-east, the Green subsequently became a basin or reservoir to drain the surrounding elevation. At the period of Rocque's Survey, the space covered by the water measured, at its extremes, 500 by 250 feet;¹ this was probably in the summer season, when the water had been evaporated, for within my own memory the entire area of the Green (nearly 600 by 400 feet), except the road, was covered by one great sheet of water, which, when agitated by the winds after heavy rains, rolled in volumes of foam from the banks of the orchards out to the centre of the street. The soil carried down with the streams from the surrounding high grounds, and deposited in the bed of the lough, was every year lifting it toward the level of the road, and thus spreading the water over a greater surface, curiously illustrating the old proverb current amongst the townsfolk, that Walkin's Lough was to drown Kilkenny: so that the drainage of the whole Green became a matter of absolute necessity. About the year 1828 the new road to the county gaol was commenced through the centre of the lough, and about the same period, a circular or double-arched sewer was constructed through Walkin-street to the main sewer in High-street, for the purpose of carrying off the water. Much interest had been evinced by the inhabitants of the town to witness the drainage; and after the completion of the sewer, a special day and hour were appointed for the purpose, when a great concourse of all classes assembled to behold the phenomenon. It was on this occasion that a notorious character, one Sheeney,² performed the singular feat of traversing "on all fours" the whole length of the conduit from the lough to the Nore. After his appearance from this subterranean excursion, the dam was removed, and the pent-up waters gushed forth with great velocity amidst the cheers of the crowd and the capers of innumerable urchins, and thus Walkin's Lough disappeared for ever. Some further observations on this locality fall within the more interesting inquiry respecting the history of—

ST. RIOCH'S CHURCHYARD.—St. Rioch's, or, as it is vulgarly

¹ "Plan de la Ville."

² James Sheeney, a denizen of this locality, was the greatest "rowdy boy" of his day. He was the leader in every escapade, so that custom and notoriety associated his name with every nocturnal disturbance. From all that I can gather respecting him, he appears to have been rather the slave of uncontrolled animal instincts than a designing knave.

After his adventure, alluded to above, he sailed down the Nore in an open delf creel, exclaiming to his astonished spectators:—"He that is born to be hanged will never be drowned." In his case the adage was verified. Shortly after, he was convicted of the then capital crime of rape, and was the last person executed at "Gallows Green," now known as "John's Green."

called, St. Rock's Churchyard, is situated at the southmost angle of Walkin's Green. A range of cabins formerly separated it from the road, and were only removed within the last forty years. In front of each of these houses a cesspool was sunk for the manufacture of manure, and I have been informed by those who saw them, that from the ends and sides of these pools, human skeletons projected out, proving that at one period the churchyard extended under the line of the present road, and, as we shall now see, it also extended down under the lough towards the centre of the Green. The tradition respecting the origin of St. Rioch's, preserved in the folk-lore of the last generation in this neighbourhood, is not without interest in our present inquiry. According to it, the bed of the lough was originally an isolated valley surrounded by woods; a spring well rippled from one of its slopes, and meandered as a rivulet at its bottom. Within the shelter of this secluded vale, St. Rioch built his cell, wherein he lived for a time in solitude and prayer; he was subsequently joined by a numerous body of disciples whom the fame of his sanctity attracted to his retirement; here he died and was buried, and over his grave his followers erected a church, and dedicated it to his memory. Subsequent events converted the locality into a ruin; the channel through which the water escaped became choked up, and henceforth the beautiful valley of St. Rioch served only as a basin or pond to contain the waters from the surrounding elevations.¹

Whatever importance or value may be attached to this tale, it is quite certain that a "holy well" formerly existed here, and it was so generally believed by the old inhabitants sixty years ago. In the summer season, when the waters had evaporated, the custom had long prevailed amongst the people of the locality to excavate the deposits of the lough, and remove them for manure. About the year 1812, one Timothy Kelly, by trade a breeches-maker, but at the time of this narrative a retailer of punch and porter in the house in High-street lately taken down to erect the new grocery establishment of Mr. John Coyne, determined to carry on this operation on a monster scale. On a July morning he employed forty labourers to extract the mud from the bed of the basin; they ranged themselves in a line north from the grave-yard, and speedily opened a ravine in the accumulated *debris* carried down by the streams for probably some hundreds of years. In the course of this operation, a man named Michael Murphy, a native of this district, came on a range of stones

¹ With the above tradition I am familiar from my childhood, and the direct medium through which it reached me was a very old and much esteemed, though humble inhabitant of this part of the town, who died in St. Canice's parish about ten years since, Mr. James Dowling. He lived to the age of 105 years; he was a great adept in antiquarian

lore, and fully conversant with the local traditions of the past generation. He remembered St. Nicholas's Churchyard to have been used as a burial ground; also the execution of the "Whiteboys" on James's Green, to both of which subjects we shall have to refer hereafter. The usual place of execution for criminals in the city was John's Green.

rudely placed so as to form so many steps, about midway between the grave-yard and the centre of the green, or somewhere very close to the present Gaol-road, when he exclaimed in a tone of triumph—" *I have the well.*" He continued to remove the slimy material, and found the stones to lead to an enclosure of irregularly shaped stones, apparently placed by design; further investigations were here intercepted by the lord of the soil, Mr. Mulhallen (father of Edward Mulhallen, Esq., of Seville Lodge), who prohibited the removal of the manure by Kelly, but permitted the excavators to carry it off for their own use. I have this narrative from an eye-witness who is still living, and was standing in the grave-yard as a spectator; he heard Murphy cry out he had found the well, and he was able to recognise the stone steps at the bottom of the pit; they were not so deep as the height of a man under the level of the road. Much interest, but no surprise, was evinced on the occasion, as then and previously no doubt was entertained that "St. Rock's Well" was covered over by the waters of the lough. The next fall of rain restored the place to its usual appearance, and the whole transaction was soon out of mind. At that period the grave-yard was not enclosed by walls; it was inundated by water in the winter, and a desecrated common in the summer; it was, nevertheless, a place of annual pilgrimage, which continued down to our own times.

Respecting St. Rioch, little can be gleaned to associate him with this obscure locality. In the "Litany of Aengus," published by Dr. Petrie, he is thus invoked:—"SS. duodecim socios S. Rióchi transmarinos inuoco in auxilium meum per Iesum Christum."¹ "I invoke the twelve foreigners, companions of St. Rioch, to help me," &c., &c. We have no information respecting the twelve pilgrims, nor the country whence they emigrated; but if it be true, as stated lower down, that Rioch was brother to Mel, and both were nephews of St. Patrick, we may safely recognise the native land of the latter as that from whence our patron and his twelve disciples sailed for Ireland. St. Rioch is specially venerated as the patron and founder of the Abbey of Inis-bo-finde in Lough-ree;² and it is also recorded that he was one of the most eminent founders of abbeys and monastic establishments in various parts of Ireland in the fifth century.³ Whence we may fairly infer, that for each of his early companions he provided some such institute; and it will scarcely be deemed too great an intrusion on the province of conjecture to assume that the spot which has been regarded as "holy ground" in our suburbs, and which has perpetuated his name through the various vicissitudes of many generations, was one of some such institutes over which he

¹ "Inquiry into the Origin, &c., of the Round Towers of Ireland," p. 135.

White Cow."—Lanigan. vol. i., p. 421.

² "Inisbofinde," or "The Island of the

³ Macgeoghegan, Dublin ed., 1844, page 154.

placed one of his pilgrim companions, who, out of veneration for his master, dedicated the locality to his memory.¹

Archdall tells us that St. Rioch was brother to St. Mel, both of whom were sons of Darerca, the sister of St. Patrick—that he was from Britain, and was still living about the year 530.² Lanigan, however, argues “that so far from being brother to St. Mel, son of Darerca, or a Briton, that in the ‘Acts of Rioch’ he finds him called ‘Mac-Hualaing,’ son of Hualaing, or of the family of Laing; that he was both abbot and bishop, and was still living about the year 540. The year of his death is not recorded, but the day was on the 1st of August, on which his festival stands in the Irish Calendars,³ and on which his “patron” was observed at the site of his old church in Walkin’s-green. Whatever can be advanced on either side, the great number of those who have investigated the subject support the relationship between SS. Patrick, Rioch, and Mel. The Litany of Aengus invokes Rioch as one of the foreign saints buried in Ireland. The “Martyrology of Tallaght,” published by the late Rev. M. Kelly, of Maynooth, excludes both Rioch and Mel, as it commemorates none but native saints; and the “Martyrology of Salisbury,” as Lanigan himself observes, has the feast of St. Rioch and St. Mel on the 6th of February, on the ground that both were brothers.⁴ Ussher sustains the same connexion, and Colgan tells us that Rioch was nephew and librarian to St. Patrick, by whom he was raised to the episcopacy.⁵ And lastly the ancient ecclesiastical topography of our suburbs is singularly favourable to the relationship between the three saints, for here we have on three eminences, overhanging the historic valley of the Nore, the sites of three primitive churches, claiming respectively SS. Patrick, Mel,⁶ and Rioch as founders and patrons.

¹ We have an illustration of what is here advanced, in the name of an ancient parish in the south of this county. We are told that fifty Roman pilgrims arrived in Ireland in quest of retirement and study, and that they were divided into five equal parties, ten each to SS. Finbar, Kieran, Finnian, Sennan, and Brendan, and from the subsequent mission of some one or more of these pilgrims, the parish of Aughaviller apparently derives its name. Here is a Round Tower, and a holy well, which both mark the spot as one of the first Christian localities, and also preserve the name and memory of St. Brendan. Aughaviller, the true orthography of which, according to Tighe, is “Agha-oiller,” i. e., the “*Field of the Pilgrim*” (“Survey of Kilkenny,” p. 632), connects the district with one of Brendan’s ten disciples. His feast was observed at the holy well in the form of a “patron,” on the 16th of May, down to a very recent period, though he is specially

honoured as patron of the diocese of Kerry and Clonfert; and it appears highly probable that his connexion with this ancient locality was akin to that of Rioch with Kilkenny, namely, he opened here an ecclesiastical mission, placed it under the guidance of one or more of his ten pilgrims, and thus the place was called “*Aughaviller*,” or the “*Field of the Pilgrim*.” For an account of the fifty Roman pilgrims, see “*Round Towers*,” p. 134.

² “*Monasticon*,” p. 490.

³ Vol. ii., p. 11, 12.

⁴ See Lanigan’s observations, and also those of the Rev. Mr. Kelly, “*Martyrology*,” pages 68 and 69.

⁵ Those who have the opportunity of consulting Colgan’s “*Acta SS.*,” will find the “*Acts of Rioch*” at the 6th of February.

⁶ The site of St. Mel’s Church, on the east bank of the Nore, is called “*Tempol-a-Maula*.” Hanmer says that this church was

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Dr. Petrie assures us that the primitive ecclesiastical establishments in Ireland were founded by the saints whose names they still respectively retain. Hence the relationship claimed for Rioch with Patrick and Mel, taken in connexion with the interesting topographical coincidence just noticed, reflects a new ray of light on our primitive ecclesiology, and exhibits the National Apostle and his two nephews founding here three missionary stations, which with a fourth subsequently opened by St. Kenny, ultimately grew up into so many parochial establishments, modified in name and locality to suit the altered circumstances of the times, but still retaining in the sites of the primitive churches the names of the respective founders, and the evidence that from the beginning the ecclesiastical districts or parishes of what we now call Kilkenny were numerically the same as at the present day.

Diocesan and parochial boundaries were regulated at the Council of Rathbreasail in 1115,¹ and at that of Kells in 1157,² when the revenue and taxation of the clergy were permanently established; and in 1220 the Earl Marshal grants to his new church of St. John the Evangelist the whole of the parish beyond the bridge at Kilkenny,³ which implies the previous existence of this and the adjacent parishes, and the "*parochia ultra pontem—versus orientem*" is plainly in contradistinction to some other parish then existing at the western side of the river. Our present parish of St. Mary occupies this district. It was founded by the colonists, as its boundaries and those of the "High-town," or English settlement, are nearly contemporaneous; but a parish previously existed here which lay between and entirely separated those of St. Patrick's and St. Canice's; and the locality of St. Rioch's churchyard points it out as the site of the ancient parochial church.

On the accompanying map I have traced on a scale, reduced from the Ordnance Survey, the parochial boundaries of St. Canice's, St. Patrick's, and St. Mary's. The local complication and peculiar dovetailing of those parishes into each other afford sufficient evidence

built in honour of St. Maula, the mother of St. Kenny; but in support of the views advanced in the text, I respectfully submit that there is no saint named Maul or Maula in any Irish or other calendar or martyrology yet published. Lanigan (vol. ii., p. 200) plainly asserts, on the authority of Ware's "Irish Writers," that the name of Kenny's mother was "Melda," and neither she nor "Laidec," his father, were recognised as saints, and it was always contrary to ecclesiastical law and usage to dedicate churches to others. There can be little doubt that the word Maul, or Maula, is a mere modification of the name variously written "Mel," "Mela,"

"Mael," "Moel." The last is the orthography adopted by the late Dr. Kelly as the derivative of the Irish name, which he gives at page 69, "Martyrology of Tallaght." Moel was nephew to St. Patrick, brother to St. Rioch, and is to this day honoured as patron bishop of the diocese of Ardagh, on the 6th of February.

¹ Keating, vol. ii. p. 322, Dublin edition, 1809.

² Id., p. 382.

³ "Concessi etiam totam parochiam ultra pontem de Kilkenny versus orientem," &c., "Appendix of Original Records."—Ledwich's History of Irishtown and Kilkenny.

of a comparatively modern arrangement, and also the probable extent of the ancient parish of St. Rioch. Thus, St. Patrick's Church is separated from the body of its own parish, being insulated by that of St. Canice, which reaches as far south as "Hoban's-bridge," in the townland of "Maiden-hill;" whilst, west of this district, St. Patrick's parish stretches as high to the north as the townland of "Holden's-rath," so that the tract of country extending about two Irish miles west of the River Nore to the stream of the Bregach, which forms the eastern boundary of the parish of Ballycallan, is parcelled out into three portions: one moiety constitutes the parish of St. Mary, and the remaining two are attached respectively to the parishes of St. Canice and St. Patrick. From the "Hightown Gate," or our present "Watergate-bridge," to the Parade, or, as it was formerly known, "Castle-street," and from the river to our present "New-street," forms the parish of St. Mary.¹ From a line drawn through New-street and Flood-street to the east stream of the Bregach, through the townland of "Poulgour," is annexed to St. Canice's parish; and from this stream to the western curve of the

¹ The boundaries of St. Mary's parish are peculiarly interesting, as they indicate the extent of the "Hightown" at the period of the establishment of the parish. The Bregach River forms the northern line; the western limits agree with a line drawn through New-street and Flood-street; and the southern boundary is formed by the thoroughfare leading from St. John's-bridge in the direction of the Waterford-road. In the Earl Marshal's Charter to St. John's Abbey, this bridge is mentioned as the "Parvi Pontis," in contradistinction to Green's-bridge, the "Magni Pontis." A roadway must have existed here as early as the erection of the bridge, and this road, subsequently furnished with houses, and, now known as Rose-inn-street, constituted the southern boundary of St. Mary's parish. The parochial line passes hence up Patrick-street, as high as the house in which the Society's Museum was recently held; here it turns to the west, and traverses the garden to the town wall. Its track through the gardens is remembered by many still living to have been an open passage to New-street. It was in this passage or lane that the house of the celebrated General St. Ruth was situated, who left it and some gardens to pay £12 a year to some charity no longer known. Here Dr. Ellison kept school while the College was building, and it was subsequently occupied as a barrack (Tighe's "Survey," p. 527). This house was taken down about the year 1817 or 1818, and the three houses

erected which now face Patrick-street. These houses were originally designed for a hotel, and exertions were made at that time by the proprietor and his friends to have the new Cork road enter Kilkenny here. From this passage or lane a "sallyport" in the rampart wall afforded communication with another lane at the opposite side of the wall. This part of the lane is still open at the end of the Veterinary Establishment in New-street, and corresponding with it is an old boundary running through the Nursery Gardens, now a stone wall, but a hundred years ago an earthen ditch, apparently the remains of an ancient roadway, leading from the southern end of the Hightown across the Bregach River. A continuation of this boundary was open as a public thoroughfare twenty years since, through the townland of "Marnell's Meadows," and it is so shown on the Ordnance Sheet, and part of it is still open from the Circular-road or new line to Kilcreen, down to the stream of the Bregach. This road or passage must have been a very primitive pathway, as it could serve no purpose of public utility subsequent to the construction of the road through Walkin-street. It determined the southern bounds of St. Mary's parish as far as New-street, where the parochial line turns by an acute angle to the north; but it seems highly probable that the continuation of this road constituted the line of demarcation between the ancient parishes of St. Patrick and St. Rioch as far as the stream of the Bregach.

same rivulet, west of the townland of "Kylebeg," belongs to St. Patrick's parish. The present parochial boundaries, as traced on the accompanying map, show these three compartments as originally united, and forming one ecclesiastical district, which we may safely recognise as the ancient parish of St. Rioch.

It may now be difficult, if not impossible, to determine with certainty the precise period of the partition of St. Rioch's parish, or the suppression of his church, but the probable era may be arrived at from collateral and ascertained circumstances. There can be little doubt that the present ecclesiastical divisions of Kilkenny were constructed subsequent to the establishment of the cathedral here, and consequent on the foundation of St. Mary's Church and parish in the "Hightown." The Bishops of Ossory, after the Conquest, being of English extraction, naturally fostered the growth of the English colony here. Ware, in the "Life of Hugh Rufus," goes so far as to say that that prelate granted a portion of Kilkenny to William Earl Marshal; and Stanihurst records "that 'the High-town' was builded by the English after the Conquest, and had a parcel of the 'Irishtown' thereto united by the Bishop his grant made unto the founders thereof upon their earnest request." From this liberality in temporals, we may form an idea of the Bishop's munificence in spirituals; and whilst the Earl at one end of the settlement was investing his ville with political franchises and civic exemptions, the Bishop, from the opposite extremity, was endowing it with ecclesiastical immunities and parochial dignities; and hence the establishment of St. Mary's church and parish, from which we may date the first encroachment on the ancient territory of St. Rioch.

The deeds of transfer between Hugh Rufus and William Earl Marshal, recently published in the "Journal" of the Society, by Rev. James Graves, throw an interesting light on this important and eventful epoch. In these documents the "Church of the Blessed Mary" is mentioned as already existing with that of St. Patrick; and if the transfer between the Bishop and the Earl was effected in the year 1202, as the Rev. Mr. Graves inclines to believe, this being the first year of the episcopacy of the former,—the Church of St. Mary must have been erected in the lifetime of his predecessor, Felix O'Dullany, and in the very infancy of the colony, otherwise it must have been in course of erection only when the Bishop was vested with its patronage. Be this, however, as it may, the acquisition by the Bishop of the churches of St. Mary in the "Hightown," and of St. Patrick of "Donnaghmore," in all probability determined the present ecclesiastical geography of Kilkenny. The "parcel of the Irishtown" granted by the Bishop, on the earnest request of the founders, appears to have been the suburbs, which were by this time growing up on the south bank of the Bregach River, which subse-

quently formed the environs of the Gray or Franciscan Abbey, and to this day retain the most antique aspect of any portion of the "Hightown;" but for his liberality towards the founders of the colony the Bishop appears to have indemnified himself by annexing to his own parish that portion of St. Rioch's which now forms the wing of St. Canice's south and east of the Bregach River.

Though it is not recorded in the "Charter," there can be little doubt that the Earl retained for his own new church beyond the bridge that portion of the parish of St. John which still lies at the south-west side of the River Nore, which includes the Castle grounds and part of the "Duke's Meadows," and which must have previously formed part of St. Patrick's parish. The annexation of this important tract to St. John's, and of the townland now known as "Archer's-street Lot," to St. Canice's, so encroached on the ancient parish of St. Patrick, that it was necessary to indemnify the representative of the "National Apostle," and accordingly the western and largest portion of St. Rioch is annexed to his parish as an equivalent. If these views be well founded, it will follow that the abolition of St. Rioch's parish was accomplished during the episcopacy of Hugh Rufus, "the first English Bishop of Ossory."

Whether the suppression of St. Rioch's Church was coeval with, or subsequent to, the abolition of the parish, may be questionable; the latter appears the more probable. However, down to a very recent period, we can trace the existence of a special veneration having been paid him as one of the patron saints of St. Mary's parish; and, so late as the year 1830, a remnant of the ancient parish festival continued to be still observed in the form of a "patron" on the first Sunday in August.¹

¹ The parish festival was called the "patron," from the circumstance of the religious ceremonies being performed on that day in honour of the patron of the church or parish. The patron festival (to use a technical term in ecclesiastical phraseology) being always "a double of the first class with an octave;" the public worship was accordingly performed with unusual solemnity, and in most places the day was observed as a "holyday." I have been informed by a native of the place that so late as twenty-five years since no person was known to work in the entire parish of "Mallardstown" on the 25th July, the patron day. Since the Reformation, the observances of the festival were transferred to the "Sunday within the octave." After much inquiry, I cannot find that these patrons have been observed elsewhere than on the sites of ancient parish churches. There is no trace of any such observances at Jerpoint, Kells, Callan,

Knocktopher, &c., those being abbatial, not parochial establishments. On the "patron" day crowds from remote and neighbouring parishes visited the church, dressed the graves of their departed relatives, and performed pilgrimages or "stations" round the "holy well," one of which is to be found in the vicinity of nearly every ancient parish church. These institutions being perverted from their original simplicity to purposes of superstition, profanity, and dissipation, became public nuisances, and were in consequence generally suppressed. The most celebrated "patrons" of our county were those of Tullaroan and John's Well; the former began on "Ladyday in harvest," the patron feast of "Grace's parish," and held till the following Sunday. The old inhabitants recollect a hundred tents to have been erected for the patron week in the "Moat-field." The "Moat" itself is situated within 150 yards of the old church, it is more than 20 feet above the natural surface of the

When St. Mary's Church passed out of the hands of the Roman Catholics, they soon after erected a chapel outside of the town wall. To this modern fane they carried the discipline and traditional observance of the older church, and amongst them I can trace a special honour for St. Rioch. This was manifested by a full-sized oil painting of this saint, which was preserved in "James's-street Chapel" (as it is named in Rocque's map) down to the year 1804; those who remember it, and are still living, thus describe it:—"The saint was represented seated on a rock, in the midst of a forest, clothed in a loose scarlet robe, with a dog fawning at and apparently engaged in licking the sores and bruises of his feet." Of the original history of this picture I can discover nothing. Whether, with other things that have come down to our times, it may have been transferred here from St. Mary's Church, is now impossible to ascertain. From time immemorial it was suspended at the "Epistle side" of the altar, until, in Bishop Lanigan's time, it was superseded by another painting of the same saint of more artistic pretensions. When the altar had been erected which still stands in the old chapel, the Bishop wrote to a gentleman, a friend of his, then in Portugal, to order three pictures to be painted for its decoration. These were the "Crucifixion;" the "Assumption of the Virgin," to which the church was dedicated; and a full-length portrait of St. Rioch, the patron of the ancient parish: so that down to that period no doubt can be entertained that the privileges claimed for St. Rioch in this paper were then partially recognised. This painting still exists, and represents the saint in the garb of a pilgrim, with a flowing scarlet tunic over the habit of a religieuse, to which is attached the scallop shell, and a girdle round his waist. He stands erect in a forest; his left foot rests on a rock; he holds in his left hand a pilgrim's staff, from a

ground, with a platform on the top of about 80 yards in diameter, and a large opening on the eastern side. This mound or rath presents every appearance of having been originally designed for religious or civil assemblies, as the ground has the form of benches along the sides and edges, and the platform is too small for the accommodation of either cattle or men in any great numbers.—(See "Parochial Survey of Ireland," by Shaw Mason, vol. iii., p. 514.) On this platform dancing took place during the "patron" days. The entire moat or rath was planted some few years since by W. F. Finn, Esq.; the pines and other trees are now grown up, and add a graceful embellishment to the surrounding undulations. The patron of Tullaroan was suppressed about thirty-two years ago. The patron of John's Well was still more famous; it opened on St. John's day, 24th of June, and continued till SS.

Peter and Paul's day, the 29th. An aged person thus described this patron (his countenance grew ruddy as the memory of the "heyday" of his youth flashed before his mind):—"I saw 140 tents fixed up. I saw 40 white horses grazing in one field, and those of all other shades were beyond my calculation." This patron was suppressed by the late Bishop Kinsella, on account of the public scandal that attended it. There was a remarkable patron held in the neighbourhood of Kilkenny, called the "Patron of Calloch," or the "Patron of the Haga." It was held in different places in different years, in the townlands of "Talbotsinch," "Louseybush," and "Coolgrange," on the last Sunday in August. This appears to have been the remains of the parish festival of the ancient church of Drumdelgy, or Thornback, of which we shall have to make some inquiries hereafter.

hook near the top of which a travelling wallet is suspended, and to which he appears emphatically to point attention with the fourth finger of his right hand. The great peculiarity of the painting is the Irishism of the countenance, the expression of which is homely and familiar. The three pictures bear each the following inscription :—

“*Eques Foschini, Ulissiponensis, Inv. et Pinxit, A.D. 1807.*”¹

The Langtons, Comerfords, Maddens, Shees, and many of the other old families of Kilkenny, were the principal benefactors of the old chapel; its clergy were also natives of Kilkenny, and, in consequence, the ecclesiastical traditions of the town were more directly transmitted and more faithfully preserved than since. If during this period the clients of Rioch assembled annually to hold his festival day on the site of his old church; if during the same period a special spot was set apart for his picture in the chapel of the “*Hightown*,” and if under improved circumstances, and by special design, a painting more worthy of the respect entertained for him be ordered from the Continent to fill the niche reserved for it in the new chapel, is it not evident that this veneration is but the vestige of a more ancient and extensive practice, and may we not safely infer that the Bishop who abolished his parish, and suppressed his church (to use the sarcasm of Ledwich), “*to appease the tutelar saint, and to atone for the sacrilege, founded an altar or chapel*” in St. Mary’s Church, “*and dedicated it to him,*” where his memory was perpetuated and honoured, whence both were subsequently transferred to St. Mary’s Chapel, where, unfortunately, they now no longer exist?²

¹ From the description which I have received of the first-mentioned picture, I apprehend that our St. Rioch, in the disturbance of the times, was confounded with St. Roach, of Montpellier, who died about the year 1327, and has been honoured on the 16th August on both sides of the Alps since the middle of the fourteenth century. It is related of him that, falling sick in one of his pilgrimages, he crawled into a neighbouring forest, where a dog used to lick his sores. (Butler, August 16.) Respecting the existing picture, it having been executed by a foreign artist, who, knowing nothing of our Irish patron, seems to have taken it for granted that Roach,

of Montpellier, was the saint required, and, accordingly, copied our picture from some Continental original of the French pilgrim. The inscription above would seem to imply that Foschini was designer as well as the painter. This I consider more than doubtful, for all the French engravings and modern lithographs of St. Roach invariably represent him precisely the same as St. Rioch is on the oil painting now existing in the old chapel.

² Since this paper was written, the picture of St. Rioch has been purchased by the Rev. M. Birch, P. P., for the parish chapel of Muckalee, so that his memory has perished where it was designed to be preserved.

INDEX.

- ASSET** of Dunbrody, correspondence relative to, 4, *n.*, 150.
 — Owney, 23, *n.*
Absentees, Act of 28 Henry VIII., 407.
Academy, Royal Irish, Catalogue of Museum of, 110.
Act of Absentees, 28 Henry VIII., 407.
Aghaboe, lands of, 327, 328.
Agnes de Valence, 273.
Airgtheach, Fothadh, 177.
Albanach, Scar nan, 315.
Alens, family of the, and the Geraldines, 335.
Alie, John, 19.
Alphabet, Ogham, 170, 316.
 — the Hebrew, 172, *n.*
 — the Roman, introduced into Ireland by St. Patrick, 180.
Anglesey, Arthur, Earl of, 453.
Annesley, Arthur, Earl of Anglesey, 453.
Annias, John, the poisoner, communication relative to, 63.
Antiquities, classification of, 110.
 — of Cloyne, on the, 258.
 — of city of Kilkenny, 322.
Aodh Caomh, king of Cashel, 254.
Arabian gold in Ireland, 207.
Architecture of city of Kilkenny, 322.
Ardmore, mason-marks in cathedral of, 385.
Arms, the town, of New Ross, 204.
Arrows, ancient, 116.
Art, Cahir Mac, Baron St. Molyns, 76.
 — patent of, 91.
 — law-suit against, 90.
Athlone, destruction of town of, by the Mac-an-Iarla, 345.
Attainder, feudal law of, forfeiture on, 82.
Aughaviller, parish of, 474, *n.*
Austria, religious foundation by an Irishman in, 388.
Bagg and Bunn, 461.
Ballaghkeen, 464.
Bagnal, Colonel Walter, 401.
Ballickmorish, gold found at, 207.
Ballinaslee, 327, *n.*
Ballinaggeer, 465.
Ballrangan, 466.
Ballyann, Baron of, 90.
Ballyhack, 26, *n.*
 — Castle, 458, *n.*
Ballynaaskellig, 361.
Ballynearl, 26, *n.*
Bandon, primeval remains at, 16.
 — inscription in Christ Church at, 208.
Banners in warfare, 300.
Banno, the river, 455.
Bannow, town of, 465.
Bantry, barony of, 453.
Bardic property, sequestration of, 83.
Barelogir, dialect so called, 390.
Bargy and Forth baronies, 465.
Battlestown, 461.
Bead, ancient glass, found at Ballintlea, 8.
Beads found at Dunworley, 59, 61.
Bearlagair-na-sair, dialect called, 67.
Beithluision, the Ogham, 170.
Belgium, religious foundations by Irishmen in, 387.
Bellingham, Sir Edward, 410.
 — takes prisoner Earl of Desmond, 421, *n.*
Beltinmore, 466.
Benres, 186.
Beware the Cat, book so called, 310.
Black-mail in Carlow, 403.
Black quarry, Kilkenny, 324.
Bloet, Petronilla and Robert de, 211.
Bonnachta, custom of the, 274.
Bonny clobber, meaning of word, 25, *n.*
Book, Red, of Ormonde family, restoration of the, 9.
Boesher, family of, law-suit by, against Cahir Mac Art, 90.
Bristol, attack by inhabitants of, on Piers Earl of Ormonde, 335.
Bronze, white, ancient metal, 249.
Brooch, ancient Kilkenny, 242.
Brown, Edmond, 361.
Browne, Nicholas, 370.
 — Sir Valentine, surveyor of lands in reign of Queen Elizabeth, 169.
Brownes, family of, 468.
Bull, worship of the, by the Druids, 177.
Bunnameigh, 26, *n.*
Bunn, and Bagg, 461.

Burials, Irish, Dineley on, 24, 29.
 Butler, Right Hon. Dame Ellen, will of, 321.
 — Katherine, will of, 321.
 — Colonel John, 321, *n.*
 — Sir Edmund, and the Dullough, 418, 423; his rebellion, 423, *n.*

Cahir Mac Art, Baron St. Molyna, 76.
 — law-suit against, 90.
 — patent of, 91.
 Cairbre Leffeachin, 177.
 — Muirg, 288.
 Cantwell, John, will of, 320.
 Caoinéadh, the, 31, *n.*
 Caomb, Aodh, King of Cashel, 254.
 Careg, meaning of word, 28.
 Carew, Sir Peter, 411; his title to Idrone, 412, *n.*; account of his life, 418; his death, 427.
 Carig Croith, 256.
 Carlan's wood, 462, *n.*
 Carlow, county of, described, 402.
 — Dullough of, 411, 418.
 Carreg-Fergus, 28, *n.*
 Carrick, piece of, 462.
 Castlemaine, siege of, 355.
 Castle Mary, Cloyne, cromleac at, 255.
 Cat, Beware the, book so called, 310.
 Catalogue of Museum of Royal Irish Academy, 110.
 Cavanagh. *See* Kavanagh.
 Caves at Cloyne described, 258.
 Celtic remains in India, 257.
 Celts, stone, 446.
 Cheevers, Sir Christopher, 416.
 Chorographic account of Co. Wexford, 17, 451.
 Christ Church, Bandon, primeval remains at, 16.
 — inscription in, 203.
 Church-yards, gleanings in northern, 48.
 Cists, discovery of two ancient, 106.
 Clancar, Earl of, his letter to Queen Elizabeth, 159.
 — letter respecting his son, 167-8.
 — marriage of daughter of, 372.
 — list of his possessions, 374.
 — notes of the followers of, 382.
 Clan Kavanagh, the, 73.
 Clanrickard, Earl of, his wives and concubines, 342.
 — his letter to Queen Elizabeth, 343.
 Classification of antiquities, 110.
 Clifford, Mr. John, letters from, respecting Sir Henry Harrington's defeat, 433, 440.
 — Sir Coniers, defeat of, 430.
 Cloughgrennan Castle, taking of, by Sir P. Carew, 424.
 Clough-vrone, 352.

Cloigteach, 265.
 Clonmacnoise, list of coins found at, 36.
 Clonmines, 455.
 Cloyne, caves at, described, 258.
 — on the antiquities of, 253.
 Cluain, the word, 253, 254.
 Cluain-uamha. *See* Cloyne.
 Cuoc nan Sassenach, 315.
 Cob, a foreign coin, 55, *n.*
 Coffee, Andrew, headstone of, 63.
 Coinage, local, of Youghal, 195, 222.
 Coins found at Clonmacnoise, list of, 36.
 — found at Newry, list of, 61.
 — instruments in Ireland for weighing foreign, 56.
 Coirtheoll, 177.
 Coiten, derivations from, 256.
 Colclough, the family of, 456.
 Colman, St., founder of Cloyne, 253.
 Coningsby, Thomas, Lord, 251.
 Connaught, Earl of, 361.
 Cooking in Ireland in sixteenth century, 415, *n.*
 Coote, Sir Charles, portrait of, 236.
 Cork, visit of Sir Henry Sidney to, 142.
 — Sir P. Carew's claims to lands in, 425.
 — Church of St. John at, charter granted to, 209.
 Corkaguiny, on the name, 288.
 Cormac Mac Cullenan, 255.
 Cormac Liathanach, rebellion of, 211.
 Correspondence, Irish, in H. M. State Paper Office, 331.
 — of James Fitz Maurice of Desmond, 354.
 Coulstufte, parish of, 462, *n.*
 Cowe, tax so called, 143, *n.*
 Cowley, Robert, and the Kildare family, 805.
 — his plan for subduing Ireland, 408, *n.*
 — letter from, respecting Clan Kavanagh, 78.
 — Walter, letter from, respecting Cahir Mac Arte, 81.
 Coyne and livery, custom of, 143, 274.
 Crannoges, ancient Irish, 128.
 Crofton, John, his letter to Lord Burghley, 345.
 Croith, Carig, 256.
 Croker, Mr. C., his opinion of Youghal money of necessity, 196.
 Crom-a-boo, origin of cry, 274.
 Cromleac at Castle Mary, Cloyne, 255.
 Cross, officer of the, 325.
 Crowned letters, 250.
 Crumwell, Secretary, letter of Thomas, Lord Dacre, to, 338.
 Cryptic inscriptions on cross at Hackness, Yorkshire, 170.
 Cuchullain or Mac Beag, 176.
 Cusack, Sir Thomas, 410, *n.*

Dacre, Thomas, Lord, letter of, to Secretary Crumwell, 388.
 Dallana, Pagan, inscriptions on, 264.
 Darerca, the sons of, 474.
 De Flemings, family of the, 287.
 Deivil, Roger, 70.
 Depositions, ancient, respecting gold found at Ballickmorish, 207.
 Derrykeighan churchyard, headstone in, 51.
 Desmond, list of Irish forces in, 147.
 — Earl of, his last struggle, 160; letters respecting son of, 167-8.
 — James Fitzmaurice of, Irish correspondence of, 354.
 — Garrett, Earl of, 355.
 — Geraldine, pedigree of the, 357.
 — list of the chiefs and Earls of, 358.
 De Valence, Agnes, 278.
 Devereuxs, family of, 465, n.
 Diliak, meaning of word, 25, n.
 Dineley, Thomas, Journal of, 22, 55.
 Disaster of Wicklow, the, 428.
 Doish, 815.
 Donations. *See* Presentations.
 Donell-na-Pipy, 167, 378.
 Dragons, superstitions respecting, 299.
 Drogheda, Edward, Earl of, 251.
 Druids, their worship, 176.
 — inventors of Oghams, 816.
 Dublin, petition of inhabitants of, after Silken Thomas's rebellion, 337.
 Dullough of Carlow, 411, 418.
 Dunbrody Abbey, 457.
 — *See* Abbey.
 Duncannon Fort, 458.
 Dunkerron Castle, on sculptures in, 290.
 — account of, 292.
 Duns, ancient Irish, 127.
 Dunworley, beads found at, 59, 61.
 Effigy in Kilcullen churchyard, on an, 40.
 Elegy on John O'Donovan, 25, n.
 — on John O'Brien, 26, n.
 Elizabeth, Queen, James Fitzmaurice's letter against, 364, 368.
 — Earl of Clancar's letter to, 159.
 Einigan Gawr, and the Ogham alphabet, 175.
 Enfield, in heraldry, what, 448, n.
 England, religious foundations by Irishmen in, 386.
 English language in Ireland, 22, n.
 Enish Mac Owny, 24, n.
 — Erkey, 24, n.
 Ennisacorthy, 464.
 Eochaidh, founder of bishopric of Cloyne, 253, n.
 Eochy Sullivan, 295.
 Essex, Earl of, appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland, 428.

Eustace family, ancient column commemorative of the, 105.
 Exchequer, memorandum roll of, quoted, 19.
 Feathers, the Gap of, 429.
 Fechin, St., mill of, 353.
 Fethard Castle, 460.
 Fiachrach, King of Connaught, 177.
 Fibula. *See* Brooch.
 Fidown, 26, n.
 Fitz Edmond, Patrick Kearney, will of, 321.
 Fitzgerald, Colonel Robert, 250, n., 251.
 — Gerald, ninth Earl, rental-book of, 266, 301; account of him, 277, 301.
 — Gerald, Baron of Offaly, 270.
 — James, the sougane Earl of Desmond, 163.
 — John, first Earl of Kildare, 273.
 — Juliana, 272.
 — Mabel, 272.
 — Maurice, 268, 270.
 — Silken Thomas, 304, 408.
 — Sir Gerald, 272.
 — Sir Maurice Oge, 271.
 — Thomas Fitz Maurice, 273.
 — Thomas More, 270.
 — William Fitz Maurice, Baron of Naas, 269.
 Fitzgeralds and Alens, feud between, 336.
 Fitz Harris, and Tintern, 311.
 Fitz Morice, Roland, 270.
 Fitz Maurice, James, of Desmond, Irish correspondence of, 354.
 — his letter to the prelates, &c., of Ireland, 364, 368.
 Fitzwilliam, Lord Deputy, letter from, respecting Edmund O'Byrne, 347.
 Flakes, flint, ancient, 114.
 Fletcher, John, will of, 320.
 — Alexander, will of, 324.
 Flint-flakes, ancient, 114.
 Flood-street, Kilkenny, 470, n.
 Florence Mac Carthy, life and letters of, 139, 156, 370.
 Florum Manipulus, authorship of the, 203, 285.
 Folk-lore in Ireland, 105.
 Food implements, ancient, 122.
 Forfeiture on attainder, feudal law of, 82.
 Forth and Bargo baronies, 465, 466.
 Fothadh Airgtheach, 177.
 Foundations, religious, by Irishmen, list of, 386.
 Fox, Sir Patrick, 18.
 France, religious foundations by Irishmen in, 388.
 Frannsa, the, at funerals, 31.
 Freemason's marks, 68.
 Funerals. *See* Burials.

Galloglasses, depositions respecting, 275-6.
 Gap of Feathers, the, 429.
 Garrett, Robert, 442.
 Gawr, Einigan, and the Ogham alphabet, 175.
 Gerald, Earl of Kildare, rental-book of, 266, 301.
 — John, token of, 223.
 Geraldines, pedigree of the Desmond, 357.
 — depredations of the, 409.
 — See Fitzgerald.
 Germany, religious foundations by Irishmen in, 387.
 Giles, Florence, token of, 223.
 Giol-cach, a round tower, 265.
 Glan, meaning of word, 23, *n*.
 Glangibbon, 23, *n*.
 Gleanings in northern churchyards, 48.
 Glyn, 23, *n*.
 Glyndelory, 23, *n*.
 Godwin, Peter, token of, 224.
 Gold, Arabian, found at Ballickmorish, 207.
 Gorges, Dr., 460.
 Grace, John, will of, 319.
 — his epitaph, 320.
 Graigne-oven, 26, *n*.
 Great Island, 458.
 Grimalkin, 311.
 Grianan of Aileach, 396.
 Grovine, 327, *n*.

Hackness, Yorkshire, inscriptions on cross at, 170, 194.
 Hamilton family, tomb of, 54.
 Hancock, John, token of, 225.
 Hand-mills. See Querns.
 Harrington, Sir Henry, defeat of, 431.
 Hawking in Ireland, 454, *n*.
 Haynes, Major John, portrait of, 237.
 Hebrew alphabet, the, 172, *n*.
 Henry II. and Dermot M'Carthy, 210.
 Hibbard, Walter, token of, 225.
 High-town, Kilkenny, 477.
 Historical portraits, register of, 232.
 Hogsynd, the Rev. Thomas, anecdote of, 50.
 Holy Cross Abbey, mason-marks at, 384.
 — well at Kilkenny, 472.
 Hook piece, 459.
 Hooker, John, *alias* Vowel, 415.
 Horace and Irishmen, 28.
 Hualaing, 474.
 Hutchison of Stranocum, tombstone of, 49.
 Hybernicus, Thomas, 285.

Iceland, religious foundations by Irishmen in, 389.
 Ichingham, Sir Osborne, 458, *n*.

Idlemen, ancient warriors, 86, *n*.
 Idrone, plantation of barony of, 409.
 Imokilly, the barony of, 253.
 Implements, ancient food, 122.
 Inbher-ageine, 293.
 Inch-a-guile, pillar at, 179.
 Inchiquin, Ogham at, 287.
 India, Celtic remains in, 257.
 Inis, meaning of word, 24.
 Inis-bo-finde, St. Riach founder of Abbey of, 473.
 Inisdlock, 24, *n*.
 Inishowen, 24, *n*.
 Inisnag, 24, *n*.
 Innisnag, 327, *n*.
 Inscriptions on cross at Hackness, Yorkshire, 170, 194.
 — in Dunkerron Castle, 290.
 — See Ogham inscriptions.
 Interpreters, state, 19.
 Irish Academy, Royal, catalogue of Museum of, 110.
 — burials, Dineley on, 24, 29.
 — duns, ancient, 127.
 — language, Dineley's account of, 22.
 — meaning of various words in the, 22-32.
 — people, said by Campion to have been formerly cannibals, 28, *n*.
 — kings, mode of life of, 74.
 — forces in Desmond, list of, 147.
 — wars, fashion of, 311.
 — churle's tale, 311.
 — correspondence in H. M. State Paper Office, 331.
 Irishmen, duties upon, 309.
 — religious foundations by, list of, 386.
 Irishtown of Kilkenny, history of, 323.
 — seal of the corporation of the, 329.
 Italy, religious foundations by Irishmen in, 388.

Jerome, St., and the Scotch, 28, *n*.
 John, St., church of, at Cork, charter granted to, 209.
 — church of, Kilkenny, 475.
 John's Well, patron of, 478, *n*.
 Jones, Thomas, token of, 226.
 Journal of Thomas Dineley. See Dineley.

Kavanagh, the clan, 73, 404.
 — agreement of, with the government, 84.
 — Sir Peter Carew's suit against, 420.
 — Donald Mac Art, 75.
 Kearney, James, will of, 321.
 Keatinge, Dr., on a rath at Slievenamann, 11.
 Keening at funerals, 29, *n*.

Keerwick, the name, common in Kilkenny, 245.

Kelta, stone, 447.

Kennedy, Antony, tomb of, 52.

Kenny, St., 475, *n*.

Kid, Walter, tomb of, 58.

Kilconnell, monastery of, 449.

Kilcullen churchyard, on an effigy in, 40.

Kildare, ninth Earl of, entries to Clan Kavanagh in Rental-book of, 76-7.

— acquires county of Carlow, 406.

— Rental-book of, 266, 301.

— the master of, 274.

— pedigree of Earls of, 357, 358.

— See Fitzgerald.

Kilkenny, illustrations of suburbs of, 468.

— brooch, ancient, 242.

— History, Architecture, and Antiquities of City of, 322.

— ecclesiastical boundaries of, 475.

Killoagham, 464.

Kilmalchedor, pillar at, 179.

Kilmallock burned by James Fitz Maurice, 354.

King's County, when first called so, 410.

— plantation of, 339.

Kinsale, mason-marks in old church of, 385.

Labban the Druid, 294.

Ladyman, Samuel, will of, 317.

Language, secret, of craftsmen of middle ages, on the, 67, 884.

Leffeachair, Cairbre, 177.

Leigh, Robert, Esq., of Rosegarland, chorographic account of Co. Wexford by, 17, 451.

— grants of land to, 21.

Leighlin Castle, and Sir Peter Carew, 421.

Letters, crowned, 250.

Linlye, Captain, his report of the disaster at Wicklow, 435.

Livery, coyne and, custom of, 148, 274.

Llia, meaning of the word, 23, *n*.

Loftus, Captain Adam, and the disaster at Wicklow, 438.

— family of, 460.

Lucherin, St., mill of, 358.

Lugnadon, St. Patrick's nephew, 180.

Luther, John, token of, 226.

Lye, John, 17.

Mac-an-Crossan, Patrick, 18.

Mac-an-Iarla, 345.

Mac Arte, Cahir, letter respecting, 81.

— law-suit against, 90.

Mac Beag, or Cuchullain, 176.

Mac Carthy, Florence, life and letters of, 139, 156, 370; his person, 165; his marriage, 371.

Mac Carthy Beagh, 292, 361; death of, 148; letter from, to Queen Elizabeth, 164.

— Sir Donogh, inquisition taken upon death of, 156.

— Sir Owen, character of, 158.

— Dermot, King of Munster, charter granted by, to church of St. John, at Cork, 209.

Mac Crune, Rose, 451, *n*., 452, *n*.

Mac Donnell, Austin Kittagh, 362, 363.

— Randal, 364.

Mac Feagh, Felim, 438.

Mac Gillicuddys, family of the, 295.

Mac-I-Brien-Arra, Turlough, letter of, complaining of Edward Butler's attack on his country, 346.

Mac Laighid, family of, 18.

Mac Murrrough, King of Leinster, 74, 403; civil war by, 311.

— Art Kavanagh, 452, *n*.

Macnachtan, Shane Dhu, tomb of, 51.

Mac Owny, Enish, 24, *n*.

Magpies in Ireland, 467.

Mallahauna, meaning of word, 25, *n*.

Manipulus Florum at Nice, account of MS. of, 65, 203, 285.

Map of Sir Henry Harrington's defeat, 440, *n*.

Mareschall, William, Earl of Pembroke, 328.

Marks, John, will of, 321.

Masonic song, 72.

Mason-marks, ancient, 67, 384.

Maston, manor of, 416.

Maulla, St., 475, *n*.

Mavee, church of St., remains found near, 252.

Meagh, Henry, 448.

Meath, Edward, Earl of, 251.

Medical men, ancient Irish, 18.

Mel, St., 474.

Memorandum Roll of the Exchequer, quoted, 19.

Merrick, John, token of, 228.

Mihill, Edward, 321.

Mill of St. Fechin, 353.

Mines, the, near New Ross, 455.

Moel, St., 475, *n*.

Molahuff, value of lands of, 169.

Molyneux, Mr. Samuel, 461.

Money, ancient Irish, 55.

— of necessity, Youghal, 193.

Mount Garret, castle of, 453.

Muirg, Cairbre, 288.

Munster, manners of, in sixteenth century, 342.

Museum of Royal Irish Academy, Catalogue of, 110.

Naas, Barons of, 269.

Natdodd, a sea-king, 186.

Nevill, David, 463.
 Newport, Sir John, portrait of, 288.
 New Ross, account of the ancient bridge at, 204.
 — antiquities of, 206.
 Noble, ancient meaning of the word, 275, *n.*
 Nore, the river, 324.
 Norreys, Sir Thomas, his letter to Walsingham respecting Florence Mac Carthy, 380.
 —
 O'Brien, John, elegy on, 26, *n.*
 O'Byrne, Edmund, 347.
 O'Chirmac, name of, inscribed on Kilkenny brooch, 244.
 O'Coffy clan, the, 308, *n.*
 O'Conors of Offaly, extirpation of, 339.
 O'Donovan, John, elegy on, 25 *n.*
 O'Dorans, hereditary Brehons, 85 *n.*
 O'Duinn, William, 18.
 O'Dullany, Felix, 324, 325.
 Offaly formerly held by the Birminghams, 268.
 Ogham Beithluisnion, 170, 316.
 — inscriptions at Ballycrovane, 180; at Trabeg, 180; at Glounaglough, 180; at Dreenderagh, 181; at Kilmachedor, 181; at Bealahamire, 181; at Ounagoppul, 181; at Aghadoe, 182; at Dunloe, 182; at Burnfort, 182; at Emlagh, 183, 184; at Ardmore, 183, 184; at Kilrush, 183; at Kilgravane, 184; at Whitefield, 184; in Scotland, 185-6; on Isle of Bressay, 186; at Kinnaird, 190; at Burnfort, 190; at Youghal, 287.
 O'Keerwick, the name, 245.
 O'Kelly, King of Hy-Many, seal of, 448.
 O'Lee, family of, 18.
 O'More, Connell Oge, crucified, 341.
 — Rory Oge, 361.
 O'Mores of Leix, extirpation of, 339.
 O'Neill, importance of title of, 148.
 O'Neills of Tyrone, letters of the, 37.
 Ordnance Survey Records, list of, 12, 42, 97.
 — transferred to Royal Irish Academy, 15.
 Ormonde, Duke of, his letters to Queen Elizabeth, &c., respecting Earl of Desmond, 160-1.
 — Piers, eighth Earl of, his letter to Cardinal Wolsey, 334.
 — Red Book, restoration of the, 9.
 O'Rourke, Brien, his trial, 430, *n.*
 O'Sullivan More, Sir Owen, 290, 291, *n.*, 294.
 — account of the family, 296.
 — arms of, 297.
 — motto of, 298.
 Ossory, Hugh, Bishop of, 327, 328.
 — his charter to Thomas Vnch, 330.

Pagan dallans, inscriptions on, 264.
 — origin of Ogham character, 167.
 — temples purified by early Christians, 189-90.
 Palmeranus, Thomas, 285.
 Parsons, Sir William, portrait of, 236.
 Parys, George, 341.
 Patrick, St., church of, Kilkenny, 476.
 — his nephews, 474.
 Patron or festival, 478, *n.*
 Pembroke, William, Earl of, 327, 328.
 Perrot, Sir John, and Sir P. Carew, 425.
 Perry, Edward, token of, 229.
 Pheasants in Ireland in former times, 467, *n.*
 Phyton, Sir Edward, his list of undertakers of land in Ireland in Queen Elizabeth's reign, 162.
 Piasts, or dragons, superstition respecting, 299.
 Pieces of eight, 56, *n.*
 Pilgrims, Roman, in Ireland, 474, *n.*
 Pill of Rosegarland, 462.
 Pillar-stones at Bandon, 16; at Riesk, 188; at Carthage, 188; at Teampul Geal, 189.
 — See Ogham inscriptions.
 Pinne, John, token of, 229.
 Pipy, Douell na, 167, 378.
 Plantation of barony of Idrone, 400.
 — Francis Herbert's letter to Cromwell respecting the, 409, *n.*
 Pope solicited to declare a crusade against the Clan Kavanagh, 405.
 Popham, Sir John, his list of undertakers of land in Ireland in reign of Queen Elizabeth, 162.
 Porter, Sir Charles, 251, *n.*
 Portlairge, 361.
 Portlester, family of, 105.
 Portraits, register of historical, 282.
 Potter, Dr., Archbishop of Canterbury, portrait of, 237.
 Poulmonty, pass of, 87.
 Post office in Ireland under Cromwell, 400, *n.*
 Potatoes, early use of, 466.
 Presentations to the Society, 8, 85, 58, 94, 153, 200, 241, 288, 313, 350, 398, 441.
 Purcell family, inscription on monument to, in Coolraheen church, 155.
 —
 Quarry, Black, Kilkenny, 324.
 Queen's County, plantation of, 339.
 — when first called so, 410.
 Querns, ancient, 124, 352.
 Quoit, derivations from, 256.

Rallahine Castle, 22, *n.*
 Rallough, patron of, 479, *n.*

- Ranelagh, ancient names of, 482, 485
 Rath at Slievenamann discovered by Dr. Keatinge, 11.
 — meaning of the word, 24, 24, n.
 Rathfoelane, 24, n.
 Reade, George, of Rosenarra, 443.
 Red Book of the Ormonde family, restoration of the, 9.
 Reddy, Richard, 442.
 Register of historical portraits, 282.
 Religious foundations by Irishmen, list of, 886.
 Redmond, family of, 459, n.
 Rental Book of Gerald Earl of Kildare, 266, 301.
 Ring-money, ancient, 96.
 Riach, St., picture of, 479, 480, n.
 Roach, St., 480, n.
 Rocque's survey of Kilkenny, 469.
 Roman alphabet, the, introduced into Ireland by St. Patrick, 180.
 — pilgrims in Ireland, 474, n.
 Rosegarland, 462.
 Ross-mic-Tríuin, 26, n., 451, n.
 Ross, New, the ancient bridge at, 204.
 — account of town of, 451.
 — Old, 453, n.
 Rothe, Bishop, his opinion respecting origin of Kilkenny, 323.
 Round Tower of Cloyne, 259.
 Rous, Hugh de, 326.
 Royal Irish Academy, catalogue of Museum of, 110.
 Rufus, Hugh, 477.
 Runic characters, difference of, from Ogham, 192.
 Ruth, St., General, 476, n.

 St. John's Church, Cork, charter granted to, 209.
 St. Leger, Sir Warham, his letter respecting Florence Mac Carthy's marriage, 372.
 St. Molyns, name of, 79.
 St. Patrick's abecedaria, 179.
 St. Riach's churchyard, Kilkenny, 471.
 Sarafeld, Sir Patrick, portrait of, 238.
 Sassenach, Cnoc nan, 315.
 Saxony, Upper, religious foundation by an Irishman in, 388.
 Scarawalsh barony, 464.
 Scar nan Albanach, 315.
 Sconce, the, in Kilkenny, 470, n.
 Scotland, religious foundations by Irishmen in, 386.
 Sculptures in Dunkerron Castle, 290.
 Seal of corporation of Irishtown, Kilkenny, 329.
 — of O'Kelly of Hy-Many, 448.
 Sheehey, James, 471.
 Shields, ancient customs respecting, 299.

 Shilburne, barony of, 454.
 Shilmallier, barony of, 462.
 Shirt, ancient Irish, 84.
 Shugster, John, will of, 322.
 Sidney, Sir Henry, progress of, through Ireland, 141.
 — sets aside law courts, 419.
 — his opinion of Sir P. Carew, 427, 428, n.
 Silken Thomas, rebellion of, 304.
 Skulla, digging up of, 27.
 Slane, the last Lord of, 287.
 "Slaves" in Ireland, 341.
 Slen culter, 454.
 Slievegrine, 26, n.
 Slieve Monard, tradition respecting, 178.
 Slievenamann, rath at, 11.
 Sling-stones, ancient, 116.
 Slugaun, meaning of word, 25, n.
 Sorley Boy, dairy of, 52, n.
 Spain, religious foundation by an Irishman in, 388.
 Spear-heads, ancient, 120.
 Spool. See Spolad.
 Spolad, meaning of word, 25, n.
 Standing stones at Bandon, 16.
 State Paper Office, Irish correspondence in, 331.
 Stone celts, on, 446.
 Strafford, Earl of, 419.
 Stucley, Captain Thomas, 333, 355.
 Sullivan, origin of the name, 294.
 Superstitions respecting dragons, 299.
 Surrey, Earl of, Lord Deputy of Ireland, 279.
 Switzerland, religious foundations by Irishmen in, 389.
 Sydney, Lord Deputy, his visitation of East Leinster, 347.

 Taghmon Castle, 463.
 Talbot, Robert, builder of walls of Kilkenny, 324, 469.
 Tanist, patent creating Dermot Kavanagh as, 91.
 — customs observed at election of, 158.
 Tax called Cowe, 148, n.
 Temple-a-Manla, 474, n.
 Tanistry, plan for abolition of, 166.
 Tenison, Archbishop of Canterbury, portrait of, 237.
 — Bishop of Ossory, portrait of, 237.
 — Archdeacon of Carmarthen, portrait of, 237.
 "Thieves," maintained for plundering the Saxons, 74.
 Timahoe, ancient remains found near, 155.
 Tintern Abbey, 311, 454, n.
 — House, 456.
 Trim Castle, Inverness, 315.

- Tokens, siege-piece, of Youghal, 195.
 Tokens, leaden and pewter, Irish, 215.
 ——— Trademen's, of Youghal, 222, 399.
 Tower, Round, of Cloyne, 259.
 Trademen's Tokens. *See* Tokens.
 Treasure-trove, law of, 446.
 Trees, Ogham alphabet taken from names of, 173, 316.
 Trial by battle in Ireland, 88.
 Trinity College Library, bequest to, 318.
 Tullaroan, patron of, 479, *n*.

 Undertakers of land in Ireland in Queen Elizabeth's reign, 162.
 Usquebath, 25, *n*.

 Vaughan, Thomas, token of, 230.
 ——— Abraham, token of, 400.
 Villa Wallicorum, 23, *n*.
 Vnch, Thomas, charter to, 330.
 Vowel, John, *alias* Hooker, 415.
 Vroe, the, 352.

 Wakes, Irish, 28, *n*.
 Walkin's Gate and Green, Kilkenny, 470.

 Walkin's Lough, 471.
 Wallop, Robert, 464, *n*.
 Walsh, Pierce, executed by Essex, 431, *n*.
 ——— his account of the disaster at Wicklow, 438.
 Walter, Thomas, token of, 231.
 Wandrick, Andrew, token of, 231.
 Water-mills in Ireland, 353.
 Well, St. Rock's, Kilkenny, 473.
 Welsh words used in Ireland, 24 *n*.
 Wexford, chorographic account of county of, 17, 451.
 White bronze, ancient metal, 249.
 Whittey family, monument of, 63.
 Wicklow, the disaster of, 428.
 Wilde's Catalogue of Antiquities in Museum of Royal Irish Academy, 110.
 William of Danubi, 360, *n*.
 Wills, extracts from original, 317.
 Wood, Carlan's, 462, *n*.
 Worship of the bull by the Druids, 177.

 Ynis Bronwen, tradition respecting, 179.
 Youghal, on ancient mason-marks at, 67, 384.
 ——— on the local coinage and money of necessity of, 195, 222, 399.

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